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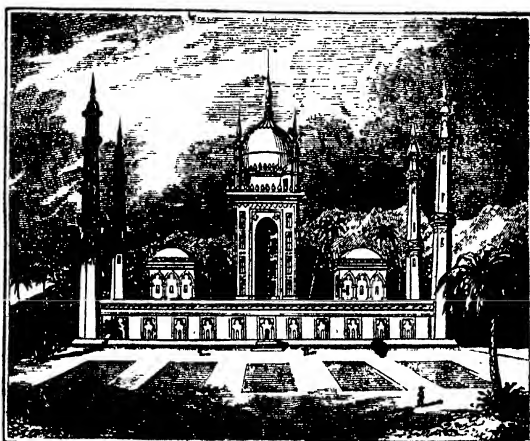
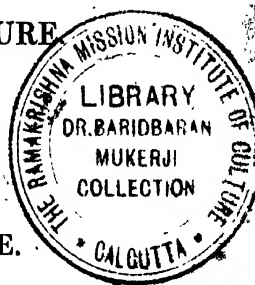
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THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

No. 64.—APRIL, 1829.—VOL. 21.

AMERICAN EXPORT TRADE TO CHINA.

THE curious details of the overland trade in British manufactures, carried on by Russian merchants, on the confines of China, must have startled those of our readers who are new to the commercial wants and capacities of the Celestial Empire. Situated at a distance of 6,598 versts from St. Petersburg, Kiatka, lately a small and insignificant village in Tartary, has grown into a large and flourishing town. On the route to this forced and most expensive mart, the peasantry of Siberia subsist on the profits earned by their cattle in the transport of merchandise; and while British manufactures are excluded from the port of Canton, they are forced, by the preference of the Russian tariff, into disproportioned competition with the industry of Holland and Silesia. What clearer evidence can be adduced of the falsehood of the statements by which the servants of the East India Company have so long contrived to palm on the credulity of the country, the belief that the Chinese are unwilling or unable to purchase articles of British manufacture? How can it be true that their export of woollens to Canton has annually been a losing adventure, if, charged with double duties, with the freight to the Gulf of Finland, and the carriage of 5,000 miles through countries where there are neither roads nor inhabitants, they still afford a remunerating price at Kiatka? What tradesman will believe that cotton goods, in ready demand at 9s. a yard on the northern boundary, would, at 3s., be unsaleable at Canton? Those only who are acquainted with the unwieldy, cumbrous, expensive system of factories and establishments, of freights, and outfits, and dock-rates, which the Company call 'their trade,' will be able to reconcile this flagrant discrepancy between their official accounts and the Russian statistics. The truth is, that these expenses are of a nature and extent totally inconsistent with commercial profit; their export trade to China is a mere trick, a fraud upon the Government and the country; a niggard, miserable, parsimonious affectation of encouraging the trade and manufactures of Great Britain, while in reality they wring from the pockets of the people, by means of their tea monopoly, above the fair and reasonable profit, an

annual income of nearly three millions sterling! This is the traffic by which they thrive and flourish; by this are their dividends and the interest of their debt discharged; by this are the deficiencies of their land revenue supplied; the burthens of Bengal lightened; the expenses of Madras and Bombay defrayed; but for this, the chartered Company of British Merchants trading to the East might be in 'The Gazette' to-morrow.

The trade, however, through Russia and Tartary furnishes but a small portion of the proofs on which we found our hopes of extended intercourse with China. For the last twenty years, British merchants have been doomed to witness the vessels of rival nations, the commercial power of which scarcely bears an assignable proportion to our own, monopolising a traffic, in which our own laws alone prevent us from asserting a decisive and indisputable supremacy. The discriminating duties by which the Dutch Government of Java impedes the sale of British goods at Batavia, and their absolute prohibition at Samarang, Surabaja, and the other ports of the Eastern islands subject to that power, enable the manufacturers of Holland to undersell us in all the seas frequented by the Chinese junks; and as the charter prevents us from touching at Canton, and from establishing a free port in our neighbouring settlements, we are thus totally excluded from the trade of China and the Archipelago.

Of this exclusion other nations, of course, avail themselves; and, among them, the success of the Americans is pre-eminent. Their establishment at Canton differs in no respect from those maintained by them in the ports of Europe. A consul, armed with no extraordinary powers, contrives to transact all their business with the Chinese Hong, to keep the mariners of his nation in due order and control, and to maintain a perfectly good understanding with the native authorities. The relations of America with China are purely and strictly commercial. The masters of their merchantmen appear at Canton in the capacity of simple traders, and are received as such. They excite no jealousies, inspire no fears, give no offence, engage in no disputes. They are permitted to discharge and take in their cargoes without the slightest molestation; and in their dealings they meet with at least as much favour as their chartered competitors.

The details of the American trade at Canton are curious and instructive. In its early stages, their principal exports were of silver bullion and furs. The bullion consisted chiefly of Spanish dollars, which they purchased at Liverpool and London, or obtained in exchange for British manufactures on the western coast of America; with these they proceeded on their voyage to China, touching on their way at the ports of Celebes, Sumatra, Borneo, Java, and the other islands of the Archipelago, where they bartered a portion of their dollars for coffee, rice, pepper, spices, tortoise-shell, mother-of-pearl shells, various gums, ivory, cassia, cinnamon, musk, betel-nut, tin, toutenang, birds'-nests, iron, copper, cochineal,

wax, sandal-wood, &c., and other articles, some suited to the European, others to the Chinese market, and with this varied assortment they arrived at Canton. There they disposed of the remainder of their dollars, and of such portion of the produce of the islands as was destined for China; and, supplying their place with teas, nankeens, raw and manufactured silks, china root, vermillion, rhubarb, drugs, &c., they sailed direct to Europe, or circuitously by America. The trade in furs, now almost entirely in the hands of the Americans, was originally carried on by British merchants under the license of the East India Company. Its course was as follows: British manufactures of different sorts, such as coarse woollens, broad-cloths, blankets, articles of ironmongery, sheet-copper, buttons, hardware, tools, muskets, &c., were sent out from England to the north-west coast of America, and there exchanged with the inhabitants for furs of various descriptions. This trade was established by the North-West Company of Canada in the year preceding the American War, who then sent vessels round Cape Horn, under licenses granted to them by the East India Company, to convey the furs collected by them on the north-west coast to China for sale. These licenses restricted the North-West Company to selling their furs in China for money, and to pay that money into the Company's chest for bills on England.* The loss arising from this mode of conducting the trade was so excessive, that they were very soon obliged to abandon it; and they now export the British manufactures necessary to procure the furs to some port in the United States, whence they are transhipped in an American vessel to the Columbia River. The same vessel conveys the furs to China; and an arrangement is made with the American merchant, by which much more beneficial returns are obtained by the North-West Company for their trade than by the former mode. The Americans being subject to none of the restraints by which British traders are impeded, have, however, now engrossed nearly the whole of this lucrative branch of commerce. While our ships are compelled to return to England without freight or cargo, they exchange their furs for the commodities of China, and take those commodities to any market in Europe, Asia, Africa, or America, which may afford a prospect of beneficial sale. Mr. Ellice, in his evidence before the Lords' Committee in 1821, calculates the difference between bartering furs in the China market for Chinese produce, and selling them for money, at about twenty-five per cent.; and Mr. Lyall expressly says, that the same circumstances would make a difference of at least 2000*l.* in the proceeds of the last cargo sold by his house at Canton.

Some estimate of the extent and value of the direct and circuitous trade thus carried on by the Americans, may be formed from the following statements, the first of which is taken from the well-known work of Dr. Serbert, the second, communicated by Mr. Grant to the select Committee of the House of Lords in 1821.

* Evidence of Mr. Ellice before the Lords, 1821-2.

Statement of the Annual Amount of the Exports from the United States to the North-West Coast of America, from the year 1789-90, to 1816-17.

Years.	Dollars.
1789-90.....	10,362
1790-91.....	3,380
1791-92.....	2,483
1792-93.....	1,586
1793-94.....	5,383
1794-95.....	44,063
1795-96.....	23,510
1796-97.....	15,607
1797-98.....	79,515
1798-99.....	72,941
1799-1800	746,153
1800-1.....	343,388
1801-2.....	
1802-3.....	58,500
1803-4.....	196,059
1804-5.....	302,859
1805-6.....	257,799
1806-7.....	103,710
1807-8.....	274,705
1808-9.....	182,356
1809-10.....	145,918
1810-11.....	115,473
1811-12.....	30,448
1812-13.....	24,567
1813-14.....	
1814-15.....	170,985
1815-16.....	240,962
1816-17.....	1,110,839

Total of 28 years, Dollars, 4,563,501

Average per annum, Dollars, 162,982 *

* In the year 1819, a Memorial was presented to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, by a Committee of the Society of Shipowners, in which they urged their claims to a participation in the profits of this export of British goods. In proof of the supposed ignorance in which the application was made, Mr. Grant appealed to the above statement (and the one immediately following, contending, with apparent plausibility, that a commerce averaging in value 162,982 dollars per annum, was scarcely deserving of encouragement, and asserting that the whole basis of any adventure in that trade would be a return cargo from China to this country and foreign Europe. We adduce these statements here, more to illustrate the wants of China, than to prove the present amount of its consumption; and they are good evidence to show that warm substantial apparel is required by the temperature of its climate. Reserving the much more important question of 'Return Cargoes' for future consideration, we beg to say, that the Shipowners by no means limited their views to the export trade. The third paragraph of their Memorial is as follows: 'That a most valuable trade might be carried on from this country with the north-

Statement of the Number of Furs Imported into China by the Americans, in the Seasons
1804-5 to 1818-19.

SEASONS.	Sea Otters.	Dry Fur Seal Skins.	Newire Skins.	Beaver Skins.	Rabbit Skins.	Fox Skins.	Land Otter Skins.	Sable Skins.	Muskrat Skins.	TOTAL.
	Number.	Number.	Number.	Number.	Number.	Number.	Number.	Number.	Number.	Number.
1804-5	11,003	183,173	67,200	8,756	3,400	.	.	.	.	270,132
1805-6	17,445	140,297	.	34,464	.	.	.	.	.	196,406
1806-7	14,251	261,330	.	23,368	.	.	.	.	.	298,949
1807-8	16,647	100,000	.	11,730	.	2,009	.	.	.	130,606
1808-9	7,944	31,000	.	5,170	.	.	3,400	.	.	50,514
1809-10	11,003	.	.	20,000	.	3,500	15,000	.	.	49,503
1810-11	9,200	45,000	4,800	14,200	.	4,500	15,000	725	.	93,425
1811-12	11,593	173,886	115,000	20,000	4,736	.	12,000	.	.	367,215
1812-13	8,222	109,189	1,200	2,330	.	.	2,000	.	.	122,941
1813-14	6,200	59,000	.	3,928	.	284	7,045	.	.	76,457
1814-15	4,300	109,000	.	168	.	12,553	14,364	.	.	140,385
1815-16	3,650	27,000	17,000	1,579	300	9,952	5,467	.	.	64,648
1816-17	4,177	47,290	.	15,067	350	350	9,400	668	7,000	84,282
1817-18	7,327	88,240	.	15,370	15,042	3,020	9,885	.	.	139,084
1818-19	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Total Number	132,962	1,377,405	235,200	176,350	23,478	36,168	93,561	1,393	7,000	2,083,517
Average of fifteen years.	8,864	91,827	15,680	11,756	1,555	2,411	6,237	93	466	138,901
Average of the four years 1815-16 to 1818-19.	4,864	67,882	4,250	8,096	3,835	6,489	9,779	167	1,750	107,092

west coast of America, in British manufactures, to be exchanged for furs for the China market, provided that British vessels were permitted to take, in return, cargoes at China for other markets than those of this country, which trade is at present almost wholly in the hands of the Americans.'

Of late years this export of dollars and of furs obtained on the north-west coast of America, has been partially superseded by a direct and much more beneficial trade in British manufactures. It appears, from the relations of those whose opportunities of forming an opinion on the matter have been most extensive, that the partiality of the Chinese for furs is, among the middle orders of the population, rapidly yielding to a preference for the more economical substitute of woollens; and it has long been very well known that a Chinese merchant at Canton of the name of Howqua has been for many years engaged in extensive speculations in this way with the house of Perkins and Co. We certainly were not aware that this traffic was conducted with so much system, regularity, and notoriety as it latterly appears to have attained. Mr. Wallace Currie stated, at the Liverpool meeting, that it was by no means an unfrequent occurrence for American vessels to take in cargoes of manufactures destined for China at that port; and that Messrs. W. and J. Brown and Co. (an eminent Liverpool house) had extensive transactions of this description. Now, though we perfectly agree with Mr. Thornely,* that it is much better that the products of our industry should be exported by the Americans than not be exported at all; yet, considering the loss thus incurred by our shipping interest, as well as by the manufacturers themselves, this course of trade in British goods is to us a source of unmingled vexation. It really is too bad that we should thus nurse and foster, by the loan of our skill and ingenuity, the commerce of a rival nation, more particularly when all the exertions of its Legislature are directed to raise at home the very same commodities which they at present obtain from us.* For a time, no doubt, the demands of the American agents may enliven the markets, and relieve the distresses of our manufacturers; but we ought not lightly to forget that the duties now levied by Congress on British woollens amount to a prohibition on their use in the provinces of the Union; and we may rest assured that, so soon as their broad-cloths equal in beauty and texture those of Leeds, and their cottons those of Manchester and Glasgow, their consignments to Canton will not be shipped at the port of Liverpool. The existence, however, of this traffic furnishes abundant refutation of the statements by which the East India Company have all along endeavoured to impose upon the public; and it appears, by a commercial letter to the Court of Directors from their supercargoes in China, dated 20th November, 1820, that the commerce which had long been unproductive in their hands, was turned to good account by the American adventurers. 'The very alarming inroad,' say they, 'that is now commenced by American speculations into a trade hitherto confined to the Honourable Company, will, it is probable, soon place all certainty of calculation in its economy at defiance. Between 3000 and 4000 pieces of broad-cloth have been imported under the American

* Vide Speech at the Liverpool Meeting.

flag direct from England, and by the circuitous medium of America, during the present season; patterns of these cloths, with the prices and terms of their disposal, will be forwarded by our superintendant of imports,—a number in the Thames packet.

‘The American export trade, which has hitherto been chiefly confined to dollars, purchased at a premium in America, or shipped by a circuitous voyage in England, Lisbon, and Gibraltar, has been considered as generally unprofitable. The Americans are, therefore, well contented to avail themselves of a channel of remittance by which they can realise the prime cost and insurance of their investment, and are consequently enabled to undersell the Honourable Company by the absence of those heavy charges which their invoices usually bear. The greatest evil, however, which we are led to anticipate from this encroachment, is the death-blow which it inflicts upon the monopoly hitherto enjoyed by the Honourable Company: it is not so much the amount, as the uncertainty of that amount, which the very great fluctuation in American commerce renders totally incalculable, and which at once converts a trade, hitherto considered as regular and secure, into a most uncertain and dangerous speculation. One advantage, however, the Company most incontrovertibly possesses, and which the Americans can neither compete with, nor deprive them of,—it is that of unimpeachable character and credit; the experience of the Chinese in the uniform excellence of their consignments, and the passport which the Company’s mark affords to every uninspected package through all quarters of the empire, are the causes to which we are now indebted for the ready circulation of our woollens; while those of the Americans are chiefly confined to the consumption of Canton, are exposed to severe scrutiny, and viewed with a suspicion which the inequalities, both in the measures and quantities of the present importations, are ill calculated to remove.

‘The remarks which we have already had occasion to make to your Honourable Committee upon the subject of broad-cloth, in reference to the American trade, are equally applicable to camlets, a considerable quantity of which have been imported under that flag during the present season.’

It is amusing to hear the Company’s supercargoes consoling their employers under the calamity of American invasion, on the ground of their ‘unimpeachable character and credit.’ Of all favour and pre-eminence thus obtained, we heartily congratulate the Directors; they are welcome to every advantage which ‘a long course of honourable dealing’ may have earned; and if the sneer at the American traders were not meant to include free traders in general, we should not feel any violent anxiety to take arms in support of their reputation; but knowing the inference which is drawn from all such inuendoes, we beg to remind the Honourable Company, that their commerce has been more than once at a stand, while that of America went on; that the American Ambassador has not been

stuffed and hurtled in the vestibule of the palace at Pekin; that the mariners of that nation have excited no disturbance, been guilty of no offence, nor has the cry of 'blood for blood' been raised against them in the streets of Canton. So far, at least, their character is as good as that of the servants of the East India Company; and from the statement, which we now present, of their imports of British goods into China, it will appear that they are likely to enjoy all its advantages.

Exports from Great Britain, in Foreign Vessels, to Countries within the limits of the East India Company's Charter, during each of the three years ending in 1819.

Species of Export.	1817.	1818.	1819.
British woollen manufactures....	£310	£55	£26,727
Ditto glass manufactures.....	—	10	4,577
Ditto hardwares.....	—	—	756
Ditto iron, wrought and unwrought	126	190	451
Ditto clocks and watches.....	—	—	1,842
Ditto lead and shot.....	—	2000	6
Ditto other small articles.....	25	272	550

Total declared value of British goods, £461 .. £2527 .. £34,909

Exports from Great Britain, in Foreign Vessels, to Countries within the limits of the East India Company's Charter, during the year 1820.

Species of Export.	1820.
British woollen manufactures.....	£161,269
Ditto cotton manufactures.....	11,839
Ditto glass manufactures..	20
Ditto iron, wrought and unwrought.....	2,490
Ditto clocks and watches.....	456
Ditto rock moss, or cudbear.....	1,521
Ditto other small articles.....	763

Total declared value of British goods..... £178,358*

From these statements, it will be seen that while the Company's supercargoes were informing the Directors that the woollens imported by the Americans were confined to the consumption of Canton, exposed to 'severe scrutiny,' and 'viewed with great suspicion,' they amounted in value to no less than 161,269*l.*, in addition to their other importations. Now, recollecting for a moment that Canton is situated at the southern extremity of the empire, re-

* 'The particular part for which the goods are destined in shipments for countries within the limits of the East India Company's Charter, not being exactly defined in the official records of the Customs, it is not practicable to state the amount of exports to Canton in particular; but, from the best information that could be obtained, it is presumed that the whole of the above goods were intended for that port, and were made in shipping of the United States of America.

(Signed)

WILLIAM IRVING,
Inspector General of Imports and
Exports of Great Britain.

'Custom House, London, May 25, 1820.'

moved only twenty-three degrees from the equator, and consequently exposed to intense heat during the greater part of the year, we beg to ask, if this fact alone be not demonstrative of the falsehood of the Company's statements, and of the fitness of the Chinese market as a vent for British woollen manufactures? The truth is, that the supercargoes at Canton (with few exceptions) know no more about the interior of China than the Cockney who has never trodden on the green-sward, or slept beyond the sound of Bow bell. Mewed up at a distance of 1,100 miles from the capital, their communications are confined to the merchants of the Hong, who have precisely the same inducements to defraud the Chinese as the East India Company to impose upon the people of England. Taking their cue from their employers at home, the officers of the factory know exactly what sort of advices are approved in Leadenhall-street; they are well aware of the utter indifference with which the Directors regard a rise or fall in the demand for British manufactures, and sufficiently sagacious to discover that the most alarming evil to be apprehended from American encroachment is the death-blow which it inflicts on the monopoly of the Honourable Company.

Of the two, we would rather that the free trade of America should prosper than that the selfish system of exclusion should prevail. We look upon the traffic of our transatlantic rivals as the prize which they have gained by the enterprise and intrepidity of their mercantile character: we feel that had we been unfettered by the chains of prohibition we should have passed them in the gainful race; and we doubt not, that when the embarrassments of the Charter are removed, they will find in the free mariners of Great Britain more effective and more formidable competitors than those to whom they have hitherto been opposed.

The following is a statement of the American imports to Canton during the seasons of 1823-24, 1824-25, and 1825-26, beginning 1st July and ending the 30th of June; taken from the records of the American consulate at Canton:

	1823-24.	1824-25.	1825-26.
Number of Vessels.....	34.....	43.....	42.....
Spanish dollars.....	4,096,100.....	6,524,500.....	5,725,000.....
Ginseng.....	427 peculs.....	6,039.....	3,357.....
Quicksilver.....	8,210.....	6,452.....	3,738.....
Lead.....	3,610.....	5,912.....	19,666.....
Iron.....	10,044.....	13,459.....	3,441.....
Copper.....	3,144.....	994.....	1,509.....
Skins, Land Otter.....	10,855 pieces.....	18,532.....	14,883.....
Do. Seal.....	12,909.....	52,043.....	32,521.....
Do. Fox.....	17,986.....	19,477.....	10,108.....
Do. Rabbit.....	100.....	6,267.....	1,010.....
Do. Beaver.....	4,588.....	2,532.....	4,886.....
Cochineal.....	160 peculs.....	157.....	255.....
Sandal-wood.....	3,404.....	7,483.....	3,097.....
Beche de Mer.....	185.....	29.....	186.....
Camblets.....	6,362 pieces.....	4,388.....	4,290.....

	1823-24.	1824-25.	1825-26.
Cloths.....	7,791.....	10,257.....	12,067
Long-Ells.....	20,796.....	7,842.....	10,620
Handkerchiefs.....	6,807.....	27,123.....	31,694
Shirtings.....	—.....	7,612.....	13,694
Cambrics.....	1,000.....	3,250.....	8,288
Candles.....	135 peculs.....	63.....	72
Rice and Paddy.....	—.....	18,927.....	49,993
Chintz.....	6,770 pieces.....	4,161.....	7,376
Cotton.....	1,070 bales.....	1,575.....	195
Tortoise-shell.....	37 peculs.....	24.....	16
Tin.....	2,350 boxes.....	100.....	451
Tobacco.....	1,082 peculs.....	72.....	16
Wine.....	849 cases.....	705.....	278
Rope.....	250 peculs*.....	69.....	265
Canvass.....	87.....	—.....	15
Various articles.....	—.....	—.....	9,000

From this specification of American imports at Canton, a more correct estimate may be formed of the general course and prospects of that trade than from the most laboured and lengthened description. In examining the items of which it is composed, the attention of our readers will be mainly directed to those articles which are the produce of British industry. It will be seen that, without any very sensible decrease in the importations of furs, which, on account of their superior beauty, will always be in request among the higher orders of Chinese, the trade in camblets, cloths, long-ells, handkerchiefs, shirtings, cambric, &c., exhibits all the symptoms of steady and durable prosperity. Now, at that prosperity we should be the last to direct an envious glance, if we were allowed to meet the Americans on the fair ground of unfettered competition; but we confess that it does hurt and mortify our self-love to think, that whatever advantages we have obtained by the skill of our artisans and the excellence of our machinery should be converted to our detriment and loss; that engines for our destruction should be selected from our own magazines; and that, supplying, during the infancy of American manufactures, the wants of their Asiatic correspondents, we should enable them to pre-occupy a branch of commerce of which the materials will, ere long, be furnished by their own looms. Disguise it as we may, the time is not far distant, when the inhabitants of the islands of the Eastern Archipelago, China, and Cochin China, will be clothed in American manufactures. The Government of the Netherlands may contest the superiority for a time at the ports of Java; but, unless the British Legislature interfere, all hope of effectual struggle on the

* *Gross weights in use at Canton.*

	lb.	oz.	dr.
1 Tale weighs.....	0	0	19.75 avoirdupoise.
16 Tales..... 1 Catty.....	1	3	12
100 Catties..... 1 Pecul....	133	5	5.28

part of England will vanish long before the Charter has expired. In the Report presented last year to the Congress by the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, the policy of America is plainly and intelligibly developed. 'The complete establishment,' says he, * 'of American manufactures in wool, cotton, iron, and hemp, is believed to be of very high moment to the nation. All the principal raw materials are at hand, or could be commanded. The skill for imparting excellence to them would come at the proper time. There would be no want of labour, to which an abundant water power, as well as artificial machinery, would every where be lending its assistance. Capital would be found for investment in them. If their establishment, by the immediate protection of the laws should at first raise the cost of the articles, and for a succession of years keep it up, a true forecast, looking to the future rather than adapting all its calculations to the existing hour, would not hesitate to embrace the protecting policy. Manufactures of fine cottons, of woollens of all descriptions, of iron articles, and of those from hemp, have already arrived at a point in the United States justifying the conclusion, that some additional encouragement from Congress is alone wanting to fix them upon lasting and profitable foundations.

'There is the strongest reason, from past experience, to feel assured, that American industry and resources, stimulated into full competition, will supply the commodities cheaper in price, as well as better in quality, than they have heretofore come to us from other countries. As regards cotton articles, such is the exuberance of the raw material in the United States, that it cannot be assuming too much to suppose that the day is not remote when they will largely supply other countries of the world with these fabrics. Already they have begun to do so to some extent with those of the coarser species. European science, applied to the manufacturing arts, has indeed returned to India, in the manufactured state, the native cotton of India; but it will be the effect of our own policy if a similar traffic be long permitted to go on between Europe and the United States. That the latter will continue, under all circumstances, to supply Europe with a full portion of raw cotton, cannot be doubted, from the present and growing state of that manufacture in Europe. That they might also be enabled, by the policy recommended, to vie with any nation in sending to the markets of Europe articles manufactured from this material, is an opinion which is believed to rest upon no exaggerated estimate of their manufacturing ability, however dormant it may be in reference to such a result now. That this invaluable raw material, but thirty years ago

* American Papers, p. 130, presented to the House of Commons, 25th July, 1825.

scarcely known to our fields any more than to the British loom, is destined to draw out a far greater portion of the productive labour of this country than it has yet put in action, and mark an era in its manufacturing, as it has already done in its agricultural riches, is an anticipation which rational calculations of the future may justify. What is said of our cotton manufactures, may, it is believed, be said with scarcely less confidence eventually, though perhaps not immediately, of those of wool. The latter, from being more complicated in their whole process, and more difficult and costly in the skill necessary to their elaboration, naturally require more time to be reared into perfection. They claim, on this account, and claim the more imperiously, the immediate and decisive succour of the laws.'

So far the American Secretary. While our Ministers are threatening to furnish Manchester and Glasgow with Indian raw cotton, the Americans contemplate the supply of our shops with cotton manufactures! Are we not warranted, then, in the belief that the trade which they carry on in British goods with the people of Asia is merely *provisional*, seeing that they look forward to the supply of a much more difficult and fastidious market? It is idle to conceal from ourselves the fact, which presses upon us on every side, that unless we speedily emancipate ourselves from the fetters by which our commerce with the Eastern World is restrained, to us all the advantages derivable from that rich field of mercantile speculation are lost for ever. We may, to be sure, now and then receive an order from New York to supply, for some wealthy mandarin, an ear-ring, a bracelet, a smelling-bottle, or a clock; but the manufactures on which the comfort of our people, our commercial power, and financial prosperity depend, will be unknown beyond the Cape of Good Hope. Surely, then, we are not unreasonable or importunate when we implore the merchants and manufacturers of England to look to this in time, to exert every nerve to prevent the continuance of an odious and iniquitous system,—a monopoly which, without producing the slightest good to any fraction of the King's subjects, detracts from the enjoyments, and cripples the resources of all, which, by encouraging foreign industry, and depressing our own, feeds and invigorates the competition of rival states, and contributes, more than any other cause, to dissipate the wealth and impair the prosperity of the empire.

COMPARATIVE ESTIMATES OF THE SURFACE AND POPULATION OF THE VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE GLOBE.

[The following is the commencement of a series of Articles, which is intended to be followed up in 'The Oriental Herald,' by a Foreign Gentleman of great talent and research: and as he purposes to found all his reasonings upon actual statistical reports, the value of such investigations, ably and impartially conducted, cannot fail to be very great, and their interest and utility universally felt.]

No. I.

'Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth:' such was the command of the omnipotent Creator to the first man and woman; and the injunction was accompanied by adequate means to fulfil it. 'And men began to multiply on the face of the earth; for they had dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowls of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth.' Thus, one of the advantages given to man was that of being omnivorous, or capable of subsisting upon an infinite variety of animal and vegetable productions; whilst, by another special privilege, he was so constituted that he could live, propagate, and multiply, almost equally well in every climate of the globe. In being thus capacitated to inhabit every part of the earth, and to convert into food so great a multiplicity of substances, our species would seem, at first sight, to have been exempted from every impediment to their unlimited increase; inasmuch as man could accommodate himself to almost every variety of circumstances, and adapt circumstances to his situation. There are, however, three principal stages in social life, by which the propagation of mankind is more or less checked, and population limited. In the least civilised state, the savage or hunter, living on the spontaneous products of the earth, requires about a dozen times more territory to supply him with food than the shepherd; consequently, in an equal extent of country, the population of a savage community must be twelve times less than that of a pastoral people. And, therefore, when a savage population has increased so far as to exceed the proportion of the subsistence spontaneously supplied by nature, their tribes are driven by necessity to resort to wars of extermination among themselves, and thus to reduce from time to time their extra-population to their meagre means of subsistence; which circumstance is, no doubt, the reason why anthropophagi are frequently found in this unhappy and brutalized state of society. The pastoral life offers to the shepherd community a better, more abundant, and less precarious supply of food, in the herds of domesticated animals which they rear. Yet the feeding of flocks and herds also requires an extensive territory, and frequent change of pasturage; so that a community of herdsmen must necessarily occupy a much larger proportion of soil than an agricultural society, and can only reach a

twelfth part of the population of the latter in a country of similiar extent. When they increase beyond the resources for subsistence available in their erratic state, the surplus of their population are obliged to emigrate; and they thus send abroad warlike colonies, well characterised by the name of *Sacred Springs* among the pastoral aborigines of Italy. Thus, the Sabines were a 'Sacred Spring' of the Umbrians, the Samnites of the Sabines, the Lucanians of the Samnites, &c.

In the mere pastoral state, we perceive that it is nature alone, producing spontaneously food for the living creatures of the earth, that supplies provision for the shepherd. It is equally obvious, that **unassisted** nature directly furnishes subsistence to the savage. It is only in the more advanced stage of society that man combines and improves the gifts of nature, and obtains all the supplies necessary for his wants. And, as the labour of a few husbandmen is sufficient to maintain many families, and to enable them to procure those means of subsistence by which many members of the commonwealth find leisure to cultivate the various handicraft trades, and to acquire a knowledge of the arts and sciences, the agricultural state is obviously that which is most favourable to human propagation. In this condition, mankind being better fed, clothed and lodged,—their wars, incited by a spirit of ambition, less destructive than those that are merely predatory,—and their attention to the productions of the earth supplying them with cures for diseases, or preventives for those which ordinarily prevail,—they are consequently placed in the most favourable situation for obeying the divine command to 'multiply and replenish the earth.'

The highest step in the progress of civilised life is the commercial state. Affording leisure for the artisan, it improves and vivifies every thing at home; commanding subsistence from abroad, it pursues those schemes of adventurous speculation which a spirit of commercial enterprise opens; it establishes the beneficial relations which necessarily grow out of that spirit; imparts new means for developing the industry of the country; increases the general abundance, at the same time that it augments the wealth of individuals; and finally yields resources for the support and useful activity of a dense population. What is effected by commerce at large, and by the reciprocal interchange of commodities between nations, is produced on a smaller scale by the towns and cities of a civilised country. In this concentrated union of many interests, the towns attracting fresh citizens from the country, and demanding a constant supply of provisions, afford a ready market for the surplus productions of the agriculturist, as well as opportunities of employment for the superabundant population of the vicinity. Hence, the means of industry are incessantly augmented, and the propagation of inhabitants constantly increased. Accordingly, we see that population is generally more abundant round the towns than at a distance, and denser near the great cities than in the neighbourhood of the smaller ones. In

this manner, the towns keep in constant requisition the productions of agriculture, and call more rapidly into existence the population of the country ; and, to crown all, foreign traffic and commercial intercourse come in to increase the general industry and population.

With these two powerful agents, (agriculture and commerce,) population and subsistence advance, hand-in-hand, in rapid ratio. Indifferent almost to the natural fertility of the soil, (a requisite not always the most important,) unfruitful countries have been enabled by human perseverance and industry, not only to maintain a great number of inhabitants, but even to export provisions. It is, however, more easy to perceive the actual effects of these two agents than to appreciate the extent of their influence.

It is very difficult to determine the limits to which population is restricted in each of the *THREE* stages of society previously described, because the laws influencing the propagation of mankind have been almost as much concealed from our view in their social as in their physical operation. As, however, the one is more accessible to investigation than the other, we shall collect some facts and materials by which this important object may be first illustrated, and afterwards reduced into rules of arithmetical calculation. Our researches will commence by instituting a comparative estimate between the *area* and the *population* of countries whose statistics have been fully detailed or made known to us. These being properly ascertained, by reducing the number of persons to the square mile, we shall arrive at a standard by which to determine the unknown population of analogous regions. The first object will be to ascertain the superficial extent and the number of inhabitants of those countries in which these points have been precisely determined, and from these data to fix, as a proportionate number, the comparative amount of persons to the square mile. To check as well as to elucidate and exemplify these calculations, it will be necessary to reduce the square miles into their corresponding number of acres, and then to determine what is the proportionate number of acres to each inhabitant. With these data, we shall find out the proportions existing between the *area* and the *population* in most of the countries of the globe ; and, by analogical comparisons with territories of which we have no statistical returns, but which possess a certain similarity in circumstances and situation to those of which the statistics are known, we shall be able to obtain approximate estimates on which the probable number of their inhabitants may be calculated ; and thus solve many problems in population hitherto unattempted, or, if attempted, deduced from suppositious inferences, or facts not sufficiently authenticated. The same comparative method will offer facilities by which to judge of the accuracy of ancient and modern records, or to determine what is within or beyond the reach of the propagating power of human society. The following table, illustrated by explanatory details, will exhibit more distinctly the advantages of this mode of calculation.

Comparative Population and Area of all the Countries of the Globe.

Countries and Parts of the Globe.	Number of Acres.	Area in square miles.	Number of Inhabitants.	Persons to the square mile.	Acres to each Person.
Russian Tartary . . .	1,952,000,000	3,050,000	3,000,000	1	651
Independent Tartary .	384,000,000	600,000	3,000,000	5	128
Chinese Tartary . . .	531,200,000	830,000	8,000,000	9½	66
China Proper	832,000,000	1,300,000	160,000,000	123	5 1-25
Indo-China	192,000,000	300,000	9,000,000	30	21
Japan Islands	88,320,000	138,000	17,000,000	123	5
Indian Islands	321,920,000	503,000	15,000,000	30	21
Birman Empire	286,720,000	448,000	18,000,000	41	16
Hindustan	714,240,000	1,116,000	110,000,000	100	6
Persia and Afghanistan	512,000,000	800,000	14,000,000	18	39
Turkey in Asia	294,400,000	460,000	12,000,000	26	24
Palestine	5,120,000	8,000	200,000	25	25½
Arabia	448,000,000	700,000	3,500,000	5	127
Asia—Total	6,521,920,000	10,253,000	372,700,000	37	18
Egypt	92,688,000	141,700	2,500,000	18	37
Ditto (cultivated part)	10,752,000	16,800	2,500,000	150	4
Abyssinia	256,000,000	400,000	7,000,000	18	36
S.W. and Central Africa	4,352,000,000	6,800,000	34,000,000	5	128
African Islands	128,000,000	200,000	4,000,000	20	32
Barbary	357,632,000	558,800	15,000,000	27	24
Africa—Total	5,186,320,000	8,100,500	62,500,000	8	83
Turkey in Europe . . .	139,472,000	202,300	12,000,000	60	12
Italy	75,520,000	118,000	20,000,000	170	4
Spanish Peninsula . . .	116,480,000	182,000	14,600,000	80	8
France	103,040,000	161,000	30,000,000	190	3½
British Islands	71,264,027	111,363	21,200,000	191	3½
Netherlands, &c. . . .	22,400,000	35,000	7,000,000	201	3
Switzerland	11,955,200	18,680	1,800,000	100	6½
Germany	179,200,000	280,000	40,000,000	150	4½
Russia in Europe . . .	1,152,000,000	1,800,000	52,000,000	29	22
Scandinavia	245,120,000	383,000	6,000,000	16	41
Europe—Total	2,105,096,027	3,271,663	204,600,000	63	10 1-20
Northern America . .	1,072,960,000	1,676,500	140,000	0 1-12	7620
British North America	1,600,000,000	2,500,000	600,000	0¼	2700
United States	1,280,320,000	2,000,500	10,500,000	5	123
Mexico and Guatemala.	711,040,000	1,111,000	8,500,000	8	84
West India Islands . .	64,000,000	100,000	2,500,000	25	26
Columbia and Quito . .	704,000,000	1,100,000	2,800,000	2¼	252
Peru	317,760,000	496,500	1,400,000	3	227
Chili	109,760,000	171,500	1,100,000	6½	100
Buenos Ayres	973,440,000	1,521,000	2,300,000	1¾	423
Brazil	1,920,000,000	3,000,000	4,000,000	1¼	480
Southern America . . .	352,000,000	550,000	1,400,000	2½	252
America—Total	9,105,280,000	14,227,000	35,240,000	2½	251
Polynesia	2,688,000,000	4,200,000	8,400,000	2	320
Grand Total	25,606,616,027	40,052,163	683,440,000	17	37

The extensive region, called Siberia, or Russian Tartary, is very thinly peopled. The Russian records attribute to it little more than two millions of inhabitants; but, as many wandering tribes and isolated societies are not comprised in these, we are authorised to raise the population to three millions, which, compared to the area, gives the ratio of *one inhabitant to the square mile, being six hundred and fifty acres to each person.* We shall find hereafter that *this proportion is about the common standard of the pastoral state.*

Independent Tartary has always been the haunt of barbarian hordes. Driven from the East by other wanderers, they accumulated in these regions, till necessity compelled them to become the invaders of neighbouring countries, into which they penetrated and successively occupied.

The Arabians, at an early period, exchanging, to a considerable extent, their pastoral state for a more sedentary life, their present barren country displayed, in several districts, lines of the most delightful gardens, which became very populous and thickly inhabited; but, since their retrogression to the nomadic state, these beautiful spots have been overspread by the sands of the desert, or have been converted into a wild range of unproductive pasturage. Recent travellers assign to this country only three millions of semi-barbarous inhabitants, who are in the proportion of five persons to a square mile,—being 123 acres for each individual.

Chinese Tartary is tolerably populous, particularly in Manchou, Thibet, and Little Bocharia. The pastoral state prevails only in Mangolia and the great Desert of Cobi. In computing the whole together, we find about ten persons to the square mile. At the rate of sixty-six acres to each individual, there are eight millions of inhabitants.

The numerous estimates respecting the population of China vary from fifty millions to the mystical number of three hundred and thirty-three. The great imperial map of the Celestial Empire, published in the year 1790, fixes, however, the population of China Proper at one hundred and forty-three millions of taxable persons, to whom may be added seven millions of untaxable inhabitants. These will make, altogether, one hundred and fifty millions of persons, or (as the Chinese records express it) of *mouths*; for such is the phraseology used, in place of our customary enumeration of the number of *souls* comprised in a census of the people. If we add to this amount ten millions more for the islands in the Chinese Seas and the Peninsula of Corea, which gives, together, the ratio of 123 inhabitants to a square mile, or a little more than five acres to each person, the boasted population of China will be found to be inferior to that of many European states, inferior to that of Germany, and even to that of Modern Egypt. We shall see hereafter that this country, whose agricultural produce for the support of

human life is almost exclusively rice, is capable of maintaining not only the high population which has been heretofore ascribed to it, but one still more numerous; nor would its inhabitants live in the continual dread of famine, or of pestilence, more commonly the attendants of ill-peopled and ill-cultivated countries, rather than of those supporting a dense and industrious population.

The want of statistical accounts supplying details of the population of the Indo-Chinese kingdoms of Tonquin, Cochin-China, Laos, and Cambodia, will oblige us to assume for them a ratio similar to that of the Indian Islands in their neighbourhood. This rate being known to be that of thirty persons to the square mile, or twenty-one acres to each individual, would give a population of nine millions for those dependencies.

The population of the Japanese islands has been the subject of much diversity of opinion; but, as no country resembles China so much in its political institutions and the manners and habits of its people as those islands, to none can we more satisfactorily apply that proximate proportion suggested by strong points of analogy in the social features and characters of a similar people. The same proportionate number of inhabitants to the square mile, or of acres to each individual, as that of China, would fix seventeen millions as the population of Japan.

With regard to the Indian Archipelago, the Dutch reports having stated, on some few satisfactory data, the number of inhabitants on some of the islands, these statements, with proper allowances, will serve for the whole. Thus we are enabled to establish throughout these islands, collectively, the proportion of thirty persons to a square mile, or twenty-one acres to each inhabitant. This will give the number of fifteen millions of souls for the whole Indian Archipelago.

The Birman empire is more thickly inhabited. Recent facts, derived from the social condition of its people, would determine us to fix the proportion at forty-one persons to the square mile, or at sixteen acres to each inhabitant,—giving a numerical population of eighteen millions of souls.

Hindoostan is stated to possess one hundred millions of Hindoos, and ten millions of Mohammedans, or 100 persons to the square mile, being at the rate of six acres to each individual;—a slender allotment for such a rich and fertile country, being only the same proportion as that presented by the census of the mountainous district of Switzerland.

In Persia, Candahar, and Afghanistan, arid deserts, increasing with the decrease of the population thinned by a long succession of disturbing causes, exhibit a proportion which reduces its inhabitants to eighteen persons in the square mile; being an allowance of thirty-nine acres to each person, or a total of fourteen millions of souls.

Turkey in Asia, a country the long-continued prey of the worst possible Government, possesses about the same proportions as Persia, in its eastern provinces; but towards the west, particularly in Natolia, it is much more populous. The accounts which recommend themselves by the most approved authority, give to the whole a population of about twelve millions, or twenty-six persons to a square mile, being twenty-four acres to each inhabitant.

Palestine, from one of the most populous countries in the world, has been reduced to the same low proportion,—an aggregate of only about two hundred thousand inhabitants.

We should be led to reduce Arabia to the rate of the pastoral condition of society, if its sandy region, surrounded by a fertile border, and gemmed with a few green oases in which are some towns and many sedentary tribes, did not, according to the best authorities, compel us to fix the number of inhabitants at the rate of five persons to the square mile.

Thus we find in all Asia a population of about three hundred and seventy-two millions and a half of souls, being thirty-seven persons to the square mile, or eighteen acres to each inhabitant.

In Africa, beginning with Egypt, we find a country, comprising a valley of the greatest fertility, compressed between arid and parched deserts,—presenting for the whole area a proportion of about eighteen persons to the square mile; being, in all, a population of about two millions and a half. If, however, we direct our attention to the habitable and cultivated parts exclusively, the ratio will be found to be 150 inhabitants to the square mile, giving the sum of four acres to each individual,—a rate superior to the best peopled countries of Asia, but greatly inferior to that of its ancient populousness.

Abyssinia, with its immense mountains and fertile valleys, has a mixed population of Christians and barbarians; but it cannot be estimated higher than eighteen persons to the square mile, or thirty-six acres to each individual. The result of this calculation will give about seven millions of inhabitants.

No part of the world resembles Arabia so much as the Southern, Western, and Central regions of Africa, taken collectively. This resemblance, added to some partial statements, will determine the adoption of the same ratio of five persons to the square mile, or 123 acres to each inhabitant, giving a suppositious population of thirty-four millions.

The African islands, far better known to us and much more densely peopled than the continent, have been estimated to possess four millions of inhabitants, or twenty persons to the square mile; being at the rate of thirty-two acres to each individual.

In the States of Barbary, the most probable relations have assigned, at this present time, to the stretch of shore understood by this peculiar appellation, fifteen millions of inhabitants, being twenty-

seven persons to the square mile, or an allowance of twenty-four acres to each person; a result which gives only half the number of inhabitants that peopled the same countries when under the dominion of the Romans.

By these estimates, the whole of Africa would seem to possess a population of sixty-two millions and a half. Eight persons would, therefore, be the average to the square mile, or eighty-three acres the allotment for each individual;—a very scanty proportion, not attributable to the aridity of the soil only, since large tracts are extremely fertile, but to the barbarism of the inhabitants, and the waste of life created by the slave-trade.

The population of Turkey in Europe is generally estimated at twelve millions. This would give the proportion of sixty inhabitants to a square mile, being twelve acres for each person,—a very depopulated condition for one of the finest countries in the world, anciently embellished with splendid cities, and inhabited by the most intelligent race of the then known families of the earth.

Contrary to what we perceive to be the result in regard to Greece, modern Italy possesses a higher rate of population than in the most prosperous period of the Roman empire. In the time of Pliny, it was stated to contain fourteen millions of souls: it has now reached the number of twenty millions of inhabitants, which would be 170 persons to the square mile, or four acres to each individual.

The Spanish Peninsula is computed to contain fourteen millions and a half of inhabitants; that is, eighty persons to the square mile, or eight acres for the subsistence of each. Under the Moors, the population of Spain was double the present amount, it being then one of the most industrious and civilised countries of the middle ages.

France has attained a population of thirty millions of souls, being 190 persons to the square mile, or three and a half acres to each inhabitant. The increase, however, was very slow, since, in the time of Cæsar, there were at least six millions of souls in Gaul.

Great Britain and Ireland possess collectively higher proportions, with a population of upwards of twenty-one millions; but, individually, we shall perceive by some after analyses, that England and Ireland have acquired a higher rate, a rate even greater than that of the Netherlands and Belgic-Prussia with their 201 inhabitants to the square mile, or three acres to each person,—proportions produced by a population of seven millions in a territorial space comparatively extremely limited in its dimensions.

The number of inhabitants in Switzerland is not so great by half, since it does not reach two millions, with 100 persons to the square mile, or six and a half acres to each individual.

The whole of Germany is peopled by about forty millions of souls, the ratio being one hundred and fifty persons to the square mile, or four and a half acres to each inhabitant.

Russia in Europe is so thinly inhabited, that, with a population of fifty-two millions, there is scarcely the proportion of twenty-nine persons to the square mile, being but one individual to twenty-two acres.

Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, considered collectively, are yet more thinly inhabited; with a population of six millions, the ratio is reduced to sixteen persons to the square mile, or one individual to forty-one acres.

According to the foregoing analysis, the whole population of Europe will be found to be two hundred and four millions and a half; sixty-three persons being assigned to the square mile, or a little more than ten acres being apportioned to each inhabitant,—a much more compact population than that found in Asia at this present; or perhaps at any previous, time, and the most dense ratio of any of the five parts of the globe.

Northern America is reduced to the lowest ratio of human society. Computed at a rate twelve times less than that of the pastoral state, it may serve as the standard of savage life, a condition of society which predominates over the whole extent of this part of the American continent. On this basis, the fractional calculus of one-twelfth part of an individual may be allowed to the square mile, or 7,620 acres apportioned to each person. This would give a population of 140,000 savages,—an estimate probably not far from the truth.

British North America contains a population of about 600,000 souls, being one-fourth of an individual to the square mile, or 2,700 acres to each inhabitant.

The fast increasing population of the United States, exceeding at the present time ten millions and a half of inhabitants, has not yet surpassed in its proportion to the territorial extent the low rate of Africa and Arabia, since there are only five persons to the square mile, or one inhabitant for the subsistence afforded by 123 acres.

In the new republics of Mexico and Guatemala, the number of inhabitants has been asserted to be eight millions and a half. The ratio to the area would be eight persons to the square mile, or eighty-four acres to each individual.

The West India islands, which, according to the early Spanish historians, swarmed with population, still possess a greater share of inhabitants than any equal extent of territory in the southern division of the American continent, containing two millions and a half of inhabitants, they present a rate of twenty-five persons to the square mile, or a division of twenty-six acres to each individual.

In South America, the independent states of Columbia and Quito, with a population of two millions eight hundred thousand souls,
400.

have, over the wide extent of surface comprised in these territories, only a fraction more than two inhabitants to the square mile, being one person to 252 acres.

Peru possesses nearly one million and a half of inhabitants : this would be three persons to a square mile, or 227 acres for each individual.

Chili has a population of 1,100,000 souls ; being six persons to the square mile, or 100 acres for every individual within its territory.

The number of inhabitants in the States of La Plata, or Buenos Ayres, being 2,300,000, would present the ratio of less than two persons to the square mile, or 423 acres for every individual.

The empire of Brazil has four millions of souls ; which would be one and one-fourth person to the square mile, or about one individual to 490 acres.

The population of the other parts of South America taken collectively, as Paraguay and the southern territories of the Continent, may be computed at the rate of two and a half persons to the square mile, or 252 acres to each inhabitant ; the result being an aggregate of 1,400,000 souls.

According to the foregoing statements, the whole Continent of America, to the north and south, presents an aggregate of thirty-five millions of inhabitants ; the proportion to the area being as two and a half persons to the square mile, or about 251 acres for the subsistence of each individual. The result of this review is, that the new Continent is by far more thinly inhabited than the Old World. Its native Indians, in their habits of social life, are still under the influence of the severities and privations incident to the condition of their state of savage existence ; but, placed amid regions the most diversified in climate, amid plains and mountains and valleys inexhaustibly fertile, wandering in a country replenished by magnificent streams and mighty lakes, and commanding never-failing resources for the industry of a dense population, what a theatre does it lay open for the propagation of the species, and for the improvement and civilisation of man !

It is very difficult to ascertain the area, and still more difficult to collect the multiplicity of details, by which alone the population of the innumerable islands comprised under the designation of Polynesia can be estimated. In such an intricate task there is only one method of proceeding in the inquiry, and that is by approximation. First, having determined from geographical data the extent of New Holland and the great islands, by making allowances for the small ones we obtain an area for the comparison of the whole. Secondly, collecting the numerous relations of these detached spots, irreconcilable as they may seem one with the other, we acquire certain characteristic facts respecting the population by which to determine their social condition. By these it would appear that the small

islands are proportionally the most populous; the larger ones, New Holland in particular, being but very thinly inhabited. After mature consideration, we shall be led to form this conclusion, that these scattered isles, taken collectively, are not better peopled than the States of Columbia or Buenos Ayres. Fixing, then, the proportion between the superficial area and the population at the rate of two inhabitants to the square mile, or at 320 acres for each person, the result would present a population of 8,000,000 of souls for Polynesia.

In summing up the whole of the preceding details, we arrive at these statistical facts:—That, diffused over the terrestrial globe, there are twenty-five thousand and a half millions of acres of land; that there are forty millions of square miles, and six hundred and eighty-three millions and a half of inhabitants; being only seventeen persons to the square mile, or one individual to thirty-seven acres: *That the abundance of the land assigned to each person is indicative of the penury of the people, in any given district of the world, but the abundance of inhabitants comprised within a definite portion of the earth's surface is a sure test of the opulence of a country.*

These are the theorems deduced from comparative estimates of the surface and population of the various countries of the earth. These primary ideas will be extended and exemplified more at large by simple but conclusive facts, in more detailed statements, to be presented hereafter. In the present analysis we shall just remark, that seventeen inhabitants are a small proportion for a square mile of cultivable land. The fact, that so minute a number occupy so great an extent of productive space, would lead us to conclude, that, though population be generally on the increase, and though, in all probability, the aggregate results are at this present time the highest hitherto known, the present period exhibits but *the infancy of the human race*; 'for we are but of yesterday.'

G. G.

MY MOTHER.—BY MRS. BLYTHE.

My Mother! Oh, what tenderness appears
In that loved name; nurse of my infancy!
(Soothing my cries through many an anxious day,
Guide of my youth! friend of my riper years!
My Mother, well my song may be of thee,—
For thou didst lead my infant steps to God;
Strewing with Love's sweet flowers the narrow road
That leads from Time to blest Eternity.
Though now my home is distant far from thee,
And other ties are twined around my heart;
Yet thy dear image never shall depart:
Thy looks of love live in my memory;
Still I retrace them with a fond delight,—
Thou art my thought by day, my dream by night.

Jamaica, May 1826.

**COMMERCIAL DIFFERENCES, BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND
AMERICA—NEW AMERICAN TARIFF.**

NEXT to the great constitutional question on which the attention of the country is at this moment fixed, perhaps the most important and most interesting subject of Parliamentary discussion, during the present session, will be our commercial relations with foreign states. Those who have done us the honour to attend to the principles uniformly advocated in this work, will remember that, of the new system of trade, recommended by Mr. Huskisson and the lamented Canning to the notice of the Legislature, and under their auspices partially established, we have been the firm and consistent supporters. How, indeed, could it be otherwise than that we, who are engaged in a continual struggle with the great levianthan of mercantile monopolies,—to whose eyes, day after day, and every day, some fresh instance of evil resulting from impolitic restraint on trade is presented, should applaud every effort to relieve the resources of the country from the fetters in which they had been so long bound? In common with all enlightened men, we have observed, with unmingled pleasure, the general discredit into which all the arguments by which the old imposture of bounties and protecting duties was upheld have gradually fallen, and rejoiced to witness the triumph of knowledge and liberality over absurd and antiquated prejudice. We had hoped, we confess, that this atonement on the part of England, for the commercial errors of which her policy once furnished the precept and example, would have induced those nations who had copied her follies to imitate her repentance, and that the Cabinets of Europe would, on her suggestion, acknowledge the expediency of restoring commerce to its pristine state of unbounded freedom.

America never entered into our contemplation. It appeared so utterly visionary to expect from that youthful nation a premature addiction to the vices of the older states, to errors the absurdity of which is demonstrated by her own sudden rise into political and commercial importance, that we relied with complete confidence on her earnest and active co-operation. America, however, has been the first to signalize her opposition. Other nations have adhered, in ignorant obstinacy, to ancient codes of prohibition and protection; but America has chosen the very period in which we relaxed our commercial system to introduce the rigours of a new tariff.

We owe it to the people of the United States to examine with candour and moderation the avowed motive of this tortuous, but perhaps not unaccountable, policy. There may be, for aught we know, in the condition of our ancient colonies, circumstances to justify this departure from incontestable principle; and possibly our

own conduct, with relation to them, may palliate, if not excuse, the injuries of which we complain. If it should be proved on inquiry that we have done things by halves, and only partially executed the scheme which we projected, or that the influence of our exceptions is more extensive than that of our general rule, perhaps it were wiser in us to conciliate our American friends by timely concessions, than to irritate their jealousy and confirm their prejudice by hasty and ill-considered reproof.

Our readers are aware that, by the 2d article of the 'Convention of Commerce,' concluded between this Country and the United States in 1815, it was declared that 'no higher or other duties should be imposed on the importation into the United States of any articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of his Britannic Majesty's territories in Europe, than were, or should be, payable on the like articles, being the growth, produce, or manufacture of any other country.'

The intention of the contracting parties was to secure, reciprocally, stipulated advantages; and the object of this particular clause was to obtain, in the markets of the United States, a free unshackled competition for the produce and manufactures of Great Britain.

The Americans were not very long contented with the terms of this convention; and they soon displayed an astuteness in its construction which rendered nugatory some of its most important provisions. Among the articles which America has hitherto received from Europe, iron occupies a distinguished place. Russia and Sweden had long been competitors with England for its supply. The iron of Russia and of Sweden, in its passage from the state of pig-iron to that of merchant bars, almost invariably goes through the expensive and laborious process of hammering; while the greater part of our English iron is rolled by the more compendious and easy operation of machinery. Of the importance to this country of its iron trade with the United States, some estimate may be formed from the following extract of a statement of manufactured iron imported into the United States in the year 1823 :

From	IN BARS AND BOLTS.			Pig Iron.	Castings.	Value.
	Rolled.	Otherwise.	Value.			
	Cwt.	Cwt.	Dollars.	Cwt.	Cwt.	Dollars.
Russia - - -	2,003	114,013	354,614	- -	- -	- -
Sweden - - -	27,700	419,958	1,233,826	- -	- -	- -
England & Man	74,828	14,225	184,451	30,278	11,488	76,532
Scotland - -	- -	484	955	19,297	1,277	32,806

From this abstract it appears, that of English iron manufactured by rolling, 74,828 cwt. were imported into the United States, while, of hammered iron, only 14,225 cwt. were received. Now, there is not

the smallest reason to pretend that rolled iron is in any respect inferior to that which is hammered, except for the manufacture of steel, for which, even in England, the iron of the Baltic is preferred to that of Great Britain. Rolled iron is used throughout England in the most important constructions, in our manufactories, our dock-yards, and our military establishments; and the following abstract of the respective quantities of British and foreign iron employed at different times by the Navy Board, is conclusive as to the estimation in which the two species are held:

Years.	Foreign.	British.
1806	457 cwt.	1,345 cwt.
1810	289	1,668
1815	82	1,743
1820	51	1,824

The prejudice against rolled iron originated in an erroneous impression entertained by some persons in America, with respect to the process of its manufacture adopted in our English works. It had been asserted that, in rolling iron according to the practice of Great Britain, the metal was only twice heated, and so rapidly converted into bars as not to allow of its acquiring those qualities which are supposed to be imparted to it by the more tedious and laborious mode of hammering. It appears, however, on the testimony of most respectable individuals acquainted with this branch of industry, that the iron is heated no less than three times, and that such pains are taken in its preparation that it loses seven and a half cwt. per ton in the process of refinement. The truth is, that it is prepared exactly in the same manner for exportation as for domestic consumption. It is never finished by a single rolling, except at a very few works, where the metal has been previously formed by hammering. It rarely happens, indeed, that the iron-master knows, at the time of manufacturing, for which market the iron is destined; and, when he is apprised of the circumstance, a sense of his own interest, and the interest of the trade, would alone restrain him from sending an inferior manufacture to the foreign market. It is, in short, the greatest of delusions to imagine that the consumers of iron are interested in giving a preference to the process of hammering over that of rolling. 'The Baltic manufacturers have doubtless their reasons for adhering to their practice; but, so far from their deriving any claims to superiority from that circumstance, it is well known to persons familiar with the trade, that their iron would be improved by the application of the rolling machine.* The American Government, however, bent on the exclusion of English iron, and determined to evade the above recited clause of the convention for the encouragement, as it afterwards appeared, of their own manufacture, insisted on the vulgar prejudice against rolled iron, contended that it and hammered iron were not

* Vide a letter of Mr. St. Patford Canning inserted in the papers on the American Tariff.

'like articles,' and, by the exaction of a duty of 3 cents per pound thereon, effectually excluded British iron from the markets of the United States. Considerable soreness was naturally manifested by the British Government at the forced construction thus put upon the convention between the two countries; and much correspondence took place upon the subject between the Foreign Office and our American Ambassador. From the following letters, addressed to Mr. Addington by the late Mr. Canning, our readers will collect the impression which it produced in England; and, when they are informed that to repeated applications by our Minister to the Secretary of State at Washington no answer was returned, they will be enabled to form some idea of the courtesies of American diplomacy.

'To H. Addington, Esq.

SIR,

Foreign Office, March 13, 1824.

In consequence of renewed applications from the persons engaged in the iron trade of this kingdom, his Majesty's Government have again had under their consideration the difference of duty levied in the United States on rolled and hammered iron, the produce of Great Britain.

The British Government had hoped that the message sent by the President of the United States to the Congress in the year 1822, and the very strong facts and arguments repeatedly urged by Sir Charles Bagot and Mr. Stratford Canning during their several missions in America, against the existing discrimination in the duties on those articles, would have produced their just effect; but, as this, unfortunately, does not appear to have been the case, I have to instruct you to bring this business again before the American Government, and to represent to them the urgency to which the iron trade of this country continues to be exposed by this measure, and the injustice of withholding that relief, to which they in effect admitted our claim by the message of the President referred to. You will observe, that, if the principle which appears to have led the Congress to delay the repeal of this discriminating duty were admitted, it might with equal justice be applied by his Majesty's Government to the article of American cotton* imported into this country, as compared with that brought from the East Indies or South America; for the cotton of the United States, being cleaned and separated from the seeds and husks by a process requiring machinery, becomes, (if this principle is to be acted on to its fullest extent,) by parity of reasoning, as much in truth as the rolled iron, a manufactured article, when compared with the cotton of the other countries above-mentioned; this last article being imported nearly in the same state in which it is gathered, without undergoing any process of cleaning, or separating it from the seed.

* Vide 'Oriental Herald' for September 1828, p. 392.

'In pressing, therefore, the American Government to come to a conclusion on this subject, in conformity with the repeated representations addressed to them from hence, I have to request that, in addition to the very able reasoning contained in the notes of your predecessor to the American Government of the 31st of March, and 26th of November, 1821, on this subject, you will urge this argument also; and that you will apprise them, that if, contrary to our just expectation, the existing inequality of rolled and hammered iron be not removed, it must become a question for the consideration of his Majesty's Government whether, in justice to the interests of this country, it may not be expedient to act on the principle laid down by the United States themselves, by considering their cotton as a manufactured article, and subjecting it as such to a higher rate of duty than is charged on other cotton which has not been cleaned by machinery. I am, &c.

(Signed)

'GEORGE CANNING.'

We have been thus particular in the statement of these facts, because, in truth, we think the interpretation put by the Government at Washington on the clause in our favour, of the convention above cited, wholly indefensible, and because this hickering about the iron was merely preliminary to the great overt act of aggression by Congress on the trade and manufactures of this country. From the measures afterwards adopted, it must be obvious that the verbal criticism on the expression 'like duties' in the treaty of 1815, was a mere pretext for justifying a partial experiment of the preconceived system of exclusion, more fully developed in the tariffs of 1824 and 1828. In justice to the Americans, we must admit that the grounds on which these new laws were supported in Congress, are not so wholly destitute of plausibility as their positions respecting the iron trade. That the facts may be placed clearly before our readers, we request their attention to the following letters from Mr. Addington to Mr. Secretary Canning:

'To the Right Honourable George Canning, &c.

'SIR,

'Washington, March 13, 1824.

'The House of Representatives have, with little intermission, been occupied in the discussion, item by item, of the Tariff Bill, which struggles on with difficulty, and is not yet nearly arrived at its termination.

'Foreign spirits, cotton and woollen goods, iron, and many other articles of minor note, have already come in succession under consideration, many of which have provoked a discussion of from two to ten days each. Some have been carried in their original form, some modified, and some absolutely rejected.

'I lament to say that the unequal duties levied on British rolled iron are continued in the new project, of which the particular clause

relating to them has already passed the House. Having reason, however, to suppose that this was in some measure attributable to an omission on the part of the Executive to recommend the subject in a proper shape to the House, in conformity with a request to that effect made by me to the Secretary of State prior to the opening of the Session, I have thought it my duty to address a second letter to that Minister, in which I have urged the expediency of an intervention on the part of the Executive with the Senate, recommending an amendment by that body of the objectionable section, whenever the Bill shall be submitted to their consideration. I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) 'H. U. ADDINGTON.'

'To the Right Honourable George Canning, &c. &c.'

'SIR,

'Washington, April 22, 1824.

'I have the honour to inform you that the Tariff Bill, having been before the House of Representatives ten weeks, was, after a very hard struggle, carried by a majority of five voices on the 16th inst., and is at present before the Senate.

(Signed) 'H. U. ADDINGTON.'

'To the Right Honourable George Canning, &c. &c.'

'SIR,

'Washington, May 30th, 1824.

'The new tariff of duties on goods imported into the United States from foreign countries, having now passed both Houses of Congress, the lower on the 16th ult., and the upper on the 13th inst., after having engaged their attention above three months, I have the honour to enclose a copy of that document, as it has been published by authority in "The National Intelligencer;" and I now proceed to give you some account of its progress through those assemblies, as well as to present you with as clear a view as I am able, of its bearing and operation on the various component parts of this Republic.

'Those opposed to the tariff appear greatly to overbalance their adversaries in number and substance; but the advocates of it have the advantage in point of activity and the energy of feeling conferred by present distress. This is more particularly the case with the Western States, a considerable portion of whose principal proprietors having heretofore engaged largely in losing speculations, in the purchase, mostly on credit, of national bonds, find themselves at the present moment involved in a state of serious embarrassment; and, being also deprived of the war market for their produce, which they once enjoyed, as well as of the forced circulation of specie resulting from the Government expenditure in their country, they are disposed to catch at any chance which offers for the ame-

loration of their condition. This chance they consider to be held out to them, in what they call the encouragement of the home market, by the imposition of heavy duties on articles of importation from abroad; and, under this impression, they have been induced to advocate and press, with the utmost eagerness and energy, for the adoption of that system. 400

It has been opposed with no less warmth by the Southern States, who see in the establishment of it the immediate diminution and, possibly, eventual annihilation, of the market for their staple produce,—cotton. Virginia and Maryland are also affected in the same way, though to a less extent, in the market for their tobacco. In addition to these grounds of opposition, the general increase in many articles of consumption, more particularly affecting the Southern States, (especially woollen and cotton goods, as furnishing clothing for their slaves,) which must necessarily result from the additional duties imposed under the new tariff, forms also a sufficient motive for resistance to a scheme by which the ease and affluence of the proprietors will be materially disturbed.

The opposition offered by the shipping interest is bottomed on broader and more public grounds. They contend, that, as an export trade cannot exist alone, the general interest of the Republic must, in time, suffer irretrievable injury from the death-blow thus inflicted on the main, though indirect, arm of her defence, and the principal support of her national honour,—her mercantile navy.

The opponents of the bill in its original shape maintained, also, that the principal portion of the public revenue being derived from the customs, the measure proposed, by diminishing most, and annihilating a part, of those sources of receipt, would irrecoverably embarrass the national finances, and compel a recourse to a system of internal taxation or excise, to the very name of which the citizens of this Republic have, in general, an insuperable aversion.

The arguments used by the advocates of the Bill it is unnecessary that I should recapitulate in detail. Independence of foreigners, eventual increase of the revenue, an extended internal market proportional to the extension of population resulting from the encouragement of internal industry, whether agricultural or manufacturing, consolidation of the public credit, and prosperity accruing from a reliance on internal resources, have been the principal topics insisted on in the debates.

The example of Great Britain has been adduced as the main support of the arguments used on either side, both parties admitting, with equal zeal and admiration, the fact of her unrivalled prosperity, but each ascribing it to those grounds which best suited their own line of reasoning. The recent measures adopted by her for the liberalization of her external commercial system, and her emancipation from her ancient system of restriction, are pretty ge-

nerally ascribed by the advocates of the tariff to a desire to inveigle other nations into an imitation of her example, with the intention, as soon as they shall have embarked sufficiently deeply in her scheme, of turning short round upon them, and resuming, to their detriment, the old system of protection and prohibition. This scheme, they affirm, Great Britain will, by her superior means, be enabled to execute without hazard to herself.

The discussions on this question in the House of Representatives, protracted as they were, were conducted with temper and forbearance. Towards the close of them, every effort, direct and indirect, which ingenuity could devise, was resorted to for the defeat of the measure by its opponents. The majorities which, at the commencement, had been generally from twenty to thirty in favour of the several items under consideration, were, towards the conclusion, reduced to from one to twelve. A proposition for the adjournment of Congress at an early day, being an indirect attempt to arrest the further progress of the bill, was negatived by the casting vote of the Speaker. The Bill was carried to a third reading by a majority of three voices, and finally passed the Lower House by a majority of five,—almost every member of the House, sick or well, being present.

It is unnecessary that I should report in detail the progress of the Bill through the Senate; it would be little else than a repetition of that which I have already stated. Every item of note was discussed separately, and on almost all the most material heads—such as woollen and cotton stuffs, wines, foreign spirits, &c., a very material reduction was effected in the duties as at first proposed. In fact, the Bill is scarcely recognisable as the same which was originally submitted to Congress; and from one destined to the protection of internal manufacture and industry, it has, in its progress through the two Houses, dwindled down into a mere revenue Bill. It finally passed the Senate on the 13th inst. by a majority of four voices, and being returned to the Lower House for their acquiescence in the amendments introduced in it, to some of which that House objected, while they assented to the major part of them, a conference was held between a certain number of members appointed on both sides, and a compromise of differences finally acceded to, each party conceding a little to the other.

The Bill, having been since invested with the President's signature, has passed into a law. I have only to add, that, if no restrictions on the importation of foreign grain existed in Europe generally, and especially in Great Britain, I have little doubt that the tariff would never have passed through either House of Congress, since the great agricultural states, and Pennsylvania especially, the main mover of the question, would have been indifferent, if not opposed, to its enactment. I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) H. U. ADDINGTON.

By the tariff of 1824, a duty of 25 per cent. was imposed upon woollen goods when valued at or below 33½ cents. per square yard; and in the case of all superior values, 33½ ad valorem, when imported in American vessels, or in foreign vessels enjoying the same privileges. If the duties payable in England on foreign wool and the materials used in its manufacture had remained as they were when that Bill passed, these imports would have amounted to an absolute prohibition. But, soon after the news of proceedings in the Congress of 1824 reached England, the British Parliament consented to reduce the duty upon foreign wool, when imported into Great Britain, from sixpence to one penny per pound, and to reduce, likewise, the duties upon olive oil, rape seed, indigo, and logwood; by which measures, the duty imposed upon woollens imported from Great Britain into the United States, fixed by the tariff of 1824 at about 34 per cent., did not amount to a protecting duty to the manufactures of that country beyond one half of the sum contemplated by Congress.

When the effect of this judicious reduction of British duties was felt in the United States, it of course excited considerable disappointment; and several ineffectual attempts were made in the succeeding Session of Congress to enhance the scale of the American customs. It appears that the supporters and opponents of the illiberal system are so very nearly balanced, that the slightest concession on the part of England made in the years 1826-27, would, probably, have defeated the promoters of increased impositions. The interests of the various States of the Union are, when considered individually, so extremely dissimilar, the prosperity of some provinces depending on agriculture, of others on manufactures, that nothing but a strong conviction on the part of the former, that the ports of Europe, and particularly of England, were closed against their produce, would have induced them to give their votes for the prohibitory system. When we consider the very small majorities by which the measure of 1828 was passed, it is of importance to inquire into the motives by which the various interests by which it was upheld were swayed; and from this inquiry we shall not fail to be convinced that the real cause of the adoption of what is called the 'American system,' is the mischievous and impolitic protection extended by Parliament to our own agriculture. The interest of the United States, relatively to the tariff, are classed by Mr. Addington under three heads:—1. The shipping and commercial.—2. The manufacturing.—3. The agricultural.

The first, which comprises the New England States, and the Atlantic Coast, are opposed to it on the ground of the injury likely to result from it to the foreign trade and navigation of the country. The second, comprising the States of New York, Jersey, parts of the Eastern and Western States, and of Pennsylvania, are decided in its favour, in the hope that it will secure to their manufactures

the monopoly of the home market. The third, or agricultural interest, is divided in sentiment. That portion which is opposed to the tariff, includes part of Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, and Louisiana, where the principal growers of cotton, rice, tobacco, &c., calculated for the foreign market, reside. This interest is extremely powerful in Congress; and were it not for the support of the grain growers of Pennsylvania, New York, the Western States, and part of New England, its opposition would certainly have frustrated the scheme of the manufacturers. But the grain growers entertain just and reasonable discontent at the policy of England, and complain with much bitterness of the laws which exclude their produce from our markets. There can be no doubt that had our corn laws been relaxed, the tariff of 1828 would never have passed; and we fear there is no chance of its repeal, until the British Legislature consents to reconsider their provisions. We cannot fairly expect from foreign nations terms of intercourse which we are not willing to concede; or hope for unrestrained admission to the markets of America, while we refuse to take the only commodities she can give us in return. Before, therefore, we condemn the determination of Congress, it would be prudent to inquire how far it may be justly imputable to ourselves. We make no doubt that when our own practice is free from those perverse restrictions which we so resolutely denounce elsewhere, America will again rank among the supporters of free trade.

TO MYRRHA.

YOUNG, beautiful, and fair, my Myrrha, thou
 Wer't idol to control a sophist's knee;
 And shall not I, the warm and passionate, bow
 My soul's intensity to worship thee?
 I've stood, in rapture, gazing on thy face,
 Where all bright thoughts were mirror'd beauteously,
 Until my very passion seemed to be
 A part of my life's being. While the grace
 And light of beauty mantled thy pale brow,
 How often, 'neath fair Dian's throne of stars,
 I've wished to bring us to those glittering spheres,
 And find some isle, we know not of below;
 Where, with thee, Myrrha, all life's sunny hours
 Should glide in odours through a rosy path of flowers!

D. S. L.

VOYAGE ON THE NILE, FROM CAIRO TO THE CATARACTS

No. II.

*Floating Rafts—Excessive Heat—Village Manners—Arab Barber
—Pyramid of Meidoun.*

Near Memphis, Oct. 31.

WE continued in the immediate vicinity of the banks of the river nearest to Memphis, on the western side of the Nile, during the greater part of the night; but, making some little progress on the stream as the dawn of the morning opened, we found ourselves at sun-rise near El Ouedi, on the eastern bank, where, the wind again forsaking us, we were obliged to moor. During our stay here, we saw several herds of oxen, cows, and buffaloes, driven across the river, through which they swam to the small islands so numerous scattered throughout the centre of its stream. These islands, covered by the waters of the inundation when at their greatest height, are no sooner left dry than they become overspread with a rich bed of verdure. The germs of vegetation supposed to be there deposited in the mud washed by the Nile from Abyssinian valleys, the richness of its own black loam, and the fertilising warmth of an African sun, produce on a surface which, but three or four days before, was covered with a sheet of water, a carpet of the most beautiful green that can be conceived; deriving, perhaps, an additional brilliance of hue from a contrast with the yellow dulness of its surrounding element, the dark soil of its muddy banks, the sterile aspect of those barren sands which rise on every side to the view, and the deep azure of the unclouded sky that beams on all.

Some large rafts of jars from Kenh also floated down the river, some of which were from 150 to 200 feet long, formed altogether of the jars themselves, secured together by lashings, and containing to the number of from three to five thousand of them each, being managed with simple oars by six or eight men. These, with small floats on hollowed gourds or calabashes supporting fishermen in the stream, the immense variety of birds that flew about us, and the creaking of the Persian wheels by which the peasants raise the water for the irrigation of their lands, were the only objects whose sounds broke the stillness of the calm that yet reigned.

Although the Nile, on each side of the Delta, is almost constantly swept by a strong northern breeze from the Mediterranean, yet, from all that we could learn, the same state of things did not exist so generally above, or to the southward of the Pyramids, for which M. De Pauw has, perhaps, well accounted when he says, 'It should be observed that the two chains of mountains bordering Egypt on both sides, from the cataracts of the Nile as far as Cairo, form a

long, deep, and narrow valley, where the air cannot circulate freely, besides which several elbows prevent the wind from following even a longitudinal direction. The ancients pretended, he continues, 'that in Egypt the wind never descended low enough to agitate considerably the waters of the Nile; but they should have contented themselves with saying, that the vessels are there subject to frequent calms.' Nothing could be more perfect than the one which now reigned; for not a breath of air was stirring, even to temper the suffocating heat of noon, when the thermometer stood above 96°, so that, while the boat remained stationary, I reposed myself beneath the shade of a spreading tree, to satisfy my want of rest after the watchfulness of the preceding night.

When the mid-day meal and prayers were finished, we towed along the western shore again, the calm still continuing, and the air being insupportably sultry, the thermometer having risen 4°, and standing at 100° at 2 P. M. The appearance of the shore on each side was dull and uninteresting, from the proximity of the desert sands, until we reached El Couedieh, where some agreeable groups of trees, a rich verdure, and the opposite Pyramid of Meidoum, relieved the uniformity of the view, and offered a tempting halt to the weary Arabs. My consent was asked to moor for the night, and the poor creatures were so spent with towing against the current, in a scorching sun, that there was really no merit in giving it.

We walked through the village, and were admitted into the huts as before, finding them to be still more miserable than those at Casr Iabt. Some of the families, who are here always their own builders, being too poor, and hardly pressed to spare the time necessary for raising mud walls, had formed enclosures of tall reeds, placed perpendicularly, and secured by a grass ligature running along them about mid-way up their height, the whole supported in their erect position by slopes of earth thrown up on each side of their roots. These enclosures were without roof, door, or window, a small space in one of their sides being left open for admission; their general size was about twelve feet square, and their reed walls so low that the heads of the family within could be seen over them whenever they stood up. In one of them, we counted a mother, her married daughter, two boys, and four girls, all under twelve years of age, and all naked; besides which were a young heifer, the foal of an ass, and about a dozen hens and pigeons; although there remained yet to be added to this circle, the father of the family, the husband of the daughter, and the parent ass, all of whom were expected to return from labour after sunset, to repose together within these walls!

The occupations of this village family were various: the mother was cooking a dourra cake upon the dying embers of a cow-dung fire, on which she blew violently, with all the force of her breath;

the married daughter, in an advanced state of pregnancy, was pounding millet between two pieces of granite-stone, while one of the little naked girls mixed it into a paste, and a younger brother fed the fire with dried cakes of another kind; two of the little boys, from four to six years old, were fighting with great obstinacy to decide a quarrel that had taken place between themselves, when, one of them thrusting the other towards his mother, both of them were thus thrown upon the fire, and partially burnt; and the youngest girl of all, who sat very calmly * * *, not half a pace from the scene of action, seeing the fire thus scattered by this accident, and being desirous of restoring it, gathered all the fragments together, and placing these, covered with a little chopped straw, on the whole, unhappily completed its extinction beyond all hopes of rekindling it.

Our own more refined mode of feeding naturally inclines us to turn with disgust from so nauseating a preparation of diet, although the curious reader will see this mode countenanced by very early authority, under peculiar circumstances, (see Ezekiel iv. 9—14,) and be, no doubt, led to infer that such a species of fuel as that here adverted to was as common throughout Chaldaea, Syria, and Palestine, in early ages, as it is in Egypt at the present day.

Beloe, in his notes on Herodotus, (Melpomene, 61,) reproaches Voltaire with not having understood this passage of the Scriptures; yet, as from the manner of baking in these countries upon the embers of the fuel itself, without placing the bread in pans, the party who eats bread thus prepared is compelled to eat a portion, at least, of the very substance of which that fuel is composed, since there is no separating them when thus united, the severity of the original sentence on the Prophet does not appear to be over-rated.

It would not be an easy task to describe all that I felt during this cottage-scene, although we were allowed but little time to reflect; for, with one accord, the family accused us of having looked upon them with an evil eye, and unanimously attributed this combination of awkward circumstances to the influence of our presence. When my servant offered them money, they would not accept it, and declined supplying us with either poultry, eggs, or milk, at any price; so that, when we quitted them, it was amid all the execrations of the most inveterate anger.

Such a picture, I am aware, would be conceived a highly exaggerated one by the advocates of untaught nature and the lovers of rural simplicity; but I have rigidly adhered to truth in the detail of it. With no theory to support, free from either prepossessions in favour of, or prejudices against, any of the systems which have been oppositely espoused by philosophers on mankind, and having no other object in preserving these records than to assist my own pursuits in the search of truth, my first impressions are invariably detailed with that conscientious fidelity which alone can give to them any value; besides which, no man can be a more passionate

desires of uncorrupted nature than myself, no one more willing to abandon the excesses of luxury, or more desirous of discovering the golden pleasures of content and happiness in cottages. The dictates of truth are, however, imperious, and should be rigidly obeyed, though all those visionaries who dream of unsullied purity in wilds and woods, and who despise the artificial refinements of civilisation, should make the experiment of undertaking the search for themselves, nor trust so important a task to another.

On quitting this discordant family, we wandered farther into the village, and finding a smoking party assembled in a court that had been enclosed for strangers, I sent to the boat for my pipe and joined them. These peasants were so poor that they could afford to smoke dried grass only; and, when their humble pipes were filled out of our own tobacco-bag, they thanked us for a luxury which they but seldom enjoyed, and which opened to us the door of familiar conversation.

In reply to a number of inquiries which we made of them relative to the wretchedness and poverty of their situation, they very sensibly observed that all actions required a motive, adding that they themselves were without a sufficient inducement to become more attentive to the improvement of their condition, as what God had decreed would come to pass; so that, if it were their destiny to be emancipated from the galling yoke of their Turkish lords, they could not of themselves either hasten or retard it. On being asked whether means were not always necessary to the accomplishment of great ends, and whether, without exertions on the part of the oppressed, any diminution of their burthens could be even hoped for, they simply replied, that God was merciful, and expressed a hope that some Frank nation would soon expel their tyrants, and give to them those blessings of a moderate Government which they so ardently desired. The only distinction known to them between the French and English was, that the former wore triangular hats and the latter round ones; but, as I wore on my own head a close fur cap, they were at a loss how to class me, except by deciding that I belonged to neither the one nor the other of these two. It appeared, however, to be a matter of indifference to them, as all Franks were preferable, in their estimation, to Turks, for the simple reason that the former paid most liberally for their supplies, while the latter, not satisfied with plundering them without mercy, added insult to injury, and returned their toils and labours with oppression in every shape. We demanded of them why they had not joined the French in their campaign here, instead of opposing their progress through the country so obstinately as they had done: to which they replied, that, never having seen Franks before, they looked upon them as their destroyers, and were easily persuaded by the Turks that, as infidels and enemies of the Faith, they had invaded their territories for no other purpose than to overturn their religion and put them

all to the sword ; that the occasional massacre of whole villages by the invading army seemed to corroborate such an opinion, and that, consequently, they had then fought rather for themselves than in the cause of their masters, whom they detested. They confessed, at the same time, that they had seen enough of the subsequent justice and humanity of the Franks to admire them, whether French or English, and expressed a firm belief, that, if any Christian nation were again to invade Egypt, every Arab of the country, notwithstanding their difference of faith, would voluntarily flock to their standard to revenge themselves beneath it for the long list of injuries which they had received. Coffee was made on board our boat, and brought up to us by one of the crew, which we shared with the peasants ; and this, with the distribution of half a dozen small coins among the naked children that had collected in a crowd around us, was sufficient to obtain for us the good opinion of the old and young.

Beneath the shade of an overhanging tree, which we passed in our way to the boat, our attention was arrested by a scene which, if I had possessed a genius for caricature, I should certainly have been tempted to sketch. It was an Arab barber of the village, around whom were waiting his circle of impatient customers. All of these were seated on the ground after the Eastern manner ; and the individual under operation was the object of every one's attention, and I believe of every one's sympathy too, as the poor fellow appeared to suffer considerably. Although these people invariably wear their beards, they have a mode of trimming their upper edges on the cheek which they consider graceful ; and their heads are also often shaved, leaving only the central crown lock, by which, according to the vulgar opinion, the faithful are to be drawn into Paradise. The shaver and the shaved of the party before us, sitting from each other at the respectful distance of three or four feet, bowed to meet their heads together with all possible gravity. The barber, armed with a long piece of iron plate of a shape resembling any thing rather than a razor, without a handle too, and sharpened by water on a close-grained stone, seemed to feel all the importance of his profession, while the suffering victim, puffing out his cheeks to ease the operation, bore it with a patient agony that brought tears from his eyes, until a rougher scrape than usual occasioning him to shrink a little, the tenacious wielder of the trimming blade, irritated at this reproach on his dexterity, revenged himself by condemning the offender to remain with a half-trimmed beard, to the great annoyance of himself and the proportionate diversion of the tormenting and deriding villagers. I was somewhat at a loss to account for the hardihood of such caprice in one who, from his trade, should seem to be dependent on the rest ; but, though the difficulty was solved, my surprise was increased by finding that this barber was the greatest and most popular character among them. Too bright a genius to live like his fellows by the drudgery

of labour, he had acquired a dexterity of hand equal to the brilliancy of his wit, and was at once the circumciser, child-deliverer, story-teller, and shaver for all the country round within several miles; in short, a Dicky Bossip on a smaller scale, and consequently within that circle in universal repute and demand. He never received money but on the occasion of circumcisions, marriages, and deliveries, when the visitors, and not the families themselves, contributed their paras for his reward; but, in lieu of this, all parties assisted occasionally to furnish him with provisions and clothing, so that, as his favour was generally courted, he was the best fed and best clad man among them. Innumerable tricks that he had exercised in pleasantry upon the villagers, were recounted to us by the laughing circle; and it was only yesterday that, for some petty offence which a newly-married youth had given him, he sent him home with half a beard and one mustachio, and threw his wife into inconsolable grief for her husband's disfiguration and disgrace.

This son of Æsculapius was so great a profligate in his discourse, and spoke on all occasions with so much freedom and irreverence of the Prophet, as to pass for an atheist among his fellows,—a suspicion that was supported by his praying only once a day, and drinking strong liquors whenever he could procure them. My servant observing to him that in Europe he might aspire to be admitted among the shavers of hogs, which was there an extensive and a lucrative employment, he asserted that he should neither scruple himself to perform such an operation on that animal, nor to receive his reward in feasting on its flesh,—a confession which seemed to shock the pious part of the assembly, whom he silenced, however, by the relation of an anecdote by which he pretended to account for their prohibition to Musulmans, as his knowledge of history was not sufficiently extensive to inform him of an earlier origin, or of swine being held in abhorrence by most of the ancients of the East. The Prophet, he remarked, being one day encamped near Damascus, offered an entertainment to his followers, and proposed to obtain for it a miraculous supply of water, by which to give them an additional conviction of the holiness of his mission. Some of those who were among the closest in his confidence, having procured the water from the neighbouring wells, buried it in earthen jars, under cover of the night, a few inches beneath the surface of the ground. On the following day, when the guests had finished their repast, and demanded water to drink, the confidants were despatched to open these divinely-furnished springs, when, alas! they found the pitchers broken and the water all dispersed. It being afterwards discovered that some thirsty hogs had been tempted to moisten their parched nostrils by digging up the earth, and that their want of dexterity had occasioned them to break the jars beneath it, the curse of God and of Mohammed was denounced upon their race, and the pain of damnation annexed to the crime of

devouring their flesh,—an exemption (continued the barber) on which the animals themselves might well be congratulated, since it not only tended to prolong their lives, but that, in being driven from Musulman countries, they have fallen, perhaps, into better hands, and fatten on sweeter food.

Such was the substance of his tale, at which the old retired, and the young laughed more at the barber's lively and ingenious manner of relating it than at the incident itself, which they did not appear perfectly to comprehend. For myself, I confess I knew not what to think of the mixture of superstition and levity, of ignorance and witticism. Had this same individual been born among us, he would have been a second Foote perhaps, and have enlivened brighter circles by his jokes. As it was, however, he enjoyed all the celebrity of a Newton or a Shakspeare; and nothing short of the profound respect entertained for his talents could have procured him the license of talking thus irreverently of the Prophet and the pigs.

Ascending the Nile, November 1.

A northerly air followed the setting of the moon about two o'clock in the morning, and the same obstacles occurring as were urged on the preceding day against night-navigation, the same exercise of authority was had recourse to for the removal of them. The daylight, however, brought us another calm, by which time we had only reached the small island abreast of Nesle Rigga, at which village we moored; and our necessary stay offered itself as so favourable an opportunity for observing the Pyramid of Meidoum, without any extra loss of time, that we procured an ass and rode towards it.

The canal of the interior, called by the natives El Bahr Yusef, and which we found, between the village and the pyramid, to be about fifty paces wide, could not be crossed without seeking a fordable part by a circuitous route, or by procuring a boat, which was not to be found, to transport us over. Our short distance from this monument, however, even when on the eastern bank of the canal, though not allowing us to ascertain its dimensions with great accuracy, gave us a perfect idea of its construction, which bears a general resemblance to the elevation given by Rennell of the Tower of Belus, in Assyrian Babylon, renowned by Herodotus for its splendid bed, on which the loveliest virgins of Chaldea were devoted to the service of Jupiter. Like that now-ruined edifice, the Pyramid of Meidoum also rises, as it is described by Denon, in separate stages, retreating within each other, of which, however, three only can be distinctly counted at the present moment; the lower ones being probably hidden by the rubbish of its own dilapidation, joined to the accumulation of the desert sands around its base, and the upper ones evidently fallen from decay, as its summit is now blunt and ragged. This peculiarity of form distinguishes it

from the Pyramids of Gizah and Dashour, and is no where resembled but by one of the central ones among the group of these monuments at Saccarah; but the concealment of its base, and the destruction of its summit, hardly allow the formation of an accurate opinion of its original size, as the elevation of the mass that now remains scarcely appears to exceed one hundred feet. The surrounding rubbish, which encompasses it like an artificial mound, has given to it the appearance of a fortress rather than of a pyramid; and, when contrasted with the flatness of the surrounding country, it possesses a most commanding aspect. We could see nothing of the northern entrance said to have been pierced in the face which presents itself to that quarter; and, from its standing here alone and unaccompanied by any other visible fragments of sepulchral monuments, it might be taken to be either a mausoleum of the dead, a tower of defence, or, like its seeming prototype upon the banks of the Euphrates, a temple dedicated to mysterious worship.

Whatever purpose it was designed to answer, it remains a proof, among a thousand others, of the passion which prevailed for colossal architecture among a people who, it has been observed, were always building, and among whom one great work served but to produce another still more prodigious; so that, if fortune had preserved them from the yoke of the Persians and the Greeks, they would have endeavoured to have levelled the mountains of Thebais rather than remain idle. It seems strange, says De Pauw, that they did not grow weary of rearing such monuments; and yet, among their last kings, we find Amasis and Neitanebus continuing those laborious undertakings with as much ardour as any of their predecessors.

Our returning ride presented us with the most agreeable scenes in all the stages of cultivation; for, while on some portions of the earth the waters of the inundation yet remained, from others they had already retired and given place to young vegetation, and at the same instant that the sowers were scattering their seed upon the surface of one portion of the soil yet moist with the deposit of the falling river, on another, which from its elevation required to be artificially watered, the fruits of the earth were seen in perfection, —the season of the harvest and the seed-time, the ploughing and the watering, thus all existing together at the same period of the year.

What Don Ulloa has observed of the perennial beauty of the country around Quito under the equinoctial line, which he conceived to be unequalled throughout the world, may with the strictest propriety be applied to Egypt also; for here, as well as in that delightful climate, the steadiness of the temperature exempts it from any of those changes by which plants, corn, and trees are stripped of their verdure and ornaments, their vegetative powers checked, and their trunks reduced to a state of torpid inactivity; and, even had he been expressly describing the valley of the Nile itself, nothing could have been more appropriate than the remarks which he has applied to the mountains of the Torrid Zone.

'The fertility of this country,' says he, 'if fully described, would appear to many incredible, did not the consideration of the equality and benignity of the climate enforce its probability. For both the degrees of heat and cold are here so happily determined, that the moisture continues, and the earth seldom falls of being cherished by the fertilizing beams of the sun some part of every day; and therefore it is no wonder that this country should enjoy a greater degree of fertility than those where the same causes do not concur, especially if we consider that there is no sensible difference throughout the year; so that the fruits and beauties of the several seasons are here seen at the same time. The curious European observes with a pleasing admiration that, while some herbs of the field are fading, others of the same kind are springing up, and, whilst some flowers are losing their beauty, others are blowing to continue the enamelled prospect. When the fruits have obtained their maturity, and the leaves begin to change their colour, fresh leaves blossom, and fruits are seen in their proper gradations on the same tree. The same incessant fertility is conspicuous in the corn, both reaping and sowing being carried on at the same time. That corn which has been recently sown, is coming up; that which has been longer sown, is in its blade; and the more advanced begins to blossom: so that the declivities of the neighbouring hills exhibit all the beauties of the four seasons at one view. Though all this is generally seen, yet there is a settled time for the grand harvest. But sometimes the most favourable season for sowing in one place is a month or two after that of another, although their distance is not more than three or four leagues, and the time for another at the same distance not then arrived. Thus in different spots, sometimes in one and the same, sowing and reaping are performed throughout the whole year, the forwarding or retardment naturally arising from the different situations, as mountains, rising grounds, plains, valleys, and breaches, and the temperature being different in each of these, the times for performing the several operations of husbandry must also differ.*

In Egypt all this takes place in the same way, as we had amply seen in the short space only of our morning's excursion to the Bahr Yuseff, excepting only that what is in the torrid mountains occasioned by the partial elevations or depressions of the soil in situation, is here effected solely by the different stages of the Nile in its retirement from the inundated grounds. The alternate rise and fall of the river occupying nearly the whole of the year, and leaving its stream but a short while stationary, its banks present a continual variety in the state of its corresponding vegetation, and, like Quito, picture all the seasons at a view.

When we reached the village on our return, we found a convoy of barks laden with grain from Upper Egypt mooring to the shore;

* Voyage to America, vol. i., book v., ch. 7, p. 281.

a light breath from the northward having sprung up, which, although they possessed the drift of the current in their favour, they would not steer against, fearing that, if they grounded in a falling water with their heavy cargoes, they might not be able to float their vessels off again until the next inundation; and intending to wait here until either a favourable wind or a return of calm should allow them to proceed—another proof of the rudeness of the Arabs in river navigation. We profited, however, by their loss, and caught the air that we so long had waited for, although it still remained a very light breeze, allowing us to make no greater progress than half a league within the hour.

In passing the village of Zoule, agreeably embosomed in a grove of palms, a lofty and conspicuous dwelling rose above the miserable groups of low brown huts, as if expressly to reproach them with poverty, and attract by its whitened walls the notice of the passenger. The whole tract of country between Munyeh (or Miniet) and Cairo being farmed by the Vice-Roy to Hassan Pasha, this unfortunate village was burthened with one of his Albanian soldiers, for whom the inhabitants had been compelled to build a house by the labour of their own hands, to supply it with whatever his caprice demanded, and to be loaded with blows, and the most wanton abuse, in addition to the extortions which he daily practised on the oppressed and groaning peasantry, both for himself and his insatiable master.

Sunset freshened up the breeze, which, faint as it had been, had carried us as far as El Kriamat, where the Reis and crew insisted on stopping to perform their evening prayers, and to prepare, as well as to enjoy at leisure, their supper, pipe, and coffee. It was in vain that we urged the facility with which all these operations might be gone through on board, and our progress continue uninterrupted at the same time: the difficulty of preserving the face in its true direction towards Mecca, amid the constant windings of the river, and a world of other specious objections to the satisfactory performance either of their devotions or their meals afloat, were not to be overcome, and the boat was moored accordingly. I know not whether one's displeasure ought to be excited by prejudices, for which the individuals themselves who are actuated by them are hardly to be deemed accountable; but an event even of this trifling nature certainly exercises the patience of a voyager, who has already been detained by dark nights, sultry days, and long-continued calms. I am sure that nothing but the old captain's sincerity of zeal, which no one could behold his face and doubt of, would have induced me to comply with such a measure; for by it we lost an hour of the strongest wind, and, as often happens, when we made sail again, it had so considerably slackened, that we reached no farther than at Sheick Eddeir by midnight.*

* The next article, in continuation of this, will contain an account of the vast work called the Lake Mœris.

THE LAST TREE OF BABYLON*.

THERE stands a lonely tree on Shinar's mount—
 No kindred stem the far-spread desert rears ;
 Scant are its leaves, far spent the juicy fount,
 Which fed its being through unnumber'd years :
 Last of a splendid race, that here have stood,
 It throws an awful charm o'er ruin's solitude !

Lone tree ! thou bear'st a venerable form,
 Shrunk, yet majestic in thy late decay ;
 For not the havoc of the ruthless storm,
 Nor Simoom's blight, thus wears thy trunk away,—
 But Time's light wing, through ages long gone past,
 Hath gently swept thy side, and wasted thee at last.
 Empires have risen—flourish'd—moulder'd down,
 And nameless myriads closed life's fleeting dream
 Since thou the peerless garden's height didst crown,
 Which hung in splendour o'er Euphrates' stream :
 Fountains, and groves, and palaces, were here ;
 And fragrance fill'd the breeze, and verdure deck'd the year.
 Here queenly steps in beauty's pride have trod ;
 Hence Babel's King his boastful survey took,
 When to his trembling ear the voice of God,
 Denouncing woes to come, his spirit shook :
 But all this grace and pomp have pass'd away—
 'Tis now the wondrous story of a distant day !

How wide and far these tracks of chaos spread,
 Beyond the circuit of the labouring eye !
 Where the proud Queen of Nations raised her head,
 But shapeless wrecks and scenes of horror lie :
 Glorious and beautiful no more—her face
 Is darkly hid in Desolation's stern embrace !
 Lorn as the pining widow who doth bend
 In solitary grief o'er some loved tomb,
 Thy worn and drooping form appears to lend
 A mourner's presence to this scene of doom ;
 And from thy quaking leaves there breathes a sound
 Of sullen hopeless wail for Death's wide waste around.
 Sole living remnant of Chaldea's pride !
 Reluctant thou dost wear the garb of joy ;
 Thy heart is wither'd, strength hath left thy side,
 And the green tints Time spareth to destroy
 Seem like the hectic flush, which brighter glows
 Upon the sunken cheek just passing from its woes.

Birmingham.

HUGH HUTTON.

* For the interesting notice of this tree, which suggested these lines, see 'Buckingham's Travels in Mesopotamia,' vol. ii., 8vo. edition, p. 293.

CASE OF HABEAS CORPUS IN INDIA.

[We have now the satisfaction of inserting a full and accurate report of this very interesting Case, to which we referred in the last Number of 'The Oriental Herald.' No comment of ours is requisite to enable our readers to appreciate its great importance.]

Supreme Court, Bombay, Sept. 29.—3d Term, 1828.

Present—Mr. Chief Justice CHAMBERS, acting Chief Justice.
Mr. Justice GRANT, Puisne Judge.

Judgment of Sir Charles Chambers.

AFTER stating that the case came on for consideration on the 15th of the month, and that it arose from a writ of *habeas corpus* having been granted by Mr. Justice Grant, in vacation, directed to one Pandoorung Ramchunder, of Poonah, Hindoo, to bring Moro Ragonath before the Supreme Court on that day, the 15th, the Chief Justice proceeded to read the affidavits on which the writ was granted.

1st, That of Dinker Gopell, Hindoo, of Poonah, (the father of Moro Ragonath's wife,) which stated the confinement of Moro Ragonath during twelve months in the house of Pandoorung Ramchunder; that he and other relatives, among them Mahadajee Punt, applied for the interference of the Supreme Court, Pandoorung Ramchunder being the great-uncle of Ragonath, and, in case of death without issue, being heir to the property; that the family became divided in 1809; that Moro Ragonath's father died intestate ten years previously, Moro Ragonath, his heir, being then under the management of Bynabaye, his grandmother; that she was deceased, but that the heir came under the guardianship of Mahadajee Punt, of Poonah; and that he was in the care of Mahadajee till 4th September, when he was seized and carried away by Pandoorung Ramchunder.

2d. Affidavit made by Dinker Gopell, &c., after stating the minority of Moro Ragonath, (fourteen years old,) and his birth at Poonah in the Deccan, within the Government of Bombay, proceeds with the circumstances of his abduction by Wittoba Rananda, and four others, in the employment of Pandoorung Ramchunder. That Pandoorung Ramchunder is a private individual at Poonah, holding no official situation, but is a distant relative of the heir, who is entitled to great property, &c.; that, on the 12th of July, Moro Ragonath escaped from his confinement, and proceeded with his relatives and followers to Bombay; that, on the 13th, he was seized by order of Mr. Dunlop, Judge of Poonah, at a village called Thatowda; and that, under this order, he was carried back to the house of Pandoorung Ramchunder, where he has been confined since.

The 3d Affidavit was that of Purmeram Bulloil Lohagree Booday,

a carkoon in the service of Moro Ragonath, confirming the abduction of his master, his escape and recommitment by Mr. Dunlop to the custody of Pandoorung Ramchunder, and adds that the house is guarded by peons under Mr. Dunlop's orders.

4th Affidavit was by Suntos Sitty, Hindoo, peon, stating the seizure of Moro Ragonath, that he was driven away, and has never been able to converse with his master since. That Moro Ragonath escaped on the 12th July, being, a few minutes before he got into his palanquin, served by Francis de Rosa with a rule to show cause, &c., and confirms the statement of Mr. Dunlop's conduct.

Mr. Chief Justice proceeded :

The fiat for the *habeas corpus* bears date the 13th of September, and on the 15th, Mr. Irwin moved that the return should be filed, which was as follows :

'I, Pandoorung Ramchunder Dumdurr'e, am the relation and friend of the Peishwa. I never in my life have been the servant of the English Government, or of the English. At the time the Company's Government took possession of Poonah, they gave me then word that I should live without fear or molestation. Depending upon that, I remained at Poonah; and as for my grandson, Moro Ragonath, I am his grandfather. He was placed under my charge that I might take care of him, according to the usual custom; he, the said boy, is 14 years old. For this reason, according to the Shaster of the Hindoos, he is without knowledge; he is bound to behave agreeably to the orders of the person under whose charge he lives; and further, it is necessary to take care of the property and wealth of that boy: more than this there is nothing, and there is nothing more done by me to him than by those to whose care a boy is delivered in the usual orders of seniority in a Hindoo's family. Should I by any chance do more or less, the same being made known to the Sudder Adawlut at Poonah, it would be immediately stopped. After Moro Ragonath's grandmother died, he was delivered into my charge according to the rule; and I agreed to undertake that charge in order that my grandson's wealth might not be ruined. Without the leave of those by whose authority I took the charge I cannot relinquish it. Dated 10th September, A.D. 1828, 1st Badrapud Sood An. Shal. 1750, the name of the year being Surodharee.

(Signed) 'Pandoorung Ramchunder Deodur, otherwise Dumdurr'e.'

The body of Moro Ragonath was not produced.

This return, said the Judge, without production of the body, is clearly a bad return. Mr. Irwin moved for an attachment, but the Court, being unwilling to adopt that course, called on the Advocate-General to show cause, *instantly*, why a return was not made. The Advocate-General admitted he could not support the return, on the supposition that the Court had power to issue the writ; but con-

tended, that in this particular case the Court had exceeded the authority conferred by the Charter. Mr. Irwin was heard in reply; but the Court postponing its judgment at that time, now proceeded to state that one of the two following courses is open:

That by attachment, which is the course in ordinary cases; or by following the old practice of issuing a second writ in the nature of the first, *i. e.* an *alias habeas corpus*,—which will give an opportunity to the individual to whom the writ is directed to take a little more time for consideration, and to make a better return than that to the first writ.

The latter mode of proceeding the Court are disposed to adopt in the present case, not so much from any doubt which exists in their own minds of their own authority, as from a wish to consider in a solemn way their right to do so; and, in case they should come to the conclusion that they ought to enforce their right, that they may not appear to act towards the person to whom this writ is directed with harshness or technical precision, in a case which apparently has now occurred for the first time in India.

The question was, had the Court jurisdiction; if it had, the illegal detention stood uncontradicted, and was strengthened by the affidavit of Mackintosh Minasse, who served the writ put in after the return filed was made. By that affidavit, Pandoorung Ramchunder received the writ with every demonstration of respect for the Court, but, expressing his determination not to obey it, only gave permission for Moro Ragonath to be seen and spoken with.

The question, showing the legal objection to the power of the Court, was, whether the powers of the King's Bench in England are conferred upon this Court so as to enable it to watch over the personal liberty of all the King's subjects in India, without reference to the terms of that part of the Charter by which the jurisdiction of the Court is defined and limited to the trial of suits and actions against those persons only who are declared distinctly and clearly by the Charter to be subject to its jurisdiction, when the word is used in that limited sense. Neither Moro Ragonath, the boy in whose favour the writ has been issued, nor Pandoorung Ramchunder, the person who detains him in custody, is subject to the jurisdiction of the Court in this sense; and, if the Court have any authority, it must be founded upon some other principle of a wider and more extensive influence. Such, then, is the serious and important question which has been raised in this case. Serious and important it is in every point of view, in a political not less than a judicial one.

But, proceeded Mr. Chief Justice Chambers, as Judges, the Court had nothing to do with political consequences. If by correct reasoning on sound authorities in law, it came to the conclusion that no legal denial could be made to the writ, there remained but one course,

that of enforcing in a discreet and temperate manner the exercise of legitimate authority ; and, if the judgment should place the question beyond the reach of dispute, although the influence of political consequences could not operate on their minds, he trusted that the good sense of the local authorities, concurring with the caution with which it was their bounden duty to apply the general principle, would calm all apprehension entertained on the subject. The learned counsel, who had, by a review of all the law, convinced his own mind of the propriety of the writ, by his solicitude to render the whole object and effect of the writ intelligible to the individual to whom it was directed, had given an earnest that the Court seriously desired to prevent any abuse of the process. Though, when the general principle was established, there would probably be few calls for its exercise, the question being mooted, the best consideration was due to it. Upon the first impression, continued Mr. Chief Justice Chambers, which I received from the facts of this case, I was not a little struck by the important feature in it of the intervention of Mr. Dunlop, the Judge and Magistrate at Poonah ; and I thought it possible that some ground might be laid for considering Pandoorung Ramchunder as his agent, and consequently indirectly in the employ of the Company ; but, upon reflection, I have been led to reject any such notion ; and, although the interference of Mr. Dunlop, as a servant of the Company, and subject to our jurisdiction, has had considerable influence on my mind in other ways, I am clearly of opinion that no tortuous act, which at present we must presume this to be, could bring an individual within the description of persons employed by the Company, although, in any proceeding against Mr. Dunlop, the law might consider the acts of this individual as the acts of Mr. Dunlop, on the principle, *qui fecit per alium, fecit per se*. So that, if we arrive at any conclusion which shall enable us to issue this writ of *alias habeas corpus*, it must be on the broad principle that the Charter gives us the authority to do so, although our jurisdiction, in a more limited sense, is not of so extensive a nature.

The consideration of the question, he said, divides itself into two general heads: 1st. The nature of the power of the King's Bench and other Courts in England, with respect to the writ of *habeas corpus* ; and, 2dly, the extent of the powers conferred on the Court of Bombay by the Charter. To render the question plain and intelligible to those not conversant with the niceties of English law, and to strip it of all imaginary difficulties, the Court would go minutely into the constitutional history of the subject. 'Arbitrary imprisonment,' said Hume, 'is a grievance which in some degree has place almost in every Government, except in that of Great Britain.' The great Charter had laid the foundation of this part of our liberty, the Petition of Right had renewed and extended it, but some provisions are still wanting to render it complete, and prevent all evasion and

delay from ministers and judges. The Act of Habeas Corpus served these purposes.' Then he adds, 'this law seems necessary for the protection of liberty in a mixed monarchy. As it has not place in any other form of government, this consideration may alone induce us to prefer our present Constitution to all others.'

Nor are his observations on the Great Charter of our liberties, upon which the whole effect of this writ is grounded, less remarkable. 'It must be confessed,' he observes, 'that the former articles of the Great Charter contain such mitigations and explanations of the feudal law as are reasonable and equitable; and that the latter involve all the chief outlines of a legal government, and provide for the equal distribution of justice, and the free enjoyment of property,—the great objects for which political society was at first founded by men, which the people have a perpetual and inalienable right to recall, and which no time, nor precedent, nor statute, nor positive institution, ought to deter them from ever keeping uppermost in their thoughts and attention.'

'Nor were our ancestors backward in entertaining such sentiments. They regarded the Great Charter in all ages as the most sacred contract between the King and the people. The confirmation of it was repeated thirty several times; and, in the time of Charles I., the popular leaders, powerfully seconded by all the vigour which the declining years of Lord Coke could give them, reiterated the same sentiments with irresistible force in support of the celebrated Petition of Rights.'

Hume, in his general opinions, was not favourable to public liberty: he has thought proper to intimate some qualifications of the general reasonableness of the law of England in favour of the liberty of the subject, but they affect not the general principle. In every country, in times of sedition, public commotion, civil war, or other disturbance, there must be a suspension of the general privileges for the public good; those interruptions to the public peace are provided for, not by the law of England only, but by those of common sense: a wise Government is thus enabled to provide for the public safety, with the least possible restraint on personal liberty; such exceptions do not embarrass the general rule. The various acts relating to the personal liberty of the subject, and the remarkable circumstances attending the struggles to secure it, show the value of the blessing conferred by our ancestors. Let it be emphatically remembered that it is a privilege, and not a burthen. Its nature may be deduced from the words of the Great Charter and the Petitions of Right, that no freeman, according to these great monuments of public liberty, was to be deprived of his freehold, his liberty, his fee, or his custom, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

The existence of such a right, declared by such solemn authorities, implies that the law affords a remedy, and that every freeman

if imprisoned, has, *ex dubito justitiæ*, a right to know the cause of his imprisonment; and if no legal cause of detention can be shown, there must necessarily be a mode of freeing him by law from all coercion. Nor are the consequences of these propositions of a limited or local nature; for, since it is a feature of our constitution under a mixed monarchy, that there should be no arbitrary imprisonment either by King or subject, in every country which is acquired either by conquest or otherwise by the Crown of England, inasmuch as by a necessary consequence it becomes part of the dominions of a mixed and limited monarchy, the inhabitants also become, by a kind of reciprocity, entitled to the inestimable privileges of personal liberty, secured and guarded by the remedies which the law of England has provided in all cases in which the liberty of a freeman is illegally invaded or infringed. That the whole of our Indian possessions are of the same nature as the other dominions of the Crown, there can be no doubt. There is certainly some complexity in the mode of government at first sight; but both law and reason lead us to the conclusion, that, although directly and immediately these vast territories are governed by the dictates of a commercial Company, the whole is but a part of the vast fabric of the English empire; and that its inhabitants, for all the purposes for which we are at present considering their condition, are, as subjects of the Crown of England, entitled to the privileges of freemen. There was, indeed, a time when the advocates of the East India Company were so ill advised as to assert an independent sovereignty in the Company over the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, by virtue of a firman from the Court of Delhi. But a watchful and enlightened House of Commons lost no time in extinguishing every vestige of such a pretension by a memorable resolution.

This assertion of sovereignty was made under circumstances widely different from those affecting the territories of Bombay. Mr. Burke, in a report of 1784, placed this claim in a most advantageous point of view: 'To remove,' said he, 'the impressions of the calumny concerning an attempt in the House of Commons against the King's prerogative, (by Mr. Fox's India Bill,) it is proper to inform his Majesty that the territorial possessions in the East Indies never have been declared, by any public judgment or resolution of Parliament, to be the subject matter of his Majesty's prerogative, nor have they ever been understood as belonging to his ordinary administration, or to be annexed or united to his Crown; but that they are acquisitions of a new and peculiar description, unknown to the ancient executory constitution of this country.' There is much more to the same purport, and an insinuation that the Company are a fourth part of the constitution. In a note it is stated, that the territories of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa were acquired to the Company in virtue of grants from the Great Mogul.

in the nature of jurisdictions to be held dependant on his Crown, on the express condition of obedience to his court, and of annual tribute to his treasury. Though no obedience is yielded, nor tribute paid, yet the grant is so conditioned.

The difficulties which in England and India are supposed to affect the question of the sovereignty of these provinces, did not concern the territory of Bombay. Ever since the annexation to the Crown of England, its natives must be considered natural-born subjects. By the Charter of Charles II., (1669,) they have been declared entitled to all the privileges of free-born Englishmen, to be conferred by their allegiance to the Crown. The Deccan, the portion of territory subject to the Bombay Government to be considered on this occasion, was acquired by conquest. The Government actually existing there, though originally established by virtue of the discretionary power exercised by Bengal, a power necessarily invested in those making distant conquests for the benefit of the Crown, must be considered by implication, *de jure et de facto*, subordinately subject to the Company. The inhabitants, ever since its occupation by England, became the subjects of a mixed monarchy. Those born since 1817 are natural-born subjects; and, as far as is consistent with local laws and usages, they are entitled to all the benefits of personal and civil liberty that the King's prerogative can afford them. 'In the course of these observations,' continued the Chief Justice, 'I have not made any distinction between civil and constitutional liberty and personal liberty as between subject and subject. I thought it would weaken their effect to do so. But I may here observe that, in fact, the one implies the other, and the law has always applied the same remedy in both cases, as being *ejusdem generis*. Nor can it be supposed that our ancestors, who have placed civil constitutional liberty upon so impregnable a basis against the encroachments of the Crown, could have intended to leave personal liberty; as between subject and subject, unguarded and insecure. But having, to their immortal honour, secured the first, they reasoned rightly, that there was no necessity to be solicitous about the other.'

The Chief Justice, after these remarks, went on to examine the subject in a technical point of view.

The first book cited to show the legal remedies provided to vindicate personal liberty, was Coke on Magna Charta, 2 Inst. 55. There was provided for imprisonment *contra legem terre*, 1st, a remedy by action; 2dly, by indictment; and, 3dly, by *habeas corpus* out of the King's Bench or the Chancery, without privilege, or out of the C.B. or the Exchequer Court for an official or privileged person. So Blackstone, in his Commentaries, iii. p. 130, observed on the great and efficacious writ of *habeas corpus ad subjiciendum*, directed to the person detaining another, that it commanded him to

produce the prisoner, with the day and cause of his caption, *ad faciendum, subjiciendum, et recipiendum*, to do, submit to, and receive whatever the Judge awarding such writ shall consider in that behalf. This, he said, was a high prerogative writ by the common law, issuing out of the King's Bench, not only in term time, but in vacation, by a *fat* from the Chief Justice or any other Judges, and running into all parts of the King's dominions; for the King is at all times entitled to have an account why the liberty of any of his subjects is restrained, whenever that restraint may be inflicted. In the same terms, Lord Hale, in his 'History of the Canon Law,' 195, and Lord Eldon, in Crowley's case, 2 Swanst. 48, applied the doctrine, that this was a high prerogative writ of the King. Chief Justice Wilmut's answers to the questions put by the House of Lords in 1758, on the second reading of a Bill for giving a more speedy remedy to the subject on the writ of *habeas corpus*, demonstrated the difference between prerogative and other writs. Such a writ is as much a writ of right as a writ of course. There is no such thing as writs of grace and favour of the Judges; they are all writs of right, but not all writs of course. Writs of course are those writs which lie between party and party for the commencement of civil suits; and if they are sued out without a good foundation, the common-law punishes the plaintiff for suing out the writ vexatiously, by amercing him *pro falso clamore suo*, and by the statute law he is to pay the costs of suit. But the writ of *habeas corpus* is not the commencement of a civil suit, where the party proceeds at the peril of his costs if his complaint is a groundless one. It is a remedial mandatory writ, by which the King's Supreme Court of Justice (K.B.) and the Judges of that Court, at the instance of a subject aggrieved, command the production of that subject, and inquire after the cause of his imprisonment. And it is a writ of such a sovereign and transcendent authority, that no privilege of person or place can stand against it. It runs at common law to all dominions held of the Crown. It is accommodated to all persons and places. And as all these mandatory writs (of which there are several, as prohibition, mandamus, certiorari, &c.) were originally rather at the suit of the King than the subject, the King's Court would not suffer them to issue upon a mere suggestion, but upon some proof of a wrong and injury done to the subject.

Brown's case in Cro. Jac. 543, which was a case of resistance to the writ of *habeas corpus* by the Warden of the Cinque Ports, on the ground of privilege, was a remarkable support to Chief Justice Wilmut's position; and the language of Chief Justice Montague was nervously expressed when he said, that this prerogative writ had been awarded out of Court to Calais, and all other places within the kingdom, and to dispute it, was not to dispute the juris-

diction, but the power of the King, which was not to be disputed, and an *alias habeas corpus* was awarded, with a penalty, returnable on another day. The reasonableness of the distinction which a prerogative writ implied, would be rendered intelligible by reference to the celebrated case of the *Post Nati*, or Calvin's case, which established the right an individual acquired by becoming a subject of the Crown of England, or within the King's allegiance.

In Calvin's case, 7 Ca. 20 a. (of which Lord Coke is only the reporter,) after explaining the nature of the foreign dominions of the Crown, the Judges are said to have made the following distinctions between those writs which run into all the King's dominions, and against which there is no exemption of privilege or place, and ordinary writs. It is to be understood, says the report, there are two kinds of writ: *Brevia mandatoria et remedialia, et brevia mandatoria et irremedialia*. *Brevia mandatoria et remedialia*, as writs of right, of *formdon*, &c., of debt, trespass, &c., and, in short, all writs, real and personal, whereby the party wronged is to recover somewhat, and to be remedied for that wrong which was offered him, are returnable or determinable in some court of justice within England. And these cannot by any means extend into any other kingdom, country, or nation, though it be under the King's actual ligeance and obedience. But the other kind of writs that are mandatory and not remedial, are not tied to any place, but follow subjection and ligeance in what country soever the subject is. They then give an instance, which goes much further than our present question requires.—as the King's writ to command any of his subjects residing in any foreign country, to return into any of the King's own dominions, *sub fide et ligeantia quibus nobis tenemini*. Mandatory writs of all kinds, or, as they are called, high prerogative writs, although now used for the benefit of the subject, may all be considered, in this sense, irremedial in their nature; and they might all, if necessary, be shown to have derived their only authority from the King's prerogative, and have no reference to the jurisdiction of the Court in suits and actions between party and party. The King's Bench was originally intrusted with the power of issuing them, because it was always considered the King's Supreme Court of Justice for the exercise of his prerogative.

The writ of *habeas corpus ad subjiciendum* was of the same nature, not having a relation to the jurisdiction of the Court to hear and determine writs. It is remedial as far as the personal liberty of the subject is concerned, but irremedial in the sense in which Lord Coke uses the term, because the party injured recovers no compensation for injury inflicted upon him, but must bring his action for false imprisonment if he wishes to be compensated.

Then as to the power of the Judges, severally and respectively, at common law to issue this writ: the arguments of Lord Eldon in

Crawley's case, (2 Swanst. 62,) and Chief Justice Wilmot's opinion, were applicable. The power, said Lord Eldon, rested on great principles but on very little practice, for two cases only could be traced before the Restoration; and Chief Justice Wilmot thought that the practice since the Restoration was evidence of preceding usage; that if the commencement of usage could be shown, the argument could not be applicable, because the legality of the usage must be supported not by presumption, but by some other principle; he referred to the principle, that when the reason is the same, the law is the same; and said that he would not assent to the proposition, that if the Court had the power to grant the writ in term time, the subject shall, during the vacation, be deprived of his right. There was also a further argument of Chief Justice Wilmot's, founded on the powers of Justices of the Peace, that being the character of Judges of the King's Bench, which was not the case with Judges of the other Courts. In applying these opinions to the case, it would be necessary to advert to some characteristics in the constitutional history of the families of the Tudors and the Stuarts, and to the historical fact, that Elizabeth, in the arbitrary circumstances of her reign, never, probably, infringed any well-known and established liberty of the people, but that the people were not themselves aware of their just rights;—this would account for all silence as to usage previous to the Restoration. In the subsequent reigns, under princes of perhaps more equity of feeling but of less ability, the ferment of liberty began to agitate the country, and proceeded to distract it, until out of the ruins of monarchy arose a more convenient and perfect fabric of Government—the present Constitution. On the application, then, of the writ to cases of private custody, though it was not known when the usage began, yet, on the principle *ubi eadem est ratio ibi idem est jus*, a writ applicable to one kind of unlawful imprisonment would, in reason, be equally applicable to another. In regard to the argument for the power of issuing the writ at any time, derived from the fact of Judges of the King's Bench being Justices of the Peace, he observed that, according to Lord Bacon, there were no conservators of the peace by commission in his time, but the Judges and the Lord Chancellor were such conservators, *virtute officii*. This argument might be mentioned to show that the circumstance of their being *ex-officio* Justices of the Peace, made it a reasonable supposition that they had the power (not delegated from the Court, but individually and separately) to issue writs of *habeas corpus in favorem libertatis*, and to make them returnable in vacation before themselves;—and the statute of 31 Car. II., extending this power to other Judges, was to be considered a declaration that that power existed, respectively and individually, in the Judges of the King's Bench before that Act.

In Crawley's case, 2 Swanst. 1, Lord Eldon overruled Jfink's case, decided by Lord Nottingham, and affirmed that the Chancellor

could issue the writ at all times,—the Court of Chancery, as *officina iustitiæ*, being ever open and never adjourned; and, that though that Court had no jurisdiction to try criminal matters, yet the Chancellor might issue the writ, and judge of the sufficiency or insufficiency of the return, discharging, or bailing the prisoner to appear in the King's Bench, &c.

The same remark applied to the Court of C. B., before the 31 Car. II., and having no power at common law to issue the writ, strongly confirmed the distinction between a jurisdiction to try suits and actions, and the power of issuing the prerogative process of the Crown. In Wood's case, 1770; (Report 2 Blackstone, and 3 Wilson,) the propriety of this assumption of jurisdiction was established; and Chief Justice de Grey, in Bushel's case, showed that if a subject is brought from prison before one of the King's superior Courts, and it appears the imprisonment is unlawful, the Court cannot, *salvo juramento suo*, remand him to that unjust imprisonment,—in other words, cannot refuse to discharge him. Lord Eldon, in commenting on these principles of law, thus observes :

' See in what manner, according to this statement, the Judges argued in order to support their power of granting writs of *habeas corpus*; and how they dealt with the subject, first at common law, and then after the statute 16 Car. I. Originally, for the purpose of enabling them to give effect to the right which the subject had to his liberty, when by the circumstances of the commitment he had that right, they admitted the fiction or suggestion of privilege in order to obtain jurisdiction, and they drop that fiction after the 16 Car. I. Now that statute gave them no jurisdiction, except in the instances there specified; but, from what they are to do in those instances, they have inferred upon the words I am about to mention that they had it in all cases. A remarkable example of the strength of the principle which our law has in it, that with respect to the liberty of the subject the Courts are to struggle to secure it; for that statute says, that in the particular cases therein mentioned, the subject, for obtaining his liberty, shall, without delay, have a writ of *habeas corpus* for the ordinary fees usually paid for the same. On this clause, the Judges of that time have argued that there must have been usual fees payable in the Common Pleas on the issuing of the writ of *habeas corpus*, and, therefore, though the state has not conferred on them general power, which they had not before, yet, because it has directed them to exercise the power in these particular cases, and in these times, they conclude that it was the opinion of the Legislature that they had it in all cases.'

After citing this passage, Chief Justice Chambers thus summed up his arguments, and pronounced the judgment he had formed on the case as follows :

‘I have thus, at great length, but not unnecessarily, examined the state of the law of England on the present question. A short summary of the whole may be comprised in a few words. The writ of *habeas corpus ad subjiciendum* is, in its original nature, a prerogative process, issuable only at the instance of the King, to ascertain the cause of the imprisonment of any of his subjects, in any part of his dominions, without any view of affording any compensation to the subject for unlawful imprisonment against the party imprisoning him. It is founded upon the simple principle, that all those who are in subjection and owe allegiance to the Crown have a right to the amplest protection which the power of the Crown can afford them: that the writ is issuable by the Court and the Judges of the King’s Bench at all times, because the King’s Bench is the Supreme Court of Justice of the King with relation to such matters: but that the power of doing so has no relation to, nor dependence on, its jurisdiction as a Court of Judicature to try suits and actions: that in favour of liberty the writ is also issuable from the common law side of the Court of Chancery, and out of the C. B., and that even in cases of commitment for criminal matters, over which those Courts have no jurisdiction; nor can the principle of our law, which Lord Eldon mentions with so much approbation, be omitted, that it is the duty of the King’s Courts, in all cases which concern the liberty of the subject, to struggle to secure it; because it is a liberty most especially regarded and protected by the common law of this country.

‘We have now arrived at that part of the subject which, when I first came to the consideration of it, appeared to present the most difficulty. But, in the progress of a very painful and laborious examination of the principles of the law of England regarding the liberty of the subject, it has been satisfactory to my mind to find that, instead of that examination increasing any perplexity which I might have felt in my prior view of the provisions of our Charter, the legal learning which the various cases which I have cited contain have thrown so much light upon the question, that I not only find no difficulty in giving to the different parts of the Charter a consistent meaning, but the conclusion to which I have arrived on the present subject is so clearly established, that I feel no doubt or hesitation about it.

‘The whole question, in fact, in consequence of the principles which I have stated in the former parts of this judgment, is reduced into a very narrow compass.

‘The first obvious conclusion which the preceding remarks induce my mind to come to upon the Charter, is the meaning of the word ‘jurisdiction’ in that part of it where the jurisdiction of the Court is said to be defined. The proper and only meaning which I can affix to it is the jurisdiction which the Court may exercise in

the trial of suits and actions; and which is the ordinary meaning in which the term is used when applied to all courts of justice. It is the power and authority which they have within the local limits in which the laws they profess to administer prevail, to determine the rights of parties in adverse suits according to those laws, and to award compensation in damages for any wrong or injury which has been committed by one party against another. This is the jurisdiction alluded to in the judgment of the Patna Cause; and the distinction made between the way of taking advantage of any exemption from jurisdiction in England and in India is perfectly correct, and is that on which this Court itself uniformly proceeds. The meaning of the word 'jurisdiction' being once established in this limited, ordinary sense, according to the subject-matter of those clauses to which it refers, it obviously follows that we can give no other more extended meaning to it when considering the effect of those or any other clauses. I am clearly, therefore, of opinion that none of those clauses in which the jurisdiction of the Courts is said to be defined, can give the Court power to do any thing further than the Court of King's Bench can do in its ordinary jurisdiction, i. e., to try suits and actions, and to issue such other process as the common or statute law enables them, as a simple court of justice, to do. It cannot give us, therefore, any power to issue the prerogative process of the Crown in any shape, much less, either collectively or individually, to grant the writ of *habeas corpus ad subjiciendum*. And this view of the subject is strongly confirmed by the manner in which our power of issuing writs of *certiorari*, *mandamus*, and *procedendo*, within the limits of our ordinary jurisdiction, has been conferred on us. If the prerogative process of the Crown had been in any way an incident of our power to try suits and actions, no more mention would have been made of them, but it must have occurred to those who framed the Charter that such was not the consequence, and, therefore, they have given us the power of issuing these writs of *certiorari*, *mandamus*, and *procedendo* by a separate and independent clause.

If such be the right interpretation, we must see upon what principle the writ of *habeas corpus* can be granted in any case. Nor do I think that, as English Judges, and therefore bound to struggle to secure the liberty of the subject, we can have much difficulty respecting it. We are not driven, in my mind, to the slightest necessity to make those encroachments, which the Courts of England, without attending much to logical reasoning, have made in favour of liberty. The clause of the Charter which constitutes us, individually and separately, Justices of the Peace throughout all territories subject to this Presidency, and which gives to us all the authority which the Judges of the Court of King's Bench have within the limits of England, appears to me to be scarcely capable of any other meaning than that we should have the same

power as they have in England, of watching over and securing the liberty of the subject in the territories under the Government of this Presidency. Nor is it a strained inference to make, that the power which we may exercise individually and separately, we may also exercise collectively. This clause, therefore, essentially confers upon us the power of issuing writs of *habeas corpus*; and it appears to me that it is a power given for the most beneficial purposes, and is unlimited, both as to place and person, within the territories subject to the Bombay Government. It is clear that the power of issuing the prerogative writs of the Crown stands upon a totally different foundation from that on which the jurisdiction of the Court, as an ordinary court of justice, rests. They are totally different things; and, therefore, any subsequent clauses of the Charter, in which, at first sight, the power of the Courts may appear to be restrained to certain places and persons, can have no effect in limiting this power, which I conceive is given us by the clause I am now considering, of issuing writs of *habeas corpus*,—for this simple reason, because they relate to a totally different subject matter.

‘ Having gravely and conscientiously arrived at the conclusion, that, as the Judges of the King’s Supreme Court of Judicature at this Presidency, we are endowed with the amplest powers to protect and secure the personal liberty of the subject through all the territories under the Government of Bombay, I must add, that I should have deeply regretted the necessity of coming to any other conclusion. For the space of nearly 160 years, the Natives of Bombay have been, to all intents and purposes, the natural born subjects of the Crown of England, and have in that quality been entitled to all the benefits of protection for their personal liberty which the most genuine Englishman could have obtained. In all cases, however, in which they might wish to avail themselves of the writ of *habeas corpus* from the King’s Bench in England, the proceeding must be dilatory and inconvenient, and attended with expenses and consequences which might make the remedy perhaps worse than the disease. And, as regards the most numerous part of the population, the Hindoos, the circumstance of their religious prejudices would, in most instances, render the notion of applying to the authorities in England most absurd and nugatory. They would have the name of freemen; but in every case they would want the most essential protection for their liberty, if unlawfully invaded, which the law of England has provided. And the same remarks apply to all the Native inhabitants of these distant possessions of the Crown of England. Then, is it possible to conceive, under all these circumstances, that it could have been the intention of the Legislature to give us every power of the Court of King’s Bench, within these limits, without this most essential one, even to the administration of common justice,—of securing and protecting the personal and

civil liberty of the native subjects of Great Britain within these territories? Those who framed these Charters could not have been unaware of the distinctions which I have stated; and the internal evidence of the Charter itself appears to me to prove that they knew them well. If they were so fully aware of the precise effect of the various clauses of this Charter, they could never have meant to have precluded the Court from issuing the writ of *habeas corpus*, at least in those cases which were clearly within the jurisdiction of the Court as a court of ordinary judicature; and if they had chosen so to do, they might, by a few words, have removed all difficulty on the subject by restraining our power in that respect, in the same terms that the jurisdiction of the Court is defined as to suits and actions. Not having done so, what are we to infer but that having constituted us Justices of the Peace, without limitation of time or place, with the same power as the Judges of the King's Bench in England, they did not think it of any dangerous consequence that our power of issuing this high prerogative writ should be co-extensive with our office of Justice of the Peace.

'I am perfectly aware that the power of arbitrary imprisonment has existed, and in India still exists; and the exercise of that power is justified on the ground of state necessity. I am not aware that there are any state prisoners in the Bombay territory: such cases, however, may occur; and when they do so, the Court will pay a proper deference to such occasional state necessity. But the present case involves no such difficulty, and the principle which we are now considering is of the most general nature. That principle, I can, with the greatest satisfaction to my own mind, say, appears to me to be established beyond question; and it is of essential importance to the Natives of India, for it secures to them the reality of those privileges which, without it, they could be said to possess only in name. I am, therefore, of opinion that an *alias habeas corpus* should issue, returnable 10th of October.'

Judgment of Sir G. P. Grant.

The learned judge prefaced his judgment by the usual recapitulation, that it was a motion for attachment against Pandoorung Ramabunder, &c., on a writ of *habeas corpus ad subj.*, to produce Moro Ragonath, an infant, in his custody without lawful right of control over his person or estate, and without public authority; sued at the instance of Dinker Gopall Dew, &c., the father of the late Moro Ragonath, &c. The writ was moved in chambers by Mr. Irwin on the 28th August, when the Advocate-General, being present, stated that the Government felt considerable anxiety as to the result of the motion; that they thought the issuing of the writ might be attended with injurious consequences; that the rights of the East India Company, as having exclusive jurisdiction through their Courts in the provinces, would be materially affected by the

mere issuing of it, and that neither the writ of *habeas corpus* nor any other of the King's writs could run into the Company's territories beyond the town and island of Bombay, unless directed to British subjects, or to persons employed in the service of the Company or of a British subject. It having been deemed necessary to press the motion for the *habeas corpus* without delay, on the 30th August counsel was heard on both sides; and the affidavits being sufficient, the writ was issued, returnable on the 15th September. There is a clause, said the learned Judge, in the King's letters patent, which commands the Court to fix certain limits for the Sheriff in the execution of any process, and upon occasions where process shall be executed beyond these limits, the Judge is commanded to direct its precise execution. In the spirit of the above clause, to prevent irritation, and to secure a due observance of respect to a distinguished Native, according to the manners of the country, the writ was directed to be translated into the Mahratta language, and the person appointed to execute it, and another to witness the execution, to be acquainted with that language. The assistance of John Andrew Dunlop, Esq., a magistrate of Poona, was solicited to explain the nature of a prerogative writ of the Crown, and the necessity of due obedience: this precaution was rendered prudent on the part of the Court in giving effect to the King's authority in a country newly brought under subjection. By adapting the mode of executing the process to the manner and condition of the inhabitants, the Court prevented jealousy and fear as to acts for the protection of their rights and the security of their happiness, which, when understood, would be received with confidence and gratitude. The writ was received with due respect, according to the manners of the country; but it was not obeyed by producing the boy to the Court, as was commanded. To this return Mr. Irwin objected, and moved an attachment for disobedience on these grounds:—1st. That there was no return, *paratum habeas corpus*, and recited *Rex v. Clarke*, 3 Burr. 1362, where, in the case of a lunatic, the Court would only enlarge the time for it to be filed; and 2dly, that no reason was stated to excuse the disobedience, but that the writ ought not to issue,—a reason the Court could not receive. The Advocate-General was heard in reply: he supported the sufficiency of the return, or rather denied the power and authority of the Court; and this being the first writ of *habeas corpus*, in like circumstances, and from the extensive and important consequences of the decision, the Court had taken time to consider its judgment, as a case of the greatest importance to the King's subjects of every description and nation in India. The learned Judge expressed his regret that, in the original issuing of the writ, it should have been forced on his individual decision. In determining, however, on the course he adopted, he had not been influenced by that maxim of great names in the law, that '*boni judicis est ampliare jurisdictionem*,' when executing the powers of the *Habeas Corpus Act*. His

anxiety had been to relinquish what might be disputed rather than to claim what might be contested, notwithstanding it was the approved duty of an honest magistrate freely to shelter all within the power of the enactment. There was, however, a saying recorded by Lord Coke worthy of all observation, *Sapientis judicis est cogitare tantum sibi esse permissum quantum commissum at creditum.* What, however, is intrusted to a Judge, is committed to him; what he has the power to do for the protection of the King's subjects, he is bound to do; and to shrink from the assertion of an authority necessary to the discharge of a duty, because it is a new case which no one had considered before, is what an honest man *dare non do*. On the other hand, to desire to heap upon his own head labour and responsibility not exacted, in order to usurp authority not granted—a barren power and without praise, were a childish and preposterous absurdity; he, therefore, approached the question without jealousy for himself, and with an unconscious feeling that any person supposed there was occasion for it. Taking the facts distinctly averred by the affidavits as true, because uncontradicted by the return which was to be taken as absolutely true, he would detail the case at length, as set forth in the affidavits. The facts comprised the violent abduction of the youth from the custody of Mahadajee Punt, the Gomastah of the boy's father, and his guardian after the death of his grandmother; his forced detention and rigorous confinement in the house of Pandoorung Ramchunder, and his escape. But he would more particularly advert to the deposition of Suntoo Sitty, a peon about the person of Moro Ragonath, whose testimony established, by a minute narrative of facts, the legal responsibility incurred by Richard Mills, Esq., the Collector of Poonah, and John Andrew Dunlop, Esq., the Judge of the same district, by whose personal interference the youth was violently re-conveyed to the house of Pandoorung Ramchunder, where he had since been kept closely guarded, and denied the access of his relations, friends, and attendants. This affidavit the learned Judge read at length, and commented upon the facts set forth, drawing an inference that some improper use of the authority of the Court had been used to induce the boy's escape, since it seemed he had been compelled, by the fiction of an order from the Supreme Court, antecedent to any application on his behalf for a writ of *habeas corpus*, to attempt to reach Bombay, with the intention of seeking protection from the dreaded violence of Pandoorung Ramchunder. Whether the facts of the affidavit were true the Court had no means of judging, the paper delivered to the boy Moro Ragonath having been retained by Mr. Dunlop; but the Court, under the circumstances, had no reason to believe them false, but, being uncontradicted, to hold them true; and this for the purpose of enforcing obedience to the writ of *habeas corpus*, the boy having exhibited no signs of being constrained to undertake the journey to Bombay; but, on the contrary, having expressed great chagrin, and more than reluctance, when compelled to relinquish it, and to return to the custody of the defendant.

To these statements, Mr. Justice Grant proceeded to say, there was nothing to oppose but the return which the defendant, Pandoorung Ramchunder Dumdurr'e, had been advised to make in the words of this affidavit, then filed, which he read. Now, the wording of this return is very far from being such as to satisfy the minds of the Court upon that which alone is material in the return to Court on a *habeas corpus*, viz., the facts of the case. Every allowance was to be made for the defendant's want of acquaintance with the forms requisite, on account of his remoteness from any legal assistance; but if the return was substantially good, the Court would receive it in whatever expression embodied; but it must contain sufficiently certain averments of the facts necessary to justify the taking and detaining of the boy. In the British dominions in India, as in other colonial possessions, the same degree of *political liberty* could not exist as in the governing country, but the *personal liberty* of every individual, in all parts of the King's dominions, scattered through every clime, and at every distance from the seat of Government, was equally under the special protection of the King and of his Courts. The Court, in returns to writs of *habeas corpus*, might be jealous and reasonably suspicious of any material deviation from form, especially when the employment of unusual expressions were used where suitable professional advice might be had, yet it would permit a supplementary averment, that was material in point of fact, to be afterwards filed: these were rules laid down by Lord Chief Justice Hale and Lord Chief Baron Gilbert. Much more, then, would it sanction an equivocal expression to be rendered certain, as the Court of Bombay had recently before done in material facts, in the case of the jailor of Tannah. But admitting that the return of the defendant in this case should be received with every degree of allowance, considering his condition as a foreigner residing at a distance from the Presidency, what was the fact? He informed the Court he was a person of high rank, being a relation and friend of the Peishwa, continuing to reside at Poonah after the conquest, on the word given him by the Company's Government that he should live without fear or molestation. It was not to be doubted then that he could command from the Company's law-officers as good legal advice as could be any where afforded him; and it was as little to be doubted, on an occasion like that under discussion, that a foreigner, the relation of a prince, whose dominions had by the fortune of war been transferred to the sovereign of England, and by that sovereign given to the Company, under whose protection he was placed, would receive from the civil officers of the Company that legal information which would place him in circumstances to obtain the protection and security promised; and the return established this, for it averred that this distinguished person, in any deviation from the duty of one under whose care a boy in the circumstances of his young relation was delivered, was prepared to consider himself amenable to the Adawlut of Poonah; he is, therefore, said the

Judge, very far from intimating a belief or a wish of being exempt from an obedience to the laws of England; and he could not more strictly or distinctly state his conception of the reciprocal duties of protection and allegiance than in this return. Being thus ready to pay a prompt and willing obedience to the Court of the Company at Poonah, it cannot be doubted that he is equally ready to pay obedience to the Court of the King, their sovereign as well as his. If his not having done so has proceeded from an opinion that in this instance he was not bound to do so by law, he must have acted by advice, and the soundness of that advice it would be the duty of the Court now to consider; but it was to be regretted that if he was advised to take that ground, he was not also advised so far to comply with the requisition of the writ, in the first instance, as to produce the boy, that the Court might be satisfied of his health and safety, and be in a condition to do regarding him what they should determine to be lawful,—having such a return framed by some competent person, of the cause of the taking and detaining him, and of the manner of detaining him, if he be detained, as should put the Court in possession of all the facts. By so doing, he would not in the least have prejudiced his plea; nor, if the Company's officers had thought right to moot the question of jurisdiction, would they have done so under any disadvantages. It was this Court that of necessity must determine the question, whatever circumstances might be made choice of as those in which it should do so; and if it should determine that the writ was lawfully issued, it must be enforced with much more of inconvenience in all respects than if the obvious and usual course had been at first adopted.

But, even if the defendant was advised not to produce the boy, and to peril the case on the question of the power of the Court to cause the writ to issue, it was matter of surprise as well as of regret, that he was not advised to have a return drawn up which might contain a clear and certain averment of the facts, accompanied, if he was so advised, by a denial of the power of the Court. But the return made, declared nothing with any certainty, except the relation between the defendant and the boy, who was said to be the defendant's grandson instead of his grand-nephew, as stated in the affidavit of Dinker Gopell Dew, the father of his wife. Then it stated that the boy was *placed under his charge*, that he might take care of him *according to the usual custom*; but by whom he was so placed, it did not say. It agreed with the affidavits that the boy was fourteen years of age. It stated that nothing more was done by him to the boy than *by those to whose care a boy is delivered*; but it did not state what that was, nor did it negative the supposition of an uninterrupted, rigorous, and unwholesome confinement, or affirm any thing to satisfy the Court of the safety of the boy, or of the present state of his health, or of the absence of all interest of the defendant in his death. It was distinctly sworn by

the father of his wife, who could have no interest but in his preservation, that he believed his health had been greatly impaired, and would be still further injured, and his life endangered, by a continuance of his confinement, and that the defendant who so confined him would, on his death without issue, succeed to his property. If this last fact be true, as to the succession, it would appear very difficult to conceive how the defendant could be lawfully appointed to the custody of the infant's person; the guardianship of all infants whose parents are dead being, by the Hindoo law, vested in the sovereign; and it was not to be supposed that any British Judge, performing the functions of his sovereign, the King of England, in this matter, where he had to exercise a judicial discretion, would fix upon the only person for the discharge of this office who, for reasons of at least as much weight when applied to Indian as to English society, at any period of its history, was declared utterly incapable of it by the law of England, which regards it, and most justly regards it, as *periculosa custodia*. (Co. Lit. 88. 6. and Blac. Com. 262.)

If, therefore, this Court possesses the power of issuing a writ of *habeas corpus* in similar circumstances, there could be few cases arising out of the relations of domestic life which more imperatively called for its exercise, without reference to the person who inflicts the hardship complained of being a native Indian or a British-born subject of the King; but it was sworn that the boy was delivered into the power of the defendant by a British subject in order to his being imprisoned; that the imprisonment was carried into effect by his authority, and by means of his personal interference; and that it was now rendered effectual by the guard of persons under his command, and acting by his instructions.

To this it had been answered, that the defendant who had the boy under duress was not a British-born subject; and is not, and never has been, employed by or in the service of the East India Company, or of any of his Majesty's British subjects, and that, therefore, the King's Court could give no relief to any one who might suffer from his violence and oppression, be the instigator and abettor of that violence and oppression who he might. This was the true and naked state of the question now at issue; and it was obvious that, if the affirmative of this proposition be true, it was indifferent whether the person who complained, and who demanded the King's protection through the Court, be a British subject or a Native. The question was not concerning the person to be protected, but the person bound to pay obedience to the King's writ. From what was said, it appeared that if the doctrine on which this proposition was maintained be true, this Court, as the law stands, could, in no case whatsoever, issue any of the prerogative writs of the Crown. 'I am sure, if this be so,' observed the Judge, 'the sooner it is known the better, that the attention of Parliament may be drawn to it.'

No case, proceeded Mr. Justice Grant, was of more universal interest to all the King's subjects in India, British as well as Native. The construction put on the Charter would place all such subjects out of the King's protection, so far as regards their personal liberty, except through an application to the Court of King's Bench at Westminster, or his Majesty in Council; and the King's Courts in India, commissioned for the protection of person and property, would be left powerless, as regards the personal liberty of any description of his Majesty's subjects, even though it should be violated by the servants and officers of the Company themselves, over whose actions, it is declared by the Address of the House of Commons to the Throne, for the recall of Sir Elijah Impey, voted after the passing of the 21 Geo. III., the Supreme Court of Bengal was erected. It must be remembered, that against any failure of justice on the part of the Company's Court, of the Governor, or President and Council, a remedy was always competent by application to the King in Council; and where personal liberty was concerned, a writ of *habeas corpus* might always have been issued by the Court of King's Bench, to any part, or any person, in the British dominions in India, in like manner as to any other part of the foreign dominions of the Crown. These proceedings were competent at common law, before the 13 Geo. III., and the power of resorting to them, competent to every inhabitant of these dominions, of necessity accompanied every extension of the Company's possessions.

It has been conceded in argument by the Advocate-General, that, for the right of suing out a writ of *habeas corpus* on all the inhabitants of any British possession in India, no Act of Parliament was necessary: it accompanied, by force of common law, the very act of acquisition. It is obvious that this remedy against acts of oppression was, to all practical purposes, rendered nugatory by the distance; nor was it thought that the superintending and appellate jurisdiction of the King in Council was sufficient protection from the same consideration. When under the government of the Company's servants, large provinces and kingdoms, teeming with millions of inhabitants, were added to the King's dominions, it was thought former methods did not sufficiently provide for the administration of justice. Under these considerations, Parliament deemed it necessary that the King should depute Judges to administer justice in the distant territories, armed with full power and authority to exercise civil, criminal, admiralty, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction; that is, all jurisdiction possessed by any Court of the King in England. The occasion demanded ample authority, and these were ample words, as they would include the power of issuing the mandatory writs of the Crown in India, as by the common law they might at Westminster. The question then was, whether the King in Parliament, having declared it expedient that his Majesty should erect Supreme Courts of Judicature in India, having full power and

authority to exercise and perform all civil and criminal jurisdiction, had excepted the prerogative writs of the Crown. The sovereign, on condition of allegiance, had granted to subjects in India, both British-born and Native, the right of suing out the mandatory writs from the Supreme Courts at Westminster; if the exception had been made, it would have compelled them to pass over the Supreme Court sitting at the nearest Presidency, though invested with the same jurisdiction and authority for all other purposes.

By the doctrine maintained, any subject, Native or British, might be imprisoned unlawfully by any officer of the Company's Government, without remedy in the Courts in India; yet a Native, or any other person, cannot recover from a British subject in a civil action, nor complain of him for any crime, but only in the King's Courts, because Parliament had thought that the property and personal safety of British subjects in India should be under the special protection of the King's Courts and the King's laws.

'It may be observed,' said Mr. Justice Grant, 'that, on such occasions, there are the Company's Courts to apply to, and it is not to be inferred that they will not do their duty. But I must be allowed to remark, without offence to those in the Company's employ, that, in the first place, this were a reason against making any laws for man's protection from wrong, for if all men did their duty, there would be no protection wanted, and there is no presumption of law in favour of inferior or local Courts that they do not go wrong; and, in the second place, that the Legislature has proceeded on the directly opposite presumption, for it refuses to confide the protection of British subjects to the Company's Courts, or the protection of the Natives to those Courts, against the Company's officers.'

If this, however, was the construction of the Charter, it was at variance with the objects embraced by the Acts of Parliament, 'These,' said Mr. Justice Grant, 'were *beneficial Acts* for facilitating the administration of justice, and affording the subject more ready access to Courts having the King's commission and administering the King's laws. If the words were doubtful, they ought to be interpreted in their largest sense, they being enacted 'in suppression of the mischief, and advance of the remedy.' (Co. Lit. 380.) What the remedy was, was both *historically* and *legally* known,—*legally*, from the tenour of the statutes and Charter; and *historically*, from the records of what passed at the time. The House of Commons resolved, that what was necessary was 'the establishing in India a fixed, lasting, and regular course of justice, for the permanent security of liberty and property;' and the Court of Directors had recorded, in their proceedings of the 10th May, 1773, that the propositions should contain 'a proposal to introduce the privilege of *habeas corpus* into India.' Now, it was strange if, all parties being thus agreed, the only power, the Court of Justice established for the permanent security of liberty and property, should

be refused, and that the power to issue the writ of *habeas corpus*. This may have happened, if the words of the Charter and statutes were express to this effect; and the Court could be influenced by no considerations beyond them.

Mr. Justice Grant then continued. There were two preliminary questions stated by Mr. Irwin: 1st, Whether the Court could entertain any questions raised by the return, until the writ was so far obeyed in the first instance by bringing up the body? 2d, Whether they ought to receive a return which resolved itself into a denial of the Court's authority? The first could not be laid down broadly in the negative. There were, however, allowable deviations from strict obedience, as where the return showed there were physical or legal impossibilities interposing, and where the writ was invalid or incompetent. The return might show that the body was not in the power, custody, or possession of the party on the receipt of the writ, or that the person was sick and not able to attend, or that the person was a lunatic and unfit to be brought into Court: the return would then be enlarged, not because the Court would not receive it as an excuse for non-compliance with the writ, the fact of lunacy being established by the affidavit of a physician, but because they would think it most convenient to allow it to remain suspended till the fate of the commission of lunacy should be known. The return might further deny the duress, and set forth that the person was at liberty, and did not desire or choose to be brought up; and many other cases of exception would obviously occur. But if the return stated that the writ was invalid, and ought not to be issued; or denied the authority of the Court; or if this should be the defence, though no return should be made, the party was undoubtedly entitled to be heard in this case, impugning the jurisdiction if he thought fit, but at his peril if he failed. The Court was bound to hear him, because, in determining to grant the writ, only one side could with regularity have been heard. The learned Judge here proceeded to recite a multiplicity of legal authorities, which went to establish the result, that the Courts have never felt themselves bound by any inflexible rule that might not be applicable to the circumstances of the case in hand, but have regarded the course they should take as matter of sound discretion, to be adapted to those circumstances in such manner as to secure the liberty and safety of the subject, without infringing any public or private right, without violating, but, on the contrary, enforcing, domestic duties, without outraging the decencies of life, and with as little of rigour and severity as might consist with the accomplishment of the paramount object intrusted to their care.

In the present instance, Mr. Justice Grant observed, he had taken preliminary steps to be fully satisfied of the propriety of issuing the writ. He then proceeded to remark on the character of the *habeas corpus ad subjiciendum* as a writ of right, and not a writ of course;

that, to be efficacious, it was necessarily *peremptory* that the Court might know that the person was *safe*, and that he might be placed *within its power* for the purposes of justice, and *under its protection*, to be relieved from *unjust and unnecessary restraint*. No power or authority, he declared, no *inconvenience*, no *difficulty*, no *distance*, no ground of *delay*, must be permitted to *withstand* the writ, or be received as an excuse for even *temporary hesitation* in obeying it. The Court was bound to ensure the *safety and liberty* of the subject, and to vindicate the *authority* of the King. There was another preliminary question, continued the learned Judge, to be considered in the issuing of the writ, which was, how far a single Judge of the Court had this power in *vacation*. This he would have established by showing that they possessed it as sitting by virtue of the King's commission, with the authority of a Judge in equity, having such authority co-extensive with the Justices of the Court of King's Bench in England; at the same time repudiating the contrary doctrine of Lord Nottingham in the reign of Car. II., as completely set aside by the elaborate and admirable argument of Lord Chancellor Eldon in Crowley's case; but he observed, that the Chancery powers conferred on the Supreme Courts in India being confined by the letters-patent to an equitable jurisdiction only, they did not possess the power of issuing writs of *habeas corpus* in that capacity. As Justices, however, having jurisdiction and authority the same as the Justices of the Court of King's Bench in England, he affirmed that the Judges of the Supreme Court of Bombay had power to issue writs of *habeas corpus* in vacation as single Judges. 'We are here, in my opinion,' said Mr. Justice Grant, 'somewhat differently situated from the other Presidencies in India; the law of this island, being (as I take it, under the Charter of Charles II., granting this town and island to the Company) the law of England, as it stood at the date of that Charter, namely, 21 Car. II., with some exceptions. But this makes no difference in regard to the power of the Judges to issue this writ in vacation, because this is a common law writ, and I think there is no doubt that at common law a Justice of the King's Bench might at all times, and that they actually did in several cases, issue writs of *habeas corpus* in vacation long before the time of Car. II. Notwithstanding that there was a received opinion before the Restoration, that in vacation the writ ought regularly to issue out of Chancery; and of this opinion were Lord Coke and Lord Hale, (2 Ins. 53; 4 Ins. 81, 289; 2 His. Pl. Wr. 147), Lord Coke says it could issue out of the Common Pleas only in term time, and in the case of a person having the privilege of the Court.'

But this opinion of a limit on the power of the Supreme Courts of the King to administer relief where the liberty of the subject is concerned, yielded to better consideration; and in Bushell's case, (Vaug. 156,) which was decided in 22 Car. II., it was finally

settled, that a *habeas corpus* might issue from the Common Pleas, where there was no case of privilege; and it was said by Chief Justice Vaughan, in delivering the judgment of the Court, that this was agreeable to all the precedents.

Having thus satisfied himself, by high legal authorities, that, without the power of issuing writs in vacation time, there could not have been a perfect and complete remedy at all times for the subject against imprisonment for a bailable offence at common law, he proceeded to consider how far these remedial powers for preserving the liberties of the subject unimpaired and inviolable, vested in the Court of King's Bench, were conferred on the Supreme Court of Bombay. This he argued from the possession of the *potestas imperii*; or the ministerial power to command something to be done, and the *potestas jurisdictionis*, or the judicial power, being as it were the *jus dicere*, or the power to declare the law; and citing the highest legal authorities, with voluminous minuteness, he held these three positions to be perfectly established:

1st, That the King's mandatory writ runs, by virtue of his prerogative royal, to all dominions of his Crown of England, whether within the realm of England, or being foreign dominions of the Crown, annexed or conquered, or in any way acquired, superseding all franchises, grants of jurisdiction, exemption, and privileges whatsoever.

2d, That these writs, so directed, it was part of the duty of the Court of King's Bench to issue.

3d, That limits of the jurisdiction of any Court to try causes afford no measure of its power to issue the prerogative writs of the Crown, either in respect of the territory in which they are to run, of the persons to whom they shall be directed, or of the matters they may concern.

After this, the learned Judge then directed his attention to the last point under review, which, being essentially the Indian question, we give without abridgment. 'Is the Supreme Court of Bombay within the territories of the Presidency, vested with the powers and authority of the Court of King's Bench to issue the prerogative writs of the Crown?'

This question, he observed, must be determined, first, by the words of the letters-patent; and second, by the several Acts of Parliament which relate to the establishment and powers of the King's Courts in India.

1st, The Charter, page 10 of the printed copy, contains the following words: 'And it is our further will and pleasure, that the said Chief Justice and the said Puisne Justices shall severally and respectively be, and they are all and every of them truly appointed to be, justices and conservators of the peace and coroners within and throughout the settlement of Bombay, and the town and island

of Bombay, and the limits thereof, and the factories subordinate thereto, and all the territories which now are or hereafter may be subject to, or dependent upon, the Government of Bombay aforesaid, and to have such jurisdiction and authority as our Justices of our Court of King's Bench have, and may lawfully exercise within that part of Great Britain called England, as far as circumstances will admit.

These words are as ample as can be framed: they confer all jurisdiction and authority of the Justices of the Court of King's Bench in England, on the Justices of this Court, to be adapted to the circumstances, and limited by them in the discretion of the Justices; but declaring that they shall extend to the utmost limits 'which the circumstances will admit;' and they expressly give these powers 'throughout all the territories which now are, or hereafter may be, subject to, or dependent upon, the Government of Bombay,' without limitation of any kind. It is not and cannot be denied, that the issuing prerogative writs of the Crown to all persons and places within these territories, is among the powers which these words confer; and, therefore, it is to be inquired, first, whether there are any subsequent words in the Charter which *do away* these words altogether, so that they must be taken *pro non scriptis*, or which *limit* them so as totally to alter their meaning. And here I would observe, that a grant in *general* words adding, 'so far as not herein-after limited,' &c.; and a grant in *limited* words, expressed affirmatively, 'so far only as herein after-mentioned and declared,' are quite usual and intelligible. But a grant expressed in the *most extensive and unlimited* words truly meant to be a *limited and restricted* grant, is not usual, and can in general only accomplish its purpose by direct and positive subsequent words of *express limitation and restriction*. This is so plain, that it is an admitted rule of construction, that such limitation is *not to be inferred*, unless, indeed, by *necessary implication*. Still less is it to be *inferred* by less than necessary implication in a charter or statute conferring a beneficial jurisdiction on a Supreme Court of the King.

2d. It is to be inquired whether *any statute has limited the power of the Crown* in the grant of this jurisdiction and authority.

In regard to the first question, we must examine the letters-patent; and I agree with Mr. Advocate-General that we must, if possible, construe them so that the whole may stand together.

1st. On page 11 of the printed copy it is granted, that 'all writs, summonses, precepts, rules, orders, and other mandatory process, to be used, issued, or awarded by the said Supreme Court of Judicature at Bombay, shall run and be in the name and style of our heirs and successors, and shall be sealed with the seal of the said Supreme Court of Judicature at Bombay,' which seal is by a preceding clause appointed 'to bear a device and impression of our royal arms.'

These words are general. It cannot be doubted that they include power to issue the mandatory writs of the Crown, and all these writs are to issue as at Westminster. They are to run in the name and style of the King, and to be sealed with a seal bearing the royal arms.

Then comes the clause on page 18, relative to the hearing and determining suits and actions.

And We do further direct, ordain, and appoint, that the jurisdiction, powers, and authorities of the said Supreme Court of Judicature at Bombay, shall extend to all such persons as have been heretofore described and distinguished in our Charter of Justice for Bombay, by the application of British subjects who shall reside within any of the factories subject to, or dependent upon, the Government of Bombay; and that the said Court shall be effectual, and shall have full power and authority, to hear and determine all suits and actions whatsoever against any of our said subjects, arising in territories subject to, or dependent upon, or which hereafter shall be subject to, or dependent upon, the said Government, or within any of the dominions of the Native Princes of India in alliance with the said Government, or against any person or persons who, at the time when the cause of action shall have arisen, shall have been employed by, or shall have been directly or indirectly in the service of, the said United Company, or any of the subjects of us, our heirs, or successors.

This clause confers a power to hear and determine *suits and actions*, words which I take to be equivalent to the words *communis placita*, and clearly to mean civil *suits and actions*. And accordingly, in a subsequent part of the same clause they are called *civil suits and actions*. Now, it will be observed, that the general and leading claim of the letters-patent confers on the Court the jurisdiction of the Court of King's Bench and none other, in which jurisdiction the trial of *communis placita*, or ordinary civil suits and actions, is not included. So that, without this clause now under consideration, the Court would have had no power to try any suits and actions except—1st, Trespasses *vi et armis*, replevins, &c. 2d. Common pleas by bill against officers of the Court and persons in the custody of the Marshal. 3d. At the instance of officers of the Court.

I am aware that it might possibly have been thought that the jurisdiction which the Court of King's Bench has established by fiction and long possession was included in the general words above: 'Such jurisdiction and authority—as our justices of our Court of King's Bench have, and may lawfully exercise, within that part of Great Britain called England.'

But it must have been exercised in the same way if it could be so conferred, the same bill, the same fiction set forth, the same form of pleading, the same trial by jury. Therefore, it was thought right to place the civil jurisdiction for the trial of causes on a

totally different footing, and, leaving the King's Bench jurisdiction, powers, and authorities, to the operation of the first clause in the grant, to confer the jurisdiction for trial of civil causes in a separate and separate clause of the Charter. It was intended to confer this jurisdiction, which was to be added to the proper jurisdiction of the King's Bench, only to a limited extent in respect of the persons who should be subject to it, but to leave it co-extensive with the Supreme Jurisdiction and authority of the Court, as a Court similar to the Court of King's Bench in respect of territory. It was intended, however, altogether to alter the mode of exercising it from that practised by the King's Bench in its process, in its pleadings, and in its mode of trial. It was much more convenient to do this by separate clauses of the Charter, leaving the general grant of the power and authority of the Court of King's Bench untouched. I think this is what was done. I agree entirely that the first words of this clause are to be taken as connected with what follows; to which, both by a just position and by the most natural grammatical construction, they appear to be prefatory. When it says, therefore, the jurisdiction, powers, and authorities of the said Supreme Court shall extend to all such persons as have been heretofore described and distinguished by the appellation of British subjects, &c., it means 'jurisdiction to hear and determine suits and actions.' They are affirmative words, not words of limitation, and, thus construed, are not inconsistent with any preceding words, and, taken altogether, are consistent also with the Acts of Parliament. Whereas, if the first part of the clause, instead of being considered introductory of what follows, is to be taken by itself as expressive of the whole extent of the jurisdiction and power of the Court, it limits them to British subjects who shall reside within any of the *factories* subject to, or dependent upon, the Government of Bombay,—a word very vague and undefined as applicable to this Presidency, and which, I believe, has never yet been attempted to be defined here. It must mean more than the *town and island*, and less than the *territories*. But, if it mean less than the *territories*, then these words are repugnant to the express words of the Act of Parliament. The Act 4 Geo. IV., c. 74, whereon the Charter is founded, and which it recites, makes no mention of *factories*; but it enacts that it may be lawful for his Majesty to establish a Court at Bombay with power to exercise such jurisdiction both over Native and British subjects, and to be invested with such power and authority within the said town and island of Bombay, and the limits thereof, and the *territories* subordinate thereto, and within the *territories*, which then were, or hereafter might be, subject to or dependent upon the said Government of Bombay, as the said Supreme Court of Judicature, at Fort William in Bengal, by virtue of any law then in force, was invested with within the said Fort William or the places subject to or dependent on the Government thereof. And the powers and authorities of the Supreme Court at Fort William, in regard to

British subjects extend by diverse Acts of Parliament, which I shall presently mention, over all the territories dependent, or to become dependent, on that Presidency, without any limitation to *factories*, or any other description of places within them. Unless, therefore, this introductory member of the clause, as I consider it, be construed in relation to what follows, and as explained by it, it must be rejected as repugnant. As affirmative words, and relative to what follows, they are *by themselves* SHORT OF THE INTENTION; but they are not inconsistent with it, and are extended, and the meaning is fully developed by the words which immediately follow, referring to all the territories subject to the said Government. As restrictive words, if being affirmative, and large words having preceded them, they could be so construed, and were not to be construed *secundum subjectam materiam* of the whole of the clause taken together; they would be repugnant to the other parts of the Charter, and to the statutes, and void.

The next clause gives power to hear and determine suits and actions brought against the inhabitants of Bombay. The same observation applies to this clause. It relates to *civil suits* only.

There is nothing in either of these clauses giving power to issue any writ, nor any thing said about the issuing of writs.

The next clause to be considered is on page 22, directing the mode of commencing and prosecuting *civil suits* 'upon any cause of action upon which the said Court can hold plea.' The proceeding is to be by summons, or precept in nature of a summons, to be issued by the Court on a plaint or bill in writing, commanding the Sheriff to summon the defendant. Witnesses are to be summoned in like manner; and the Court, on hearing the parties, and considering the despositions of the witnesses, is to give judgment according to justice and right. The Court is thus to proceed on the depositions of witnesses, without the verdict of a jury. No part of this proceeding could have taken place under the first clause, conferring the powers of the Court of King's Bench; but, to enable a Court vested with all the powers of the King's Bench to proceed in this manner, this specific and separate appointment was necessary.

The Court is directed to issue writs of *capias*, and writs of sequestration.

It is also created a Court of *oyer and terminer*, and *gaol delivery*, in and for the town and island of Bombay, and the *factories* subordinate thereto. This clause cannot rescind the first clause. It is descriptive of certain specific powers, to be exercised within a certain territory, and it supplies the means of giving effect to them by the establishment of Grand Juries for the inquiring, and of Petit Juries for the hearing and determining of causes, and it gives power to inquire, hear, and determine, by means of the same juries, composed of the inhabitants of Bombay, of all crimes committed by

his Majesty's subjects, interpreted to mean British subjects, committed in any of the territories subject to the Government of Bombay, how far soever removed from the vicinity of the jury. It empowers the Court also to try the King's subjects, meaning his British subjects at Bombay, for crimes committed in the dominions of Native princes of India in alliance with the Government of Bombay. None of these powers could be exercised under the general grant of the jurisdiction of the Justices of the Court of King's Bench, except the trial of crimes committed within the territorial jurisdiction of the Court, that is, the territories subject to the Presidency, and this by juries of vicinage. But, there being no provision for the summoning of juries, this is a jurisdiction which the Court could not exercise without the clause in question; and, this clause having confined its exercise through these means to the locality and to the persons mentioned, the power of the Court, as Court of King's Bench, to try crimes elsewhere than in Bombay, it cannot exercise: and, in truth, crimes are rarely tried in England but under commissions of oyer and terminer, and gaol delivery. But no one ever inferred from this, that the Court of King's Bench was therefore stripped of any part of its jurisdiction; nor can it possibly be inferred here that because there are powers of the Court of King's Bench which it cannot without further provisions exercise, it is stripped of those powers of the Court of King's Bench which it can exercise. Among the most important of these to the safety of the King's subjects of all descriptions, and to the due execution of justice by all persons charged with administering it, is the power of the King's Supreme Court to issue the prerogative and mandatory writs of the Crown.

In the clause authorising the trial of the King's subjects by a jury of the Presidency for crimes committed elsewhere, mention is made of the issuing writs for arresting and seizing the bodies of offenders.

In a subsequent part of the letters-patent, it is declared that the Courts of Request and Quarter Sessions, and the Justices and Magistrates appointed for the town and island of Bombay, shall be subject to the order and control of the Supreme Court, in the same manner as inferior Courts and Magistrates in England are subject to the Court of King's Bench; and mention is made in this clause of issuing writs of *mandamus*, *certiorari*, *procedendo*, or *error*, to such Courts and Magistrates; that is, to the Courts of Quarter Session and Court of Requests for the town and island of Bombay.

These are all the parts of the letters-patent which it is necessary to notice in regard to the present question. It will be observed that there are no words whatsoever in any part of this Charter, which confer or make mention of a power to issue writs of the Crown in any cases whatsoever except the cases above-mentioned, of writs of execution against houses, lands, and goods, in nature of writs of

capias in certain cases, and writs of *mandamus*, *certiorari*, *procedendo*, or *error*, to the Court of Quarter Sessions and Court of Requests for the town and island of Bombay. Unless, therefore, under the clause conferring on the Justices of this Court the powers of the Justices of the King's Bench, they have no power to issue any of the prerogative writs of the Crown except to the Quarter Sessions and Court of Requests in Bombay. In no case can they issue writs of *habeas corpus* of any sort, though not directed to a British subject or servant of the Company, or even to a resident in the town or island of Bombay.

But this is not a construction that has ever been put upon the Charter. No one has ever supposed, nor is it argued, that the Court cannot issue writs of *habeas corpus* directed to British subjects and persons in the Company's employ, and to persons within the town and island of Bombay; and writs of *habeas corpus* are issued by the Supreme Courts at the other Presidencies under the same authority as is possessed by this Court; namely, the grant by the King of such jurisdiction and authority as the Justices of the Court of King's Bench have and may lawfully exercise in England. Nor have I ever heard of the exercise of this power having been questioned, though it was exercised at Madras in a case as likely to excite opposition as can be supposed, and which, standing as it does unimpeached, sets this question at rest, till it shall be shown to have been ill-decided. But I will first notice one case at Madras where a writ of *habeas corpus ad subjiciendum* was issued in a domestic case in some particulars resembling this, and where the proceeding was, according to the just principles of the law of England, adapted to the domestic right of a Hindoo family. On the 27th of April, 1811, a *habeas corpus* having been obtained by the father of a Hindoo girl about fourteen years of age, it appeared by the return that she had been living for seven or eight years with her uncle, till lately, with the consent of her father, who was in low circumstances; that the habits of the father were of the worst kind; and it also appeared that in point of Hindoo law he had forfeited his right to dispose of her in marriage. The girl being of an age to judge for herself, she satisfied the Chief Justice that her residence with her uncle was with her free will. She was permitted to act according to her own inclination. (*Rex v. Kistnama Naick*, 2 Madras Cases, 251.) In a case but one month before, on the 29th of March, a *habeas corpus ad subjiciendum* had been obtained to bring up the body of a Portuguese young lady of the age of fourteen, at the instance of her father. In this case she appeared before the whole Court; and, having satisfied the Court that she was at the house she was brought from by her own consent, she was informed that she was free, and she returned with the person who brought her up. (*Rex v. Miller*, Id. 249.) It would be difficult to justify these proceedings under a clause conferring the jurisdiction of the

King's Bench, but limiting its issue of prerogative writs to British subjects residing in factories, or under a clause empowering the Court to hear and determine civil suits and actions brought against the inhabitants of Madras, or as Court of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery, to inquire of, hear, and determine all treasons, felonies, &c.

But the case which appears to me to have decided the very point in this case, is that of the *King v. Morrissa*, which was a *habeas corpus* directed to officers of the household of the Nabob of the Carnatic, to bring up the bodies of two ladies, the Nabob's relations, said to be confined in his palace, in which he was residing as a sovereign prince by consent of the Governor-General in Council, within the territories subject to the Governor in Council of Fort St. George, for the purposes of the alliance between his said Highness and the East India Company, in which point of view it was contended by the Advocate-General that he was not subject to the jurisdiction of the Court. The persons to whom the writ was directed were declared by the return to be servants and officers in the military service of the Nabob, commanding the sepoy's who constituted his guard; and that, as such officers, it was their duty under the Nabob's orders to place sentries over the houses of the members of his family, including these ladies.

Now, that the Nabob was a sovereign prince, and so acknowledged by the sovereign of England, residing within the limits of the town of Madras, but as a sovereign not subject to the jurisdiction of the Court, was decided by the same Court in an action of damages brought against the Nabob by one of these ladies for the very assault and false imprisonment, the latter of which was the ground of the above application for a *habeas corpus*. (*Zeibsen Nissa Begum v. The Nabob Azeemlud Dowlah Bahader*, 2 Madras Cases, 130.) This palace, therefore, was as much out of the local territory within which the Court had jurisdiction to try suits and actions against all the inhabitants, and he himself as much exempted from its jurisdiction, as if he had been residing in his own capital. Yet in the case of the *habeas corpus*, the Court did not hesitate, after a full discussion of the question, to issue the writ, and, on the return, to discharge the ladies. (*Rex v. Minesse and Co.*, 2 Madras Cases, 122.) Here, therefore, was a writ of *habeas corpus ad subjiciendum* directed without the jurisdiction of the Court for trying of suits, actions, or complaints, to persons Natives of India, and assuredly not servants of the Company, or of any British subject.

I hold it, therefore, to be quite clear that the King, by these letters-patent creating this Court, has given to its Judges the power of issuing writs of *habeas corpus* throughout all the territories subject to the Government of Bombay, as by this prerogative his Majesty might well do. But it has been argued that rights conferred on the East India Company, and certain Acts of the King in

Parliament have limited the prerogative in this respect. All the Company's rights are conferred by virtue of Acts of Parliament. I will now, therefore, consider the several Acts of Parliament which bear on the question of the powers of this Court.

These are confined and limited by 4 Geo. IV., c. 71. sec. 7, which *recites* the granting and passing,—1st., Letters Patent 26 Geo. II.; 2d, 37 Geo. III., c. 142; 3d, 13 Geo. III., c. 63; 4th, 39 and 40 Geo. III., c. 79. sec. 7, which *declares* 'that it is expedient that a Supreme Court of Jurisdiction should be established at Bombay, in the same form and with the same powers and authorities, as that now subsisting by virtue of the several Acts before mentioned at Fort William in Bengal,' and *enacts*, that it shall be lawful withal to erect a Court at Bombay with such *civil, criminal, admiralty and ecclesiastical jurisdiction*, both as to *Natives and British subjects*, and with such powers and authorities, privileges and immunities, for better administration of the same, and subject to the same limitations, restrictions, and control, within—1st. The said town and island of Bombay; 2d, territories subordinate thereto; 3d, territories now or hereafter to be subject to or dependent upon the said Government of Bombay, as the said Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal by any law now in force is invested with, or subject to, within the said Fort William, and the places subject to, or dependent on, the Government thereof. It is observable that there is no mention in this Act of the word *factories*. The word *territories* is substituted for *factories* in 13 Geo. III., c. 63. Territories subordinate to town and island, must mean subordinate to the Government of the town and island, which is the same as subject to. It is, therefore, necessary to see what the *jurisdiction, power and authorities, privileges and immunities, limits, restrictions and control*, are, which the said Court at Fort William is invested with and subject to. By 13 Geo. III., c. 63, s. 12,—1st. Power is given to the King to erect a Supreme Court, which Court is declared by the Act to have *full power and authority to exercise and perform ALL CIVIL, CRIMINAL, ADMIRALTY, and ECCLESIASTICAL JURISDICTION*. It is not said within what territory, nor to administer what *code of laws*, except as to the criminal law at Calcutta, which, the Court being declared *also of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery*, may be taken to be declared to be the law of England, which has been in truth the law of Calcutta ever since 13 Geo. I. 2d, It shall be at all times a *Court of Record*. 3d. It shall be a *Court of Oyer and Terminer, and Gaol Delivery*, in and for the town of Calcutta and the factory of Fort William, and the factories subordinate thereto. 4th, Its jurisdiction, powers, and authorities, shall and may extend to all *British subjects* in Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; and the Supreme Court shall have full power and authority to hear and determine all *complaints* against any of his Majesty's subjects for any crimes, misdemeanors, or oppressions.

5th, And to determine any *suits or actions* against any of his Majesty's subjects in Bengal, Bahar, &c. 6th. Any *suit, action, or complaint* against any person in the service or employ of the East India Company, or any of his Majesty's subjects. 7th, Any *suit or action* of any of his Majesty's subjects against any inhabitant of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, upon any Court or agent *in writing*, exceeding 500 rupees, where the said inhabitant shall have agreed that the matter shall be determined in the said Court. 8th, So much of the Charter of Geo. II. as relates to the establishment of the Mayor's Court at Calcutta, with all its civil, criminal, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, shall cease, determine, and be absolutely void, on publication of the King's new Charter. It is to be remarked that there are no words in this Act conferring on the new Court any jurisdiction within the town of Calcutta and factory of Fort William, such as was possessed by the Mayor's Court under the Charter of Geo. II., the powers and jurisdiction of which Mayor's Court are not transferred to the new Court, nor any words declaring or limiting its *territory*. The preamble of sec. 13, declares the evil which the enactment in that section is intended to remedy, to be the insufficiency of the Charter of Geo. II. for the administration of justice, in special reference to the Company's possession of the territorial acquisitions before mentioned; viz., in sec. 7 the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa: and it enacts the establishment of a Supreme Court at Fort William to have full power to exercise jurisdiction of all sorts. It must have been intended that this should extend over these territorial acquisitions—as forming part of the territory of the Court: what *powers* it was to possess, and what *jurisdiction* it was to exercise therein, is a different question. It appoints the number of Judges, and ordains their salaries to be paid out of the said territorial acquisitions. To this an Act of Parliament was necessary. It authorises the conferring *admiralty and ecclesiastical jurisdiction*; and, under the general words 'all civil jurisdiction,' it included *equitable jurisdiction*, within the town of Calcutta and factories, an Act of Parliament being necessary to authorise any jurisdiction, except according to the common law of England, the laws of England having been introduced there by Geo. I., in 1726. In regard to the powers of the Court,—1st, The territory they were to extend over is not mentioned. 2d, The extent of JURISDICTION, properly so called, which might be conferred, is alone set forth in the Act, and this was authorised to be unlimited. The words are "power and authority to exercise and perform *all civil, &c. jurisdiction*:" the *territory* of the Court, (although the preamble of sec. 13 contemplates its including the provinces;) the *powers* of the Court, i. e., the *potestas imperii*, as distinguished from *potestas jurisdictionis*, are left without mention to the *prerogative of the King*. He might confer on it what sovereign powers or *imperium*, and what dignity, he thought fit, consistent with those which may be held by his Judges by the laws of the realm. The

extent to which the *potestas jurisdictionis* shall be conferred on the Court is left to the wisdom of the King—power only being given to the King freed from the restraints on this prerogative by the common law, and exceeding the power of this prerogative. The statute is altogether enabling. There are no words of limitation on the King's prerogative, except—1st. That the new Court shall not try any indictment or information against the Governor-General or any of the Council for any offence not being treason or felony. 2d, That none of the said persons, or of the Judges of the Court, shall be arrested upon any proceeding in the Court. The prerogative can only be limited by express words, not by *intendment*, or inferring a negative from words of affirmance. The statute provides affirmatively that the Court shall be a *Court of Record*, and a *Court of Oyer and Terminer* and *Gaol Delivery*, in and for the town of Calcutta and factory of Fort William, and factories subordinate thereto; and that the Charter shall extend and be effectual, and that the jurisdiction, powers, and authorities established by it shall extend to all British subjects residing in those provinces, and that the Supreme Court to be established shall have power to hear and determine criminal and civil complaints, suits and actions against any of his Majesty's subjects in Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, or any person employed by them or in their service. By this clause, if the King had established a Supreme Court without expressly conferring such jurisdiction, it would have belonged to that Court by force of the statute. It in like manner provides, affirmatively, that the Court shall hear and determine any suits or actions of the description above-mentioned of any of his Majesty's subjects against any inhabitant of those provinces, in the cases mentioned. This jurisdiction would, therefore, in like manner, have belonged to the Court by force of the statute. It may be said that it is to be presumed from the words of sec. 14, that the jurisdiction of the Court and the power of the Court should extend to British subjects in the kingdoms or provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa only, except such persons as should be in their employ or service, and from the words of sec. 16, that the Court should hear and determine such suits and actions only against inhabitants not within the description of the King's subjects (in the meaning of the Act) as are therein described. But, 1st, although, if the Act had erected the Court, using the same words only, the power and jurisdiction of the Company so erected would have extended no further, for want of words conferring any other or further power and jurisdiction, supposing the general words in sec. 13 not sufficient in an Act erecting a Court to confer any definite jurisdiction for want of words describing the territory; yet the case is very different where the Court is to be erected by the King in virtue of this prerogative, and the statute is only to give such further and additional powers to the King in such erection as he may not possess in virtue of this prerogative, and to provide such means for enabling the King to pay salaries to the Judges

of the Company as can only be provided by parties. The erection of the Court, and all its powers and jurisdictions, are to emanate from the King. The words of his letters-patent, or charter, are those which are to confer, describe, and limit its power and jurisdiction. These can extend no further than the King's grant in any case of the erection of a Court by letters-patent; unless, as in the Act under consideration, certain jurisdictions are declared by parties which it shall exercise and possess by force of the statute. Its power and jurisdiction will in all cases extend as far as the words of the King's charter, not exceeding the powers of this prerogative independent of the statute, and the powers, not part of his prerogative, conferred by the statute; unless the statute limit and restrain the King's prerogative in its exercise, and then so far as it shall not be expressly so limited. No words are necessary in the statute to enable the King to confer jurisdiction and power which he may confer in virtue of his prerogative; but parties may impose conditions on its grant of further powers or of money by way of limit on the prerogative. This cannot be done by omission; for, where the King has certain powers by this prerogative, and certain other powers, which he has not by this prerogative, are conferred by statute, it were an inference contrary to reason that all powers by virtue of the prerogative were abolished, and the King's powers limited without words of limitation to such powers as are mentioned in the statute *per expressum*. 2d. No limit can be imposed upon the prerogative by presumption or intendment, or otherwise than by express words, or necessary implication. There are no express words of limitation, except as before mentioned. There is no necessary implication of any such limit. Sec. 13 declares the Company shall have all civil, &c. jurisdiction; but it names no territory. The appointment of the territory remained with the King. He might, perhaps, limit it to Calcutta, though this is doubtful. But sec. 14 enacts, that whatsoever territory shall be assigned, and whatever other jurisdiction may be conferred, or may be competent to be granted, it shall have jurisdiction over all the King's subjects, or British subjects and their servants. And sec. 16, in like manner, enacts, that it shall have jurisdiction to determine actions by British subjects on obligation by other inhabitants exceeding 500 rupees, where the obligation has consented. The power of the King to grant such jurisdiction is not noticed. Neither its existence, nor its non-existence, is implied. They are not enabling words. They have no reference to the King or any act to be performed by the King. They are enacting words no further depending on an act of the King than that they appear to a Court to be erected by the King. The power of the King to grant any further or other jurisdiction, is not noticed. It is not declared, not denied, not confirmed, not limited. Its exercise, if it exists, is not inconsistent with the enactments. If the object was to control acts of oppression and injustice committed by the Company's servants, and by

British subjects residing under the protection of the Company, these enactments were necessary. The matter was not fit to be left to the advisers of the Crown to be done by virtue of the prerogative. It was necessary to be provided for by Parliament. It was so done by direct words, not enabling, but enacting. There is no inference from this, that the prerogative did not extend to the grant of such jurisdiction. The above object did not require any other exercise of jurisdiction but this over British subjects, &c. No other exercise of jurisdiction, therefore, is enjoined by Parliament. There is no inference that the prerogative does not extend to the grant of much larger jurisdiction. But it might safely be left to the wisdom of the Crown, in other matters, to exercise the prerogative or not, as the King should be advised. There is, therefore, not even what would amount to a fair presumption, if it were not a case of the prerogative of the Crown, that such limit was intended. The Act 13 Geo. III. c. 63, was explained and amended by 21 Geo. III. c. 70. The preamble of this Act sets forth, that doubts and difficulties had arisen concerning the intent and meaning of the 13 Geo. III. c. 63, and the letters-patent of the King of 26th March, 14 Geo. III. granted in virtue thereof; and it recites three objects for which it is expedient to provide; viz. 1. The supporting the lawful Government of the Provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. 2. That the revenues thereof should be collected with certainty. 3. That the inhabitants thereof should be protected in the enjoyment of all their ancient laws, usages, rights, and privileges: for these purposes, the statute limits the jurisdiction and powers of the Court in eight additional respects: 1. It enacts that the Governor-General and all the members of Council shall not be subject to its jurisdiction by reason of any thing done in their public capacity only. This includes civil actions, they not being liable to any indictment or information, except for treason, or felony, by 13 Geo. III. c. 63. 2. It enacts that, if any person shall be impleaded in any action or process, civil or criminal, for any act done by the order of the Governor General and Council in writing, he may plead the general issue, and give the order in evidence, which, with proof that the act has been done according to the purport of the same, shall amount to a sufficient justification, provided that with respect to such orders as shall extend to any British subject the Court shall retain as full and competent jurisdiction as before. 3. It enacts that the Supreme Court shall not have any jurisdiction in any matter concerning the revenue or concerning any act ordered or done in the collection according to the usage and practice of the country, or the regulations of the Governor-General and Council. 4. That no person by reason of his being employed by the Company, or by a British subject, shall become subject to the jurisdiction in any matter of inheritance or succession, or contract or dealing, except in actions for wrongs or trespasses, and except in a civil suit by agreement of parties in writing to sub-

mit the same to the decision of the Court. 6. It provides and enacts, that the Supreme Court shall have full power and authority to hear and determine, in such manner as is provided in the said letters-patent, all actions and suits against all the inhabitants of the said city of Calcutta, under this proviso, that their inheritance and succession to lands, rents, goods, and all matters of dealing between party and party, shall be determined by the laws and usages of the Mohammedans and Gentoos, where they are parties in the manner therein stated. 7. It enacts, in order that regard may be had to the civil and religious usages of the said Natives, that the rights and authorities of fathers and masters of families, as by the Gentoos or Mohammedan law, shall be preserved to them within their said families, nor shall acts done in consequence of the rule or law of caste respecting the members of the families only, be held and adjudged a crime, although not held justifiable by the laws of England. 8. It enacts that no action for wrong or injury shall lie in the Supreme Court against any person exercising a judicial office in the country Courts, for any judgment, decree, or order of the Supreme Courts, nor against any person for any act done by or in virtue of the order of the said Court. The jurisdiction on criminal information against any such officer or Magistrate for any corrupt act or acts, is expressly preserved, and the mode of proceeding prescribed by notices, &c., for their due protection. This Act contains no enactment regarding the territory of the Court, but leaves it, as by the former Act, to the King's prerogative. It contains nothing regarding the powers of the Court, as distinct from its jurisdiction in the hearing and determining complaints, suits, and actions. It recognises the existence of country or provincial Courts; but it says nothing of their powers or mode of appointment. It sanctions the power of appeal exercised by the Governor-General and Council, or some committee thereof, or appointed thereby, from such country Court in civil causes, and declares such Court of Appeal as a Court of Record, and its judgment final, except upon appeal to his Majesty in suits of the value of 5,000*l.* and upwards. Those country or provincial Courts being known to exist by appointment from the East India Company, it may be held that this recognition of them is a parliamentary recognition of the right of the Company to nominate these Judges, and thus to possess the highest judicial franchise of a subject in nature of a palatinate jurisdiction. I think it is a recognition of the power of this corporation to name Judges to try civil causes in the provinces. These Judges and Magistrates are recognised also by sec. 24, 25, and 26. There is no direct recognition of them in the Act as trying other than civil suits. The words granting an appeal to his Majesty in civil suits only, and the word Magistrates, cannot be held a direct recognition; though, joined to so long and notorious exercise of criminal jurisdiction, it would be much to say that Parliament was ignorant of it, and meant only to protect them in exercising civil

jurisdiction. I incline to think it must be held to have been intended to protect them in the execution of their office, such as that office then was, with such judicial power as they then exercised in virtue of such commissions as they then held from the corporation, not being contrary to, or exceeding, the powers judicial officers may lawfully hold. But I think it would be much to say that this sanction, by implication, would define the franchise of the Company. Much less could it create in them any franchise which should exclude the exercise of the King's prerogative to grant his commission to Judges to administer justice within any part of the dominions of the Crown. And to introduce into conquered countries such laws as he thinks fit, without direct and positive words,—if the above enactments shall even be construed to be a Parliamentary recognition of the right of the Company to try causes civil and criminal by their Courts, it must be taken as against the King's prerogative to be a recognition of such franchise as shall be concurrent with such Courts as the King may establish, not exclusive of them. As they can have no such franchise in any part of the King's dominions but by grant, the nature of their franchise must depend on the words of that grant. It is therefore necessary to go further back to the Charter of William III. By 5 Anne, c. 17—the indent tripartite to which it refers—Lord Godolphin's award and the surrender and acceptance of all former charters by and from the old East India Company to the Crown, the East India Company, as then constituted by union of the old and new Company, rested solely on the Charter of William III., and the Acts 9 and 10 William III., c. 44, authorising it, and the said Act 5 Anne, c. 17, confirming it. The Charter contains no grant of a franchise relating to the administration of justice. It grants 'the ordering, rule, and government of all such forts, factories, and plantations as shall be at any time hereafter settled by or under the said Company;' and gives them power 'to name and appoint governors and officers;' such governor and officers being empowered to raise, train, and muster military forces, according to the directions of the Company; 'the sovereign right, power, and dominion over all the said forts, places, and plantations to us, our heirs and successors, being always reserved.' But the administration of justice is specially provided for by the election of 'one or more Courts of judicature, to be held at such place or places, fort or forts, plantations or factories, upon the said Courts, as the said Company shall from time to time direct and appoint,' consisting of 'one person learned in the civil laws and two merchants,' &c. This Court had no power to judge except in civil causes described in the letters-patent. These gave the Company no franchise, except to name these Judges from time to time. It was at most a franchise *tenera placita*, but not of *conusans de pleas*. There are no words of exclusive jurisdiction. The King retained his prerogative of establishing such other Courts for civil justice as he might think fit to commission,

who would have had a concurrent jurisdiction. It was no franchise of criminal jurisdiction, for which provision was made. This was left to a subordinate commission of the King, which does not appear to have been issued till 13 Geo. I., (1726,) when a Charter of justice was granted to the Company, for incorporating a mayor and aldermen at each settlement, Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta. This Charter was surrendered, and a new one obtained, 26 Geo. II. (1753.) It erects corporations of mayor and aldermen as above. It nominates the first mayor and aldermen, appoints the mayor in future to be named by the Company's Government and Council, out of two persons to be elected by the aldermen from their own number; and vacancies of aldermen to be supplied by the Governor and Council out of the principal inhabitants: it gives to this corporation of mayor and aldermen, created a Court of Record, power to try civil suits between party and party, within the town of Madras, or any of the factories subject or subordinate to Fort St. George, or to the Governor and Council, 'except suits between the Indian Natives of Madras only; in which case we will that the same be determined among themselves, unless both parties shall be content to submit the same to the determination of the said Mayor's Court.' It appoints the Governor and Council, for the time being, to be Justices of the Peace in and for the town of Madras and Fort George, Fort St. David, Vizagapatam, the factories on the coast of Sumatra, and all the other factories subordinate to Fort St. George, in the same or like manner, and with the same or the like power as Justice of Peace in England, to hold quarter sessions, and be a Court of record, in nature of a Court of *oyer and terminer* and jail delivery, and to be Commissioner of *oyer and terminer* and jail delivery for trying and punishing all offences (high treason only excepted) committed within the town of Madras, Fort St. George, or within any of the said factories or places subordinate thereto, to proceed by indictment, and in like manner as is used in England, as near as the circumstances of the place and consideration of the inhabitants will admit of; and it provides for grand and petit juries, &c. The same grant is made for Bombay and Calcutta. This was the subsisting Charter of Justice down to the 13 Geo. III., and, except this and the Charter of William III., the corporation had none till the 13 Geo. III. The Charter of William conferred no franchise relative to the administration of justice, but the very limited one of the Court of the civilian above mentioned. The Charter of Geo. II. confers no such franchise, except that by means of the Mayor's Courts in civil suits, and of the several Governors and Councils in criminal suits; and they were bound to administer the criminal laws of England all over the then possessions of the Company. The civil jurisdiction, that of the Mayor's Court, so far from being *exclusive*, was not *universal*: the Native inhabitants were specially *exempted from it*. The criminal jurisdiction of the Governor and Council was not *exclusive*. Without all doubt the

King might create other Justices of the Peace, and grant other Commissioners of *oyer and terminer*, general or special, &c. Any exclusive franchise of the Company to administer justice must, therefore, be looked for elsewhere than in any charter or letters-patent of the King. The first act of patent in which mention is made of the territorial acquisitions of the East India Company is 7 Geo. III. c. 57. Nothing is thereby enacted but that 'the said territorial acquisitions and revenues shall remain in the possession of the said united Company for two years.' By 9 Geo. III., c. 24, they shall so remain for five years. 13 Geo. III., c. 63., sec. 7, enacts, 'that for the Government of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal there shall be appointed a Governor-General and four Counsellors; and that the whole civil and military Government of the said Presidency, and also the ordering, management, and government of all the territorial acquisitions and revenues in the kingdoms of Bengal, Babar, and Orissa, shall, during such time as the territorial acquisitions and revenues shall remain in the possession of the said united Company, be and are hereby vested in the said Governor-General and Council; and in like manner as the same now are, or at any time heretofore might have been, exercised by the President and Council, or select Committee, in the said kingdoms.' By sec. 9, a superintendence is given them over the government and management of the Presidencies of Madras, Bombay, and Bencoolen, in certain terms. So much of the Charter of George as relates to the Mayor's Court at Calcutta is abolished. The rest is confirmed by Parliamentary sanction. The effects of the other enactment of 13 Geo. III., c. 63, have been already considered as explained and amended by 21 Geo. III., c. 70. The committing of the civil and military Government, and the ordering and the managing the territorial acquisitions and revenues to a Governor-General, to be appointed by the Company, with consent of the King under the sign-manual, and a Council, can never be construed as conferring any judicial franchise on the Company, much less as divesting the Crown of its undoubted prerogative. The Governor-General and Council, and the Chief Justice and other Judges of the Supreme Court, are created by this Act of Parliament Justices of the Peace for the said settlement, (Fort William,) and for the several settlements and factories subordinate thereto; and the Governor and Council are authorised to hold quarter sessions, and are declared a Court of Record. If, therefore, any grant of any judicial franchise to this corporation is to be found, it must be looked for in some subsequent Act of Parliament; meanwhile, strong evidence is afforded by this Act, 13 Geo. III., c. 63, of the understanding of Parliament, that the territory of the Supreme Court about to be established in Bengal, over which its sovereign and superintending power, its *potestas imperii*, as Lord Hale calls its power of commanding the attendance of all persons necessary for the execution of its duties, independent of and distinguished from its power of

judging, was to be commensurate with the territorial possessions of the Company under the Presidency of Calcutta. Sec. 40 enacts, that for the trial of indictments and information in the King's Bench, at Westminster, for offences in India, the said Court of King's Bench may issue a *mandamus* to the Supreme Court of Calcutta, and Mayor's Courts of Madras and Bombay, to hold a Court, and issue summons, &c., for attendance of witnesses, to be examined, and their depositions in writing transmitted to the King's Bench. No additional powers are given by the Act beyond those the King was by his Charter to grant. If the power of the Court were not to extend over all the territories, this enactment would be nugatory. This, therefore, contained in the original Act, making mention of the new acquisitions of these provinces, is a Parliamentary declaration, that these provinces are within the territory of the Supreme Court, and that the power of the Court extends over all persons, Native and British, though the jurisdiction may not; for it cannot be supposed that no witnesses should be examined but British subjects. In case of any information, &c., against the Chief and Puisne Justices of the Supreme Court, the Governor and Council are to take examinations in like manner. If there had been a doubt of the authority of the Supreme Court in the provinces, the Act would have directed the Governor and Council to take depositions in the provinces, or to compel the attendance of Natives and others residing there; otherwise, there would be a failure of justice, which cannot be imputed to Parliament. See also 21 Geo. III., c. 79, sec. 5; 4 Geo. III., c. 25, sec. 78; and 26 Geo. III., c. 57, sec. 27, 28. The Act 19 Geo. III., c. 61, enacts, that 'the territorial acquisitions and revenues lately obtained in the East Indies, shall remain in the possession of the united Company, &c., during the term of one year.' It continues the powers of the Governor-General and Council, &c., as by 13 Geo. III., c. 63, and declares that they 'shall not be removeable, excepting by his Majesty, his heirs and successors, upon representation made by the Court of Directors.' It provides and enacts, that nothing in the Act contained shall affect the right of the Crown or of the Company, after the expiration of the Act. That of 20 Geo. III., c. 56, continues the possession of the said territories and revenues to the Company for one year. The power of the Governor-General, &c., is continued, in terms of 13 Geo. III., c. 63, sec. 7, for a farther time, removeable, as by the last Act, by the King, on the representation of the Court of Directors. There is the same proviso saving the rights of the King and the Company. The next Act is the Act 21 Geo. III., c. 65, renewing their right to an exclusive trade, &c. It continues to them all and every the profits, benefits, advantages, privileges, franchises, &c., &c., which by any former Act or Acts of Parliament, or by any Charter or Charters founded thereon, are enacted, given, granted, &c., and not by this Act altered. It continues to them the exclusive trade till the expiring three years' notice after

the 1st of March. It enacts 'that the territorial acquisitions and revenues lately obtained in the East Indies shall remain in the possession of the United Company, &c., for and during the term of the exclusive trade granted.' It prescribes how the profits of these territorial acquisitions shall be applied and divided between the Company and the public. It ordains accounts of the gross amount of the territorial revenues received by the Company, and of all their disbursements, charges of management, civil and military, &c., to be made up and delivered annually to the Commissioners of the Treasury. It enacts that all the rights, interests, powers, privileges, and authorities, now vested in the Company, not by the Act expressly taken away, varied, &c., shall remain in them. It limits the residence of British subjects in India, without licence of the Company, and their lending money to foreigners, &c. It requires the Court of Directors to deliver to the Commissioners of the Treasury and Secretary of State respectively, copies of all letters and orders relating to the management of their revenue, or to their civil and military affairs, addressed to any of their servants in India; and they are to pay due obedience to, and be governed and bound by, such instructions as they shall receive, so far as relates to transactions with the country Powers, and levying war and making peace. It continues the power of the Governor-General and Council, removable by the Crown as before. It gives power to the Directors to appoint a Governor-General, in case of vacancy, with the consent of the King, under the sign manual, and counsellors also with the same consent. And it saves all rights and claims of the public and of the Company respecting the territorial acquisitions and revenues. By 24 Geo. III., c. 25, appointing the Board of Control, the provisions with regard to furnishing copies of despatches to Commissioners of the Treasury and Secretaries of State are superseded. The preamble declares the Act to be 'for the better government and security of the territorial possessions of his kingdom in the East Indies.' It gives authority to the King to nominate Commissioners for the affairs of India. It distinguishes the British territorial possessions in the East Indies from the affairs of the United Company of Merchants trading thereto, and gives to the said commissioners the superintendence and control over both; and it enacts that they shall be fully authorised and empowered to superintend, direct, and control all acts, operations, and concerns which in any wise relate to the civil or military Government, or revenues of the British territorial possessions in the East Indies. And the Court of Directors are required to pay due obedience to, and to be governed and bound by, such orders and directions as they shall from time to time receive from the said Board, touching the civil and military Government, and British territorial possessions in the East Indies. It is absurd, therefore, to talk of any Government civil or military vested in the Company after this statute. In the actual administration they participate by appointing their servants for

the details of it. Their right of administration results from statute, and is not properly in the nature of a franchise. It is not derived from Charter, nor does it resemble any common law right. The whole property, i. e. the *dominium directum*, if those who have the *dominium utile* of the lands hold of any one either by any sort of feudal or quasi feudal tenure, or by any right in nature of leasehold, is in the King, by the declaration that these countries are territorial possessions of the kingdom of Great Britain. The right of the Company is derived from grant of the King in Parliament of a certain interest in territorial possessions of the Crown, limited in amount of interest and in duration, and not exceeding the express words of the statutes conferring it. By 26 Geo. III., c. 25, it is declared, that the King's approbation of the appointment of the Governor-General is not necessary. The Act 33 Geo. III., c. 52, continues the possession to the Company of the former and more lately obtained territorial acquisitions and exclusive trade, till the expiring three years' notice after the 1st of March, 1811. There is no alteration made in the powers of the Board of Control, or the rights of the Company, requiring notice. A most important enactment, however, is inserted, declaring 'the Governor-General and members of the Supreme Council at Fort William, and the Chief Justice and other Justices of the Supreme Court at Fort William, then the only persons authorised by law to act as Justices of the Peace within and throughout the provinces direct of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa.' This declaration is very material. The Governor-General and Council were made Justices of the Peace by the Charter of Geo. II. The 13 Geo. III., c. 63, enacts that the Governor-General and Council for the time being, the Justice and other Judges of the Supreme Court, shall act as Justices of the Peace for the said settlement, and for the several settlements and factories subordinate thereto. There are no other words in any Act of Parliament creating the Judges of the Supreme Court Justices of the Peace. If, therefore, they are Justices of the Peace over the Provinces of Bahar and Orissa, as they are by Parliament declared to be, they must be so created by 13 Geo. III., by the words above cited, i. e. under the words 'settlements and factories subordinate,' or the King's Commission going beyond the Act, and creating them Justices of the Peace, as having the powers and jurisdiction of the Judges of the King's Bench over all the territories and all the inhabitants of those territories, not British subjects merely. If they were created Justices of the Peace over the provinces by the words in the Act 'settlements and territories,' the provinces are no more settlements than they are factories, and they were thus erected, and are a Court of *oyer and terminer* and jail delivery generally for the provinces as well as for the town of Calcutta; if these words are not sufficient, and I think they are not sufficient, to bear this meaning, then they are Justices of the Peace over the provinces by virtue of the King's commission, granted by his

royal prerogative without any authority from the statute; and this is a Parliamentary declaration to this effect, and is consistent with the principles of the law, as above stated. The statute enacts that by commissions issued under the seal of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William, in the name of the King's Majesty, the Governor-General in Council shall nominate and appoint some of the Court and other British inhabitants to act as Justices of the Peace within and for the said provinces and presidencies and places subordinate thereto: the persons appointed are to take the oath of Justice of Peace in England, *i. e.* to administer the law of England; and the Act, in an expressly declaratory clause, not enacting but providing and declaring, declares all proceedings before such Justice of the Peace to be removeable by *certiorari* into the Court of *oyer and terminer* and jail delivery, which is to proceed, and to give judgment thereof, in like manner as the Court of King's Bench at Westminster: this is a particular declaration, that under the King's commission the said Supreme Court was vested with the powers of the Court of King's Bench to issue the presidency writs of the Crown, directed to any part of the provinces and territories subject to the presidency, without distinction of persons who may be commanded to obey them, whether they be British or Native, or foreign; and this clause is imperative upon the Court: It shall and may be lawful, to and for any one or more of the Justices of the said Court of *oyer and terminer* and jail delivery, and such Justice or Justices is and are hereby required at the instant to grant his or their *fiat*, and to award a writ of *certiorari* under the seal of the Supreme Court of Judicature when the matter shall arise in Bengal, Bahar, or Orissa. If they can remove the cause, and they must remove by *certiorari*, they must *ex necessitate* have power to issue a *habeas corpus* to bring him before them, whosoever may have him in custody. By the Acts above mentioned, the whole civil and military Government of the British territories in India was declared vested in the Crown, the Court of Directors being permitted to issue orders to their servants in India, but only under the control and subject to the directions of the King's Ministers, his Secretary of State, and others constituting the Board which his Majesty should appoint; and even in issuing these orders, in the first instance, the Directors acted as servants of the King, and not of the Company, for all power of altering or questioning such orders is expressly taken from the corporation. By 37 Geo. III., c. 117, for regulating the trade with India by ships of nations in amity with his Majesty, the Directors are ordained to make regulations for carrying on the trade in conformity with the Act; which regulations shall be subject to the direction of the King's Board of Control, in the same manner as all Acts which relate to the civil and military Government and revenues of the British territories in the East Indies now are; and it is enacted, that it shall not be lawful for any General Court of Proprietors to alter, rescind, or suspend any such regulations. It is impossible to

frame an assertion of more entire and active sovereignty on the part of the Crown, or a more complete negation of any sovereignty in the corporation. By 37 Geo. III., c. 142, a Recorder's Court is established at Madras or Bombay. The general declaration of the powers to exercise jurisdiction is in the same words as that regarding the Supreme Court at Calcutta, viz., all civil and criminal jurisdiction; and they are to be a Court of *oyer and terminer* and jail delivery, 'in and for Fort St. George and the town of Madras, and the limits thereof, and the factories subordinate thereto, and in and for the town and island of Bombay, and the limits thereof, and the factories subordinate thereto respectively.' The clause enacting that their jurisdiction shall extend to British subjects is differently worded from a similar clause in 13 Geo. III. It is enacted, 'that the new Charter, &c. shall extend to all British subjects who shall reside within any of the factories subject to or dependent upon the Governments of Madras and Bombay respectively.' The clause proceeds, 'and the said Courts, &c., shall have full power, &c., to hear and determine all manner of complaints against any of his Majesty's subjects, for any crime committed, &c., and all suits, &c., arising upon or in territories subject to, or dependent upon, the said Government,' &c. Either factories and territories must be taken as synonymous, in which case these Courts were to be Courts of *oyer and terminer* and jail delivery, in and for all the territories subordinate to Madras and Bombay,—or these words, 'the new Charter, &c., and the jurisdiction, &c., shall extend to all British subjects who shall reside within any of the factories,' &c., must be taken as referring to the immediately subsequent *scriptus*, as contradictory words, relative to the hearing, and inconsistent with determining complaints, suits, and actions; and this I think the right construction, as I have already said, in construing the letters-patent establishing this Court of Bombay. The Act then proceeds to embody the provisions of 13 Geo. III., and 21 Geo. III., regarding the Supreme Court at Calcutta; but with this difference, that the Charter of Geo. II., so much of it as confers any civil, criminal, or ecclesiastical jurisdiction on the Mayor's Courts, or the Courts of the Presidents and Councils as Courts of appeal, of *oyer and terminer*, and jail delivery, is determined; together with 'all judicial powers and authorities granted by any Act or Acts of Parliament to the said Mayor's Courts, or Courts of Appeal. But the same shall and may be exercised by the Court of Judicature, to be erected by virtue of this Act, in the manner, and to the extent herein before directed.' The Charter, in other respects, is to continue in full force and effect. The Acts of 39 and 40 Geo. III., c. 49, after giving power to the Court of Judicature to divide the territorial acquisitions among the several Presidencies as to them shall seem expedient, subject to the control of the King's Commissioners, enacts, that all such territorial acquisitions shall, from and after the time, &c., be to all intents and purposes whatsoever annexed to and made subject to such Presidency, and to the

Court or Courts of Judicature established, or to be established, therein respectively.' This, again, is a Parliamentary declaration, that all the territories of the Presidencies are subject to the King's Courts of Judicature respectively. The extent of jurisdiction possessed within those territories is, of course, not hereby intimated; but it settles that these territories form the territory of the Courts. This Act gives power to establish a Supreme Court at Madras, to be the same with that at Calcutta. It enacts that the power and authority (not jurisdiction, or power, &c. to exercise jurisdiction) of the Supreme Court of Fort William, &c., shall extend to and over the said province and district of Benares, and to and over all the factories, districts, and places, which now are, or hereafter shall be, made subordinate thereto; and to and over all such provinces and districts as may at any time hereafter be annexed and made subject to the Presidency of Fort William aforesaid.' This is a declaration of territorial jurisdiction and *imperium*. Act 53 Geo. III., c. 155, provides and enacts, 'that nothing in this Act, &c., shall extend, &c. to prejudice or affect the undoubted sovereignty of the Crown of the United Kingdom, in and over the said territorial acquisitions, nor to preclude the said United Company, after the determination of the term hereby granted, from the enjoyment of a claim to any rights, franchises, or immunities which they now have,' &c. This is a complete declaration of sovereign power in the King, subject to any franchise the Company may show. It is, therefore, clear that there is nothing in any Act of Parliament giving to the East India Company any franchise which can control the exercise of the King's prerogative in granting commissions for the administration of justice within the British territories in India: on the other hand, there is much to show that it is, and always has been, the understanding and intention of Parliament, that over whomsoever or under what limits soever the jurisdiction of the King's Supreme Courts in India for the hearing and determining complaints, suits, and actions, and for the trial of crimes might extend; the sovereign and controlling power 'to correct errors and misdemeanors extrajudicial, tending to the breach of the peace, or oppression of the subject,' by issuing the prerogative writs of the Crown, is possessed by their Judges, in the same manner as by the Justices of the King's Bench in England, and extends over all the territories subject to the Presidencies where they sit respectively.

Saturday, 30th August.

On this day Mr. Justice Grant delivered the following decision:

1. That the affidavits were sufficient to call for the issuing of the writ.
2. That the writ might issue in vacation.
3. That the jurisdiction of the Court by the letters-patent extended over all the territories dependent on the Government of Bombay, with certain limitations as to persons, but none as to jurisdiction in civil suits and actions, except in regard to Mohanmedans and Gentoos, whose disputes as to inheritances and contracts were to be determined by their own laws and usages.
4. That the question of a prerogative writ is

not a question of jurisdiction, but of the power of the King, in right of his Crown, exercised through his Supreme Judges in his Indian dominions; and lastly, that Pandoorung Ramchunder being proved to have acted under the countenance and authority of Andrew Dunlop, Esq., a British subject, this circumstance did, in his judgment, bring the case even within the jurisdiction of the Court, as limited by the letters-patent. For all these reasons, he concluded the Court could not, *salvo juramento suo*, refuse the writ.

THE BANKS OF THE LEE.

I STRAY'D by the waters of Lee when the gleam
Of the sunset yet shone in its beauty of light,
And the lilies and flowrets that grew by the stream
Were closing their leaves to the gloom of the night.
And there sung a nightingale on the green willow
That grew by the banks of the waters of Lee;
And wild was that song and untamed as the billow,
And it thrill'd to the soul like the voice of the sea.
And the song that was breath'd from the lay of the bird,
Was like the remembrance of joys that are past,
'Twas sweet—it was sad—and the thoughts that recurr'd
Sped swift o'er my days on the wings of the blast.
My manhood appear'd to me sad like the grave,
For its days were o'ershadow'd and dark as the tomb,
And my youth that had wander'd o'er ocean's wide wave
Was closed in an evening of twilight and gloom.
But, oh! the sweet sunshine that beam'd on my dawn,
Had glitter'd all bright on the waters of Lee;
But the mirth of its gleaming for ever was gone,
And the tints of its fading were darkness to me.
Thus, pensive and listening, I wander'd along,
Where mem'ry had told me of joys that were fled,
Till ceased was the sound of the nightingale's song,
That had thrill'd to the heart like the wail o'er the dead.
But, oh! so endearing were what I had heard,
That, when I had left the sweet banks of the Lee,
The tale that was breath'd in the voice of the bird,
Still told all its sweetness and sadness to me.
For the thought that had closed with that soul-piercing lay,
That seem'd not as yet to have died on the air,
Was the racking of madness that fades not away,
The farewell of love, the deep voice of despair.
Yet sweet to my soul was the mem'ry of bliss,
All fragrant as blossoms bespangled with wet,
And it lingeringly dwelt like the balm of the kiss
That seals the soft whispers when lovers are met.

D. L.

THE HISTORY AND DOCTRINE OF BUDDHISM.*

A religious system which is professed by three hundred millions of men, that is, by nearly one-third of the human race, is certainly an object worthy of peculiar attention. And the importance of the subject will appear to increase, if we contemplate this system issuing completely formed out of the depths of antiquity, surviving the most fierce and unrelenting persecutions, constantly extending its sway, and perpetually deriving fresh energy from the genius and enthusiasm of successive reformers. No body of doctrines, (unconnected with Sacred Scripture,) now existing in the world, if we, perhaps, except the Brahminical system which prevails in Hindoostan, can rival Buddhism in antiquity. It appears to be one of those primitive creeds, which were created by the first efforts of human reason, when emerging from the darkness of the savage state, and beginning to experience the necessity of accounting to itself for the various moral and physical phenomena which presented themselves to its contemplation. The mind of man can never rest satisfied with inactivity. It will project itself unceasingly towards the various objects which surround it, endeavour to dive into the mysteries of their nature, and, failing to discover the true secret of existence, will cover the desert spaces of knowledge with splendid and imposing fabrics of error. These fabrics will have more or less of symmetry and beauty, in proportion as the mind which creates them has been more or less accustomed to the discipline of study; but in all cases the ancient and primitive creeds of mankind possess a boldness and originality which render them peculiarly interesting to the curious investigator. It signifies but little whether the doctrines they inculcate be consistent or not; or rather, the more inconsistent they are the more interesting, the very incoherence of their dogmas being the best possible proof of their antiquity.

In speaking of Buddhism as one of the primitive religions of mankind, we must be understood to refer to the ancient form of this system; for in the course of ages it has undergone numerous modifications, and lost much of its original simplicity. Modern Buddhism may, in fact, be regarded as an off-shoot from that ancient system which at first prevailed in Hindoostan, and also gave birth to the Brahminical faith. What this system was, it appears to be impossible to conjecture. In some remote period, long anterior to the birth of

* The History and Doctrine of Buddhism, popularly illustrated, with notices of the Kappooism, or Demon Worship, and the Bali, or Planetary Incantations, of Ceylon. By Edward Upham, M.R.A.S. With forty-three lithographic prints from original Singalese designs. Ackermann. London, 1829.

history, three illustrious personages, each bearing the name of Budha, successively appeared among men ; and, the first having founded the system which still bears his name, the other two must be considered merely as reformers. The first Budha is regarded as the ninth avatar or incarnation of Vishnoo. The time and place of his appearance upon earth are not known, nor are we acquainted with the era or country of the second Budha ; but an obscure tradition assigns Tartary as the birth-place of the system. A French writer of great learning and ingenuity considers this country to have been the cradle of the whole human race, whence the various swarms of population, diverging towards every point of the compass, carried with them some dim traditions of their origin, and many remnants of the religion and civilisation of the mother country. A notion prevails throughout Hindoostan, that the Brahmins themselves, who either invented or at least introduced into India the religious system which now prevails universally in that country, came originally from the north, in all probability from those lofty table-lands or steps of central Asia, whence M. Bailly supposes the various tribes of mankind to have issued as from a fountain. It is in fact not improbable that the plains of Bengal, and all the low-lands of Southern India sweeping round the Ghauts, or stretching between these mountains and the Vindhia chain, were originally covered by the ocean ; and that thus the lofty lands of the north were peopled, even before the ocean had retired from the southern parts. Indeed, there is a tradition prevailing among the inhabitants of the Malabar coast, that the ocean, at no very remote period, flowed completely over their country to the very foot of the Ghauts.

We have already remarked that Buddhism appears to have originated in Tartary. From this country it passed into Hindoostan, at some remote period anterior to all historical record, and flourished together with Brahminism, or rather formed originally a portion of that singular system. This seems to be evident both from the great similarity which there is between the fundamental doctrines of this sect and those of Hindooism, and from the fact that the Budha literature is entirely based upon the Sanscrit. From many of the doctrines and customs of this sect, we should infer that it preceded the institution of castes. Among the Budhists the Talapoins or priests led a life of the strictest celibacy,—a practice which could never have prevailed conjointly with the system of castes, as the sacred order would necessarily become extinct in one generation. Hindooism, like Judaism, properly speaking, admits of no proselytes ; as the bare acknowledgment of a certain body of doctrines is not sufficient to constitute either a Jew or a Hindoo, it being necessary in the one case to be born of the race of Abraham, and in the other to have sprung from one of those great castes or families into which the Hindoo nation was divided by its Brahminical legislature. Buddhism, on the other hand, admits proselytes and refuses

to recognise the system of castes. This circumstance alone is sufficient to account for the deadly hostility which prevailed between the Hindoos and Budhists, and which, after sanguinary and long-protracted struggles, ended with the total expulsion of the latter from the continent of India. The persecuted Budhists took refuge in the island of Ceylon, erected there the altars of their religion, and successfully defended themselves against all their enemies. The worship of Vishnoo, which has more analogy with Buddhism than any other modification of the Hindoo system, still prevails in a particular manner on the southern coast of India, in Coromandel, and on the little island of Ramyseram, lying between the continent and Ceylon. The Vishnoo pagodas of this island, like the ancient Buddhist temples of Hindoostan, are built in a colossal style, like the temples of Egypt or the Cyclopean structures of Italy.

When the Budhists arrived in Ceylon, they found among the aboriginal inhabitants a very extraordinary superstition, traces of which are still discernible both in that island and in several parts of Asia. This was Kappooism, or demon-worship, which was connected with a very singular kind of planetary incantation. The peculiarities of this strange superstition are thus described by Mr. Upham :

‘ In the scheme of Buddhism there are to be found traces of beings superior to man, to whom are ascribed a rule and dominion over the planets, while the latter are also considered as having an influence on the destiny of man. That these demons are invested with the faculty of surpassing the powers of nature, is manifested from the actions ascribed to them ; such as looking through the regions of the different elements, using the air as a medium for passing from region to region ; and, in fact, exercising the powers of the elements. These beings, therefore, are the great agents of magic ; and although, in the Buddhist doctrine, they do not preside over the elements, they appear to be endowed with the faculty or power of using them at will to fulfil their desires. They pervade the elements of earth, air, fire, and water, and severally direct their properties to the benefit or affliction of man.

‘ When the human race are visited by diseases and sickness, they are ascribed to the demons, or such as have already been described in the account of the hill-gods and the Bali. These cannot be ejected but by charms and incantations.

‘ In the accounts of Pythagoras we are able to gather the scope and doctrine of demon-worship in his time, since Porphyry informs us that the Pythagoreans cured diseases of the mind and body by songs and incantations, affirming that Pythagoras directed certain diseases, which he attributed to demons, to be cured partly by incantations, partly by magical hymns, and partly by music. This sort of cure was therefore conducted in the East, at that remote period, on much the same principle as at the present day.

'It was the universal belief of the Orientals,' says the learned Mosheim, 'that certain sounds and words, for the most part barbarous, were highly grateful, and that others were equally disagreeable to those spirits. Hence, on some occasions, the magicians composed the sacred songs of the words which were believed to be agreeable to the demons; or, if for the purpose of their expulsion, in strains which they deemed that the demon would hear with horror. From the same persuasion, they suspended from the neck of a sick person an amulet, so framed as to become influential for ejecting the demon.'

'In Ceylon, the demon faith is an established system. The boundary line between worship and offering seems to the mind very slender, and to the Christian, as far as concerns the heart, it is, indeed, a nonentity, as every valuable quality, which designates the service of a rational creature, is as much wanting to the one as to the other. In the view of the scheme, however, it becomes very material, as identifying the class of doctrine, because demon-worship, upon the basis of "the two principles," wherein the one is characterised as beneficent, and the opposite one as malignant, is the primitive demon-scheme, prevalent throughout the pagan world in the earliest ages, and antecedent to the knowledge of "a grand adversary to God and man." The demon-service of Ceylon still retains this character; it has its favourite gods, and pays them homage and veneration; it feeds their servants, and induces long and tedious pilgrimages to their sacred high places; such are the hills celebrated for their abode, as well as the chief spots of the Dewales, which are shown in the legends of Wisne-karma, Kumara, Samana-dewa, and Wiebesene. Every misfortune and disease has its presiding demon, and monsters are represented with terrifying forms, inflicting torments upon the human race; and yet these beings are, in some respect, made servants to the Budha. Such tenets are grafted upon the same stock that furnished the brilliant conceptions of the Greeks, and mixed with legends, which it would leave the subject imperfect not to touch slightly upon.'

'Although Buddhism favours, in many portions of its doctrine, the tenet which considers the demon-gods to have been, in process of their existence, the souls of men exalted for exemplary conduct to the heavens, and therein, as gods of the Dewa Loka, presiding over and directing the affairs of men; yet this belief, which recalls to our minds the great union of Sabeism and demon-idolatry, is not developed to any extent in modern Buddhism. Its ancient dogmas probably partook more copiously of this refined speculation, which seems warranted by the clearer views, and accordance with patriarchal events, which characterise the earlier chapters of its theological history. The Budha doctrine is deemed by Mr. Faber to be a more consistent one than the Brahminical scheme, as it displays more distinctly the character of materialism, and therein is

uniform in its views. That it cannot be sustained in its claims seems to be admitted, however, by its votaries, (no mean reasoners,) when pushed hardly upon the thesis of its reasonings. Its doctrine ascribes the state of the devils or demons to the falling off of the race of men from their original felicity; and also teaches, that devils who die and are born again, (namely, who are involved in the pains of the transmigration,) may, by perseverance, attain to the felicity that is the highest state of Nirwana. Now, as the offenders who are most severely punished, and most harshly accused, in the Budha's doctrine, namely, the deitti, or impious men who deny his supremacy, are nevertheless declared capable of repentance, and thereby, in a certain time, of meliorating their condition, and again of entering into the probationary stages, it is clear that every being, however degraded, revolves in a prescribed circle, and is progressing or retrograding. There can be no pause in the rotatory scheme of revolving events. While this tenet holds good of the doctrine of Buddhism, there is much of magic mixed up with it, the growth of another and older system, and its intermixture is strongly stamped with different qualities: thus the inhabitants of a region often referred to, named Jugandere, do not appear ostensibly to progress onward to the regions of the Brahma Loka, or to drop down into the regions of humanity.

'They are demons, as far as malignity and the power of inflicting disease and calamity can merit the term; and they seem to be permitted to exercise at will these odious qualities, without apparently being thereby in danger of forfeiture of their station and great power.

'There can be no stronger proof offered, that the doctrine of the Gaudma Budha is a reforming scheme, which was obliged to bend to circumstances, and to incorporate parts of other systems, than to present a list of the various demons. The Budha books and doctrine seemingly display marks of at least three essentially different doctrines. The Nirwana of the Budha, and the Assura Loka, or eternal Zian, seem anterior to Gaudma. The serpent and demon gods also represent the ancient primitive idolatry; and the metempsychosis, the scope of Gaudma's scheme, concocts together these relics and fragments of extraneous principles.

'The classes of the demons alone are six in number—1st, the infernal demons in torments; 2d, the demons also in punishment, "who die and are born again," which inferentially excludes the former from this privilege; 3d, the demons which follow the Wasawarty-raja, or rebel chief of the Dewa Loka, but are also among the Assuras, as their appearance testifies, with their leader rising from the abyss or the centre stone, in open hostility against the Budha; 4th, the Assuras under Wiebesana, who assist Sekkraia against his enemy, the Asura-raja of the Asura Loka, or hells. These Asura inhabit the Dewa Loka, and attend the judge of

mortals after death, to inflict the punishments awarded. The doctrine affirms, however, that such sad office interferes not with their enjoying the same felicity as their divine companions. 5th; The divine snakes and magic giants, evidently a portion of the idolatrous faith of Ceylon, which the Budha Gaudmā sought to reform; for his history represents his descent on Ceylon as being accomplished only through their fright occasioned by his miracles, and his banishing or placing them in the sphere of the elements in the Jugandere mountains and caves. 6th, The devils of the island, the subjects of the Balli, or magical incantations and songs, and of the following details. They are curious transcripts of the principal actions of the demons, which are historically recorded by the followers of the Budha, and form the only faithful sources whence we can deduce the actual tone and character of their influence.

Budhism was introduced into Ceylon about 260 years before the Christian era. In this island, the doctrines of Budha appear to have undergone a new modification; for the Buddhism of Ceylon unquestionably differs in many particulars from that of Tartary, Siam, China, or the Indian isles. Still, it was from this island that the system spread both to the isles of the South, and to the regions of India beyond the Ganges. It was introduced into Siam about the year 639 of the Christian era. It appears to have reached the Chinese Empire some years previous to this era; but the system did not arrive in that country in all its original perfection; for about the year 960 of the Christian era, three hundred priests were despatched from China to Hindoostan, to procure relics of the Fo, and books of the Budha. It is, however, impossible to trace chronologically the migrations of this system, which still prevails in full force throughout the whole of Eastern Tartary, China, Thibet, Ava, Siam, Pegu, Tonquin, Cochin China, and the innumerable islands of the Indian Archipelago.

Having thus given a brief outline of the history of Budhism, we shall next proceed to its doctrines and ceremonies. The inventors of this system were evidently not very profoundly versed in the science of metaphysics; since they imagined the human race, as well as the material world, to be eternal, not perceiving the absurdity of supposing that to be eternal which does not exist necessarily. The world being uncreated, the idea of a supreme God appeared to be unnecessary, and was consequently excluded from the Buddhist system. But, as the imagination is not to be satisfied with a single dogma, however absurd, the world was supposed to be successively destroyed by fire, water, and wind, and again renovated; thus proceeding in a course of alternate destruction and regeneration to all eternity. At each periodical renewal of the system of nature, the world is supposed to rise out of chaos in the most perfect beauty and order; a golden age prevails; health, virtue, and peace spread their wings over the earth; and the days of man, extended to a vast

length, glide away in simplicity and happiness. But both the world and its inhabitants deteriorate by degrees, and degenerate continually, until at length the terrible agency of one of the elements is called in by Fate to put an end to the system.

It is not extraordinary that such a coarse system of materialism should amuse the minds of a barbarous people; but atheism is too cold and disgusting a creed long to satisfy the most debased minds. In proportion as men become conscious of the possession of intellectual power, they experience the necessity of acknowledging the existence of some mysterious being above matter and distinct from it, endowed with sovereign intelligence, self-existing, and embracing all things within the range of its power. The rank both of nations and individuals in the intellectual scale may be determined by the greater or less comprehensiveness and perfection of their idea of God. The ignorant and the groveling either fail altogether to elevate their conceptions so high as the divinity, or represent him to themselves in a stupid and degrading manner. It is the philosopher and the pure in heart alone, who truly raises his mind, by long and patient meditation, to a just and consoling idea of the divine nature.

Though Buddhism appears to exclude the idea of an omnipotent and all-wise God from its doctrines, it teaches the existence of a heaven crowded with innumerable divinities, which the imagination of the Buddhist priesthood has depicted in the most gorgeous colours. Their description, as condensed and arranged by Mr. Upham, is as follows :

‘ The next point of the Buddhist system, and a very interesting portion of the subject, is, unquestionably, the *Dewa Loka* heavens, and their gods, as these are invested with qualities combining an agency and interest in the actions of man, which become thereby associated with their superior powers and dignity. These gods are termed the *Nat* ; their character and operative influence on man are described, in various parts of the Buddhist writings, with the richest imagery, elucidating most of the grandeur, etiquette, and observances, of the great princes and monarchs of this faith, who appear to have been intent upon transfusing the details of the *Tava-teinza* heaven, and of the *Dewa Loka*, into their titles and usages, and to have framed their courts after the royal and splendid scenes of the *Nat Paradise*. In these abodes are the mines of gold and silver, of diamonds, rubies, and all precious stones ; gardens, or a paradise of sandal, and all odoriferous woods ; trees, the produce of which are robes, (splendid personal ornaments,) and all sorts of riches : these are at the disposal of the gods for great and virtuous kings and men, votaries of the *Budha*.

‘ *Tjaturum-maharakeye*, the first of the *Dewa Loka* heavens, commences at the summit of *Jugandere*, and extends thence in a

plane to the outer great rock circle, the boundary of the Sackwalle. To this division belong the sun, moon, planets, and stars, which are the palaces of the gods, ordained by Fate (Damata) to give light to men, to divide the day from the night, to distinguish years, seasons, and months, and to predict good and evil to mankind. The capital city extends, in length and breadth, one thousand juzana. As the residence of the God Sekkraia is described as being in all things alike in both the Tjaturim and Tava-teinza heavens, the following description of its grandeur and riches will suffice for both. These Dewa gods have subject to them the inferior Nat, or genii of Jugandere, which have been described.

‘ The sun, or palace of the god, is fifty juzana in diameter, and this palace is within of gold, and without of crystal; the moon palace is formed externally of silver, and within of carbuncle. In this heaven, also, grows a great sacred tree, which will last as long as the world. Here reside the four gods assistant to, yet independent of, the God Sekkraia; for Sekkraia is higher in dignity, without exercising any control or authority. These four gods, being of the same rank, and having the same power, constantly watch over the safety of Sekkraia, which is menaced by his enemy, the Asura god; they also superintend, that is, watch, the events of the four parts of the world: for the Buddhist religion in no shape intimates any authoritative divine interference, *only by the aid of doctrine, and the fear of the transmigration.*

‘ The first, Dirtheraach Shetheire, presides over the east. His attendants, their clothes, his chariot and horses, are all of them of a white colour, and his arms are of crystal. He is the chief over the muses and of music. His residence is described to be in a city shining with splendour, on the summit of Jugandere, to the east of Mount Mienmo. Its pillars, walls, and beams, are of silver, suiting the bowers of light. In the whole of this heaven grows the padzezebayn tree; on which, in place of fruit, hang precious garments, the most exquisite viands, and whatever can afford delight for personal ornament or feasting. Every where are to be seen running streams, lakes, and the most delicious gardens. On the whole, this habitation, or *bon*, is filled with delights.

‘ The second god, here called Wiroedhe, governs the west, and, together with his servants and chariots, is of an azure, or blue, colour. He presides over innumerable Koombandeo, or angels; but chiefly the thirty-two counsellors and four assistant gods. His heaven is also the grand residence of the chief god, Sekkraia, who is supreme in dignity throughout the six Dewa Loka. He appears to rank as the god of light, having direction of the elements, and the sun itself being his splendid palace. This god is described as having a bright shining body of prodigious bulk, and similar to the light of a lamp, wearing a diamond crown three yodoons in height. His form, ever bathed with precious perfumes, is clothed with

divine garments, and decorated with ornaments emitting the brightest rays. Every Sackwalle, or world, has a Sekkraia god, who ranks as regent of the sun, while he is also attached to every material incident in the life of the Budha; he is always present at the inebriating festival of the Budha, described in a subsequent page. Sekkraia also performs the office of holding the golden seine, or net, for the reception of the Budha at his birth; and it was he who preserved, as a precious relic, the hair which Gaudma cut off with a golden sword, and flung into the Dewa Loka heaven, when he renounced royalty, by cutting off his locks, and professing himself thereby an acetic, as will appear more fully in the legend expressly relating to the Budha.

‘The descriptive sketch of this heaven cannot be better supplied than from Dr. Buchanan’s selections, in the sixth volume of “*The Asiatic Researches*.”

“The God Sekkraia resides in the great city Maha-soudassana, which has a square form; its gilded wall surrounding it being a perfect square. The gates are of gold and of silver, adorned with precious stones. Seven moats surround the city; and, beyond the last range, a row of marble pillars, studded with jewels; beyond which are seven rows of palm trees, bearing rubies, pearls, gold, &c.; lakes, odoriferous flowers, and fragrant trees, with the padze-zebayn trees, are dispersed around. To the south of the city, is the garden Parasa, and to the west, that of Massata. To the north-east is a very large hall, extending every way five hundred juzana; its circumference nine hundred, its height four hundred and fifty juzana. From its roof hang golden bells; and its walls, pillars, and stairs, shine with gold and precious stones. The pavement is of crystal, and each row of pillars contains a hundred columns. The road to this hall is twenty juzana long, and eighteen broad, bordered with trees bearing fruits and flowers. Whenever Sekkraia repairs to this hall, the winds shake off all the flowers, (fresh ones instantly blooming on the trees,) with which the presiding gods of the winds adorn the road in honour of his approach; and the flowers are so abundant, that they reach up to the knees. In the centre stands the great imperial throne, surmounted by the white chettra, or umbrella; it shines with gold, and pearls, and jewels. It is surrounded by the thirty-two shrines of the counsellors; and, behind these, the other Nat, each in his proper place: the four assistant gods also attend; while the inferior gods touch their musical instruments, and sing melodiously. The four assistant deities then command their inferior gods to go through this southern island, or the world, and inquire diligently into the actions of mankind; if they observe holy days, and laws, (the Budha’s precepts,) and exercise charity. At this command, quicker than the winds, the messengers pass through this world; and, having carefully noted, in a golden book, all the good and evil actions of men, they immediately

return to the hall, and deliver the record to the four presiding gods, who pass it to the lesser deities, and they onward, until it reaches Sekkraia. He, opening the book, reads aloud; and, if his voice be raised, it sounds over the whole heaven of Tavateinza. If the Nat hear that men practise good works, and observe the Buddhist laws, they exclaim, "Oh! now the infernal regions will be empty, and our abode full of inhabitants!" If, on the contrary, there are few good men, "Oh! wretches," say they, *smiling*, "men and fools, who, feasting for a short life, for a body four cubits in length, and a belly not larger than a span, have heaped on themselves sin, which will render them miserable in futurity!" Then the god Sekkraia, that he may induce men to live virtuously, charitably, and justly, speaks thus:—"Truly, if men fulfilled the law, (the Budha's precepts,) they would be such as I am." After this he will, with all his train, to the number of 36,000,000 of Nat, return to the city with music.

"In the centre of the glorious city of Maha-soodassana rises the palace of Sekkraia, surrounded with golden and silver standards. Who can describe the lustre of its beauty, or the gorgeous splendour and glory wherewith it shines!

"To the north-west of the great city is a most celebrated tree, the sacred image of the heaven, which lives for the duration of one world. Under this tree is a prodigious stone, sixty juzana long, fifty broad, and fifteen high. It is smooth and soft like cotton, and elastic under the feet of Sekkraia, being depressed when he stands upon it, and rising again when he descends from it, as if it were sensible of the honoured weight by which it is pressed. When the affairs of our southern island are prosperous, (when men live virtuously,) the half of the god Sekkraia's body sinks into the stone, but, when evil prevails, the stone remains tense and rigid, like a drum. When the tree flowers, its ruddy splendour extends around for fifty juzana, and its agreeable odour for twice that distance. When it has flowered, the keeper of the tree (the guardian god) notifies it to Sekkraia, who is immediately seized with a desire to see it, and demands an elephant. No sooner has he spoken than the elephant Erravum appears; for here, as in all the heavens, there are no animals as on earth; whenever the Nat wish for them, they appear. This elephant has thirty-three heads, on which ride the god and his thirty-two counsellors, under ruby thrones. Having arrived at the sacred tree to collect the flowers, and Sekkraia being seated on the stone, they begin to celebrate the festival of four months: this, therefore, is the tree of the intoxicating quality which inebriates the Nat, and which produced the fall and wars of the Asura gods. To gather the flowers, they need not ascend the tree, for the Nat of the winds shake it, and make them fall; and, lest the beauty of the flowers should spoil, the winds support them, nor permit them to touch the ground: the whole bodies of the gods are

then covered with the odorous dust, coming from the stamens of the flowers.

'This tree, in another part of the doctrine, is called "a renowned creeping plant, which every thousand years produces a most exquisite fruit, and growing in the garden Zeitta-lata,—lata, lota, or lot, signifying a climbing plant, which every thousand years produces a most delicious fruit. In order to get this fruit, the gods assemble here in crowds, for a hundred years before it ripens; and, for one whole year, they dance and sing, accompanied by drums and other musical instruments. Having eaten of that fruit, they become inebriated for four entire months.'"—*Asiatic Researches*, vi. 207.

'These heavens require not the light either of the sun or of the moon, the light of the bodies of the Nat gods being sufficient, for they shine like so many suns or stars.'

Ceylon appears to have been the scene of the exploits of Gaudma; and, being the chosen seat of Buddhism, it is from thence that we may reasonably expect the most accurate information respecting the modification of Buddhism now prevailing in the world, of which Gaudma himself is author. In the work now before us, compiled from original Singalese manuscripts, and illustrated by numerous coloured plates, we have a large mass of very valuable information respecting the doctrines and history of the sect; and they who feel an interest in the subject cannot do better than consult its pages.

A LEARNED JUDGMENT.

[Two actions against 'James Young and Others,' under the Calcutta Stamp Regulation, tried before the Supreme Court in August, 1828. Sir Charles G**y, Chief Justice; Sir John F*****s and Sir Edward R**n, Puisne Justices. Mr. Advocate-General Pearson leading the prosecution on the part of Government, and Mr. Barrister Minchin leading for the Defendants.]

GENTLEMEN,

AN Obligation is—an Obligation;
 This all must know, so stamp'd by Regulation.
 Thus rules the Court Supreme by vast majority,
 Though, out of *three* of us, *one* sports minority;
 But two to one are, everywhere, long odds;—
 I and Sir John are more than *demi*-gods!
 If so we cannot judge, why do we sit here all?
 Why construe penal statutes *always* literal?

To every general rule there is exception,
 And this the Court makes one. To all perception
 Of common sense, a money obligation
 Is, between man and man, a declaration
 Of debt incurred,—and witnesses and seal
 Superfluous are ;—I and Sir John so feel ;
 That is, on this particular occasion,
 When we think proper to put down evasion.
 Misnomer, I admit, or petty flaw,
 May sometimes check the sentence of just law ;
 But now there is no doubt of what was meant
 By th' Secretaries of this Government,
 Board of Control, and Court of Leadenhall ;—
 Such powers as these must never, never fall :
 Think, act on this, ye Jury Special !
 Sir Edward, had he given to us his aid,
 Would this our judgment more complete have made.
 But still, we are the Court,—we state the law,
 And 'tis from us your verdict you must draw.
 True, you are competent to judge the fact,
 But that lies in a nutshell, quite compact.
 Colonisation ! Gentlemen, reflect :
 Is this what any of you here expect ?
 Your chance, believe me, will not weigh a feather,
 If Juries judge of Law and Fact together.
 Of Obligation, the full sense and force
 I have explained to you in this discourse.
 This topic, then, I only now resume
 'Cause Counsel, disrespectful, dares presume,
 Unlawfully, to call that point still dubious
 Which has already, here, been carried through by us !
 Gentlemen, now retire, and do your duty ;
 The Court, at present, has no more to sue t' ye.

VERDICT FOR DEFENDANTS !—Judges scud away :
 DITTO REPEATED ON the following day ! !

TIMOTHY TRUEPEN.

EXCURSIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

[The following is the first of a series of extracts from the Journal of a gentleman who went out as a settler to the Cape of Good Hope some years ago ; and whose long residence in the interior of that Colony has enabled him to give accurate sketches of its singular scenery, and of the various classes of its native population. The progress and prospects of the English emigrants themselves will form one of the most interesting, though not one of the earliest, topics of discussion.]

No. I.

*Journey to the Tarka.—Description of an African Grazier's
Residence and mode of Life.*

ON the 15th of September, after having been settled about ten weeks on our location, I set out on a short excursion through the districts lying to the west and south, which I had not yet visited ; partly with the view of making myself acquainted with the aspect and capabilities of the country itself, and with the character and mode of life of the inhabitants ; and partly for the purpose of transacting some business with the functionaries of Government at the villages of Cradock and Somerset. I ought to premise, that the Scottish settlers, of whom I was the ostensible head or representative, had been located near the source of a mountain-stream called Bavian's Rivier, or Baboon's River. This little stream, which is one of the subsidiary branches of the Great Fish River, waters a secluded pastoral glen of above thirty miles in length, situate behind the woody mountains of Cahaberg, about 150 miles in a direct line from the sea-coast of Albany, and upwards of 200 miles from Algoa Bay.

There was at this time no waggon road out of the valley, except the difficult and dangerous one which we had cut out or repaired for the passage of the baggage-waggons on our first arrival. Being now mounted, however, on one of the light and hardy horses of the country, with an active Hottentot lad for a guide, who knew every pass of the mountains, and every bridle path through bosky dell and barren waste, for at least a hundred miles around, I cared but little for beaten tracks, and struck across the hills in a direct line for Cradock. On gaining the steep and barren summit of the ridge which divides the vale of Bavian's River from that of the Tarka and its subsidiary dells, I was struck by the change of aspect and of vegetable productions which was suddenly presented to me. Behind us, although the mountains were bleak, rocky, and bare, still they were sprinkled over, though scantily, with grass ; whilst the valley itself looked rich and verdant, being thickly studded over with groves of mimosa trees, and its little stream, bordered with willows, gliding quietly along through green pastures. Before us, to the westward, the Tarka opened up in dim perspective, with wild savage glens winding down to it through dark ridges of

gloomy hills, which, as they approached the main valley, broke off into separate peaks, steep, sterile and rocky, but assuming, in many instances, curious conical forms, at once singular and monotonous. The lower declivities of these hills were variegated here and there with patches of low brushwood; but there were no trees excepting the fringe of willows and of thorny mimosa which generally lined the brink of the river and the courses of the mountain torrents. Of any thing like grass or pasturage there was no appearance, excepting in some of the recesses and declivities of the hills. The whole country appeared like a cheerless and barren desert; and even the alluvial soil along the banks of the river had the aspect of a brown heathy waste.

Descending from the ridge of the mountain by a steep and stony path, tracked out by the quaghas, elands, hartebeests,* and other large game, which still abound in this wild and secluded region, we followed the rugged course of a solitary brook, or rather torrent (for the greater part of its bed was now dry,) until we reached, after a ride of about three hours, the farm of Elands-drift, in the valley of the Tarka. This is the residence of an old African boer, named Winsel Koetzer, at this time our nearest neighbour; and as his house, farm, and mode of life afford altogether a fair average sample of those of his class in this quarter of the colony, I shall describe them with some minuteness.

On riding up to the place, which consists of three or four thatched houses, and a few 'hartebeest huisjes,' or reed cabins, inhabited by the Hottentot servants, we were encountered by a host of some twenty or thirty dogs, which had been lying about in the shade of the huts, and now started up around us, open mouthed, with a prodigious barking and clamour, as is generally the case at every farm-house on the approach of strangers. In day-light these growling guardians usually confine themselves to a mere noisy demonstration; but at night it is often a matter of no small peril to approach a farm-house, for many of these animals are both fierce and powerful, and will not hesitate to attack a stranger if, in their eyes, he has the ill luck to appear in any way suspicious. The noise of the dogs brought out Arend Koetzer, one of the farmer's sons, from the principal dwelling-house, a fine, frank young fellow, whom I had previously met with once or twice at Bavian's River. Seeing us thus beset, he came instantly to our help against the canine rabble, whom he discomfited with great vigour, by hurling at them a few of the half-knawed bones and bullocks' horns which were lying in scores about the place. The young boer was rejoiced to see me, and introduced me to his mother and sisters,—a quiet looking matron, and two bashful girls, who now appeared from one

* Quagha, *Equus Quagga*, the South African wild ass. Eland, the *Antelope Oreus*. Hartebeest, the *Antelope Bubalia*.

of the outhouses. 'Wil Myn-heer aff-zadel?' ('Will the gentleman unsaddle?') was the first inquiry. I readily agreed, intending, indeed, though it was still early in the afternoon, to spend the night at this place, with the view of becoming better acquainted with my rustic neighbours.

On entering the house, I found that the old boor had not yet risen from his afternoon nap, or siesta, a habit which is generally prevalent throughout the colony. He was not long, however, in making his appearance; and, after shaking hands with a sort of gruff heartiness, he took down a bottle of brandy from a shelf, and urged me to drink a 'zoopje' (dram) with him, assuring me that it was good 'brandiwyn,' distilled by himself from his own peaches. I tasted the spirit, which was colourless, with something of the flavour of bad whisky, but preferred regaling myself with a cup of 'thee-water,' which had in the meanwhile been prepared and poured out for me by the respectable and active-looking dame. This 'tea-water' (properly enough so termed) is made by a decoction, rather than an infusion, of the Chinese leaf, and which, being diluted with a certain proportion of boiling water, without any admixture of milk or sugar, is offered to every visitor who may chance to arrive during the heat of the day. A small tin box with sugar-candy is sometimes handed round with the 'tea-water,' from which each person takes a little bit to keep in his mouth, and thus to sweeten, in frugal fashion, the bitter beverage as he swallows it. During this refreshment I carried on a tolerably fluent conversation in broken Dutch with my host and his 'huis-vrouw;' and I gratified them not a little by communicating the most recent information I possessed of the state of European politics, respecting which old Koetzer was very inquisitive.

The domicile of my hospitable neighbours, in which we were thus comfortably seated, would not, probably, have suggested any ideas of peculiar comfort to an Englishman. It was a house somewhat of the size and appearance of an old-fashioned Scotch barn. The walls were thick, and substantially built of strong adhesive clay; a material which, being well prepared or *tempered*, in the manner of mortar for brick-making, and raised in successive layers, soon acquires, in this dry climate, a great degree of hardness, and is considered scarcely inferior in durability to brick. These walls, which were about eight or nine feet high, and tolerably smooth and straight, had been plastered over within and without with a composition of sand and cow-dung, and this being afterwards well white-washed with a sort of pipe-clay, or with wood-ashes diluted with milk, the whole had a very clean and light appearance.

The roof was neatly thatched with a species of hard rushes, which are considered much more durable and less apt to catch fire than straw. There was no ceiling under this roof; but the rafters overhead were hung with a motley assemblage of several sorts of im-

plements and provisions, such as hunting apparatus, *bill-tongue* (that is, dried flesh of various kinds of game,) *sjamboks* (large whips of rhinoceros and hippopotamus hide,) leopard and lion-skins, ostrich eggs and feathers, strings of onions, rolls of tobacco, bamboos for whip-handles, calabashes, and a variety of similar articles. A large pile of fine home-made soap graced the top of a partition wall.

The house was divided into three apartments: the one in which we were seated (called the *voor-huis*) opened immediately from the open air, and is the apartment in which the family always sit, eat, and receive visitors. A private room (or *slaap-kamer*) is formed at either end of this hall, by partitions of the same height and construction as the outer walls running across, and having doors opening out of the sitting-room.

Such is the usual construction of a substantial farmer's house in this part of the colony, and for one superior to old Koetzer's, you will find half a dozen so much worse as only to deserve the name of hovels. But I have not yet completed the picture.

The floor, which, though formed only of clay, appeared uncommonly smooth and hard, I found, on inquiry, had been formed of ant-heaps, which being pounded into dust, and then watered and well-stamped, assume a consistency of great hardness and tenacity. In making these floors, however, care must be taken to use only such ant-hills as have been broken up and plundered by the *aard-vark*, or ant-bear, and consequently deserted by the surviving insects; otherwise, in spite of all your pounding, you may find you have planted two or three troublesome colonies beneath your feet. This floor is carefully washed over every morning with water mixed with fresh cow-dung, in order to keep it cool and free from vermin—especially fleas, which are apt to become an intolerable pest in this country.

This house was lighted by four square windows in front, one in each of the bed-rooms, and two in the *voor-kamer*, and by the door, which appeared only to be shut during the night. The door consisted merely of some reeds, rudely fastened on a wicker frame, and fixed to the door-posts by thongs of bullocks' hide. The windows also were without glass, and were closed in the night, each with an untanned skin of the quagha, or wild-ass.

The furniture amounted to little more than a dozen chairs and stools, with bottoms formed of thongs, and a couple of tables, one large and roughly constructed of common plank from the *geelhout*-tree, the other small, and more highly finished, of ornamental wood. At the smaller table was the station of the old dame, who had before her a brass tea-urn, and the other apparatus, whence she dispensed the beverage I have already mentioned. Opposite her sat the *baas* (as the Hottentot attendants called their master,) with the flask of brandiwyn at his elbow, and his long clumsy Dutch tobacco-pipe in his mouth. At the farther end of the apartment, a couple

of wooden pails, bound with bright polished hoops of brass, were suspended from crooked antelope's horns built into the wall; these pails were filled with spring-water, and had bowls of calabash affixed to them, in order that whoever was athirst might drink with facility. Sour milk, however, is the favourite beverage in this country; and, when that is to be had, no one drinks water. In another corner stood a huge churn, into which the milk is poured every night and morning until it is filled, when it is churned by two slaves or Hottentot women.

In the same end of the hall, part of the carcase of a sheep was suspended from a beam; and I was informed that two sheep, and sometimes more, were daily slaughtered for family consumption; the Hottentot herdsman and their families, as well as the farmer's own household, being chiefly fed upon mutton, at least during summer, when beef could not be salted. The carcasses were hung up in this place, it appeared, chiefly to prevent waste by being constantly under the eye of the mistress, who, in this country, instead of the ancient Saxon title of 'giver of bread,' (*levedy*, whence our English term of *lady*,) might be appropriately called the 'giver of mutton.' Mutton, and not bread, is here the staff of life; and they think it no more odd to have a sheep hanging in the *voor-huis*, than a farmer's wife in England would to have the large household loaf placed for ready distribution on her hall table. At this very period, in fact, a pound of wheaten bread in this quarter of the colony was six times the value of a pound of animal food.

In regard to dress, there was nothing very peculiar to remark. That of the females, though in some respects more slovenly, resembled a good deal the costume of the lower classes in England thirty or forty years ago. The men wore long loose trousers of sheep or goat skin tanned by their servants, and made in the family. A check shirt, a jacket of coarse friese or cotton, according to the weather, and a broad-brimmed white hat completed the dress. Shoes and stockings appeared not to be considered essential articles of dress for either sex, and were, I found, seldom worn except when they went to church or to *vrolykheids* (merry-makings.) A sort of sandals, however, are in common use, called *veld-schoens*, (country shoes,) the fashion of which was, I believe, originally borrowed from the Hottentots. They are made of raw bullock's hide, with an upper leather of dressed sheep or goat skin, much in the same way as the old brogues of the Scotch Highlanders. They do not last long, but they are light and easy in dry weather; every man can make his own *veld-schoens*, and the leather costs little or nothing.

Having previously heard that the industrious dame, the Juffrouw Koetzer, sometimes manufactured leather dresses for sale, I bespoke a travelling jacket and trousers of dressed springbok skin, the latter to be faced with leopard fur, the price of which altogether was

thirteen rix-dollars, or about 1*l.* sterling. I purchased also the skin of a very beautiful leopard, which one of the young Koetzers had lately shot, for about a pound of gunpowder.

Old Koetzer and his family, like the old Dutch colonists generally, were extremely inquisitive, asking a great variety of questions, some of them on very trifling matters. Englishmen are apt to feel annoyed by this practice, but without any sufficient cause; for, though it betokens a lack of refinement, it is not at all allied to rudeness or impertinence: it is simply the result of untutored curiosity on the manners of people living in a wild and thinly inhabited country, to whom the sight of a stranger is a rare event, and by whom *news* of any description is welcomed with avidity. Instead, therefore, of haughtily or sullenly repelling their advances to mutual confidence, I answered all their questions with good humour, including those that respected my own age, the number, names, and ages of my family and relatives, the objects and extent of my present journey, and such like. In return, I plied them with similar and still more various interrogatories, to all of which they not only replied with the utmost openness, but seemed highly delighted with my frankness. In this manner I soon learned that my host had eight or ten brothers, all stout frontier graziers like himself, and all with numerous families. His own family consisted (if I rightly recollect) of six sons and as many daughters, several of whom were married and settled in the neighbourhood. Two of his sons, with their wives and families, were at present living at this place in cottages adjoining to his house. The old dame informed me that she was herself by birth a Jourdan, and was descended from one of the French Hugonot families, who settled in the colony after the revocation of the Edict of Nantz. Her father, she said, could speak French; but she herself knew no language but Dutch. Her manner and address, however, retained something of French urbanity and politeness, which the Belgian bluntness of her husband rendered the more obvious.

Having exhausted the usual topics of country chat, I suggested a walk round the premises, and sallied forth, accompanied by the old boor and his son Arend. They led me first to the orchard, which was of considerable extent, and contained a variety of fruit trees all in a thriving state. The peach trees, which were now in blossom, were most numerous; but there were also abundance of apricot, almond, walnut, apple, pear, and plum trees, and whole hedges of figs and pomegranates. The outward fence, where there was any, consisted of a hedge of quinces. There was also a fine grove of lemon, and a few young orange trees. The latter require to be sheltered, I was told, during the winter, until they have attained considerable size, the frosts being apt to blight them in this upland valley. All the other fruits are raised with ease: peach trees, I was told, would bear fruit the third year after the seeds had been

put in the ground. From the want of care and skill, however, in grafting, few of the fruits in this part of the colony (as I afterwards found) were of superior sorts or of delicate flavour. The peaches especially are but indifferent; but, as they are chiefly grown for making brandiwyn, or to be used in a dried state, excellence of flavour is but little regarded. Two mulberry trees, which were planted in front of the house, were large and flourishing, and produced, I was informed, abundance of fruit. This was not the wild or white mulberry raised in Europe for feeding silk worms; but I understand the latter sort also thrives very well in most parts of the colony.

The garden, if it deserved the name, was very deficient in neatness, but contained a variety of useful vegetables, among which I observed a large plot of beet-root, some beds of very fine parsnips, and cabbages, a sort of turnip-cabbage which they called 'Kinowlkole,' and plenty of mint, sage, and garlic. Onions are raised in great abundance, and of a quality fully equal to those of Spain. Pumpkins and melons, which are cultivated in considerable quantity, were just planted. The sweet potatoe is also grown here. The common potatoe, though it grows well, appeared not to be in much request in this part of the colony. Until the arrival of the English settlers, indeed, the value of this useful root was not generally appreciated by the inhabitants, and the quality of the few they raised was very inferior. Since that period, however, the cultivation of potatoes has greatly extended itself in the eastern districts, and their quality has been so much improved by the seed brought out by the settlers, that they are now scarcely, if at all, inferior to those of England; and the prejudices with which the native population, more particularly the Hottentots, regarded them, are rapidly giving way. The effects of this in another generation it is difficult to estimate; but, as potatoes may be successfully cultivated with a moderate degree of moisture, and are not subject to many of the casualties which affect the grain crops in this climate, I should venture to say that the general use of this vegetable would alone enable the colony to double or treble its agricultural population at no remote period. Adjoining to the garden and orchard was a small, but well kept vineyard, from which a large produce of very fine grapes is obtained, which, as well as the peaches, are chiefly distilled into brandy for home consumption.

The whole of the orchard, vineyard, and garden ground, together with about twenty acres of corn land adjoining, is irrigated by the waters of a small mountain-rill, which are collected and led down in front of the house by an artificial canal. Without irrigation, little can be cultivated in this part of the colony; and, though the river Tarka passes only a short distance from the back of the orchard, the channel is here too deep to admit of its waters being led out upon the banks. The limited extent, therefore, of from

twenty to thirty acres was the whole that could be cultivated on this farm, comprising at least six thousand acres, exclusive of the waste and unappropriated tracts adjoining. But this is quite sufficient for the wants of a large family; the real wealth of the farm, so far as respects marketable commodities, lies in the flocks and herds which are raised on its extensive pastures. This old Winsel himself hinted to me—as, shutting up a gap in the garden hedge with a branch of thorny mimosa, we issued out towards the ‘kraals’ or cattle folds,—the boer exclaiming in a tone of jocund gratulation, while he pointed to a distant cloud of dust moving up the valley—‘Maar daar koomt myn vee!’ (‘But there come my cattle.’)

On approaching the cattle kraals, I was struck by the great height of the principal fold, which was elevated fifteen or twenty feet above the level of the adjoining plain, and my surprise was certainly not diminished when I found that the mound, on the top of which the kraal was constructed, consisted of a mass of solid dung, accumulated by the cattle of the farm being folded for a succession of years on the same spot. The sheep folds, though not quite so elevated, and under the lee, as it were, of the bullock-kraal, were also fixed on the top of similar accumulations. The several folds (for those of the sheep and goats consisted of three divisions) were all fenced in with branches of the thorny mimosa, which formed a sort of rampart around the margin of the mounds of dung, and were carefully placed with their prickly sides outwards, on purpose to render the inclosures more secure from the nocturnal assaults of the hyenas, tigers, and jackalls. Against all these ravenous animals, the oxen are, indeed, able to defend themselves; but the hyenas and tigers (or leopards) are very destructive to calves, sheep, and goats, when they can break in upon them, which they will sometimes do in spite of the numerous watch-dogs kept for their protection; and the cunning jackall is not less destructive to the young lambs and kids.

While we were conversing on these topics, the clouds of dust which I had observed approaching from three different quarters, came nearer, and I perceived that they were raised by two numerous flocks of sheep, and one large herd of cattle. First came the *hamels*, (wethers,) which are reared for the market, and are often driven even down to Cape Town, 700 miles distant. These being placed in their proper fold, the flock of ewes, ewe-goats and lambs, was next driven in, and carefully penned in another; those having young ones of tender age being kept separate. And, finally, the cattle herd came rushing on pell-mell, and spontaneously assumed their station upon the summit of their ‘guarded mount;’ the milch cows only being separated, in order to be tied up to stakes within a small inclosure nearer the houses, where they were milked by the Hot-tentot herdsmen, after their calves, which were kept at home, had been permitted to suck for a certain period. Not one of those cows I

was told, would allow herself to be milked until her calf had first been put to her; if the calf dies, of course there is an end of her milk for that season. This, I have no doubt is the effect of habit, and might be remedied by proper management. About thirty cows were milked; but the quantity obtained from them was very small, not so much as would be got from six or eight English cows.

The boor and his wife, with all their sons, daughters, daughters-in-law, and grand-children, who were about the place, were assiduously occupied, while the herds and flocks were folding, in examining them as they passed in, and in walking through among them afterwards, to see that all was right. I was assured, that, though they do not very frequently count them, yet they can know at once if any individual ox is missing, or if any accident has happened among the flocks from beasts of prey or otherwise.*

Every individual of an African boor's family, including even the child at the breast, has an interest in the welfare of the flocks and herds. It is their custom, as soon as a child is born, to set apart for it a certain number of the young live stock, which increase as the child grows up; and which, having a particular mark regularly affixed to them, form, when the owner arrives at adult age, a stock sufficient to be considered a respectable dowry for a prosperous farmer's daughter, or to enable a young man, though he may not possess a single dollar of cash, to begin the world respectably as a 'Vee Boor.'

In returning to the house, my host showed me his corn-mill, which was of very small dimensions and simple construction. The water-wheel, which was driven horizontally by the little canal of irrigation on its passage to the orchard, was only about five feet in diameter, and the millstones not more than two. A slender iron axle, of which the lower end was fixed in the horizontal water-wheel, passing through a small hole in the centre of the nether millstone, was mortised into the upper one, which, by this means, was put in motion. The corn was supplied by an orifice in the upper stone, and the flour conveyed by a little wooden spout into a leathern bag; and this was the whole machinery. I was informed it would grind about a bushel of wheat in eight hours.

* This faculty, though the result, doubtless, of peculiar habits of attention, is certainly very remarkable; for the herd of cattle at this place amounted altogether to nearly 700 head, and the sheep and goats (which were mingled together) to upwards of 5,000. This is considered a very respectable, but by no means an extraordinary, stock for a Tarka grazier.

REFLECTIONS ON THE PRESENT STATE OF BRITISH INDIA.

'Instat enim et urget, et quo te cunque verteris persequitur.'

WHOEVER the author of the 'Reflections on the Present State of British India' may be, by the execution of such a work at this time, he has done essential service to the public. We know not how it is, but from some unexplained cause, whether of diffidence, or interest, or indolence, there exists in the minds of the conductors of the chief vehicles of popular instruction, a strange reluctance to advert to the condition and prospects of our Eastern territories. A question with which forty years ago the British Empire rang from one extremity to the other, which divided the two great political parties of the state, and rivetted the attention of all that were eminent by rank, or fortune, or ability, is now looked upon as a matter of abstruse, by-gone, possibly philanthropic, but certainly uninteresting, inquiry. It is in vain for those who, like ourselves, have devoted much time to the investigation of our relations with Asia, to aver their pre-eminent importance, or expose the vulgar error of their intricacy and confusion; in vain do the few whom curiosity may have led into this vast field of political speculation, assert that they have been amply repaid;—all that can be said or written on the magnitude and variety of the interests, commercial, moral, and religious, which it involves, hardly suffices to obtain a transient and cursory notice of the impending controversy between the East India Company and the people of England.

In Parliament, 'sufficient for the day, the evil thereof,' seems to be the universal motto: when the subject is mentioned, entreaties for postponement are general and loud; some plead the importunity of more urgent business, others the scanty information within reach; all are unwilling to anticipate, by a single hour, a duty which must soon be prescribed by the imperious dictation of events, and resolutely combat its 'premature agitation.'

Out of doors, not one in twenty has arrived at the threshold of the discussion: some few have heard of the Burmese war, and some of the superstitions of the Hindoos; soldiers know what regiments are in India, and who is Commander-in-Chief; the Clergy note the vacancies in the See of Calcutta, and whispers may be heard in the Hall of Westminster on judicial mortality at Bombay. Add to this, the name of the Governor-General of Bengal, the price of East India Stock, the military rank of a brother or a friend, and the district from which his last letter was dated, and you have summed up all that 'men of education' deem it necessary to know on the subject of Indian affairs.

In those departments of public function which are more intimately connected with India, the same indifference, not to say

ignorance, prevails. After the tremendous struggle for power between Pitt and Fox, which ended in the expulsion of the latter from office, among the alterations which took place in the machinery of our Indian Administration, the most prominent and important was the establishment of the Board of Control. That this Board was intended by Mr. Pitt to act as a Court of Appeal from the decisions of the Company, and as some effectual check against the recurrence of the mischiefs by which his Government was embarrassed, there can be no reasonable doubt; and as little doubt, we imagine, that, for the adequate discharge of these duties, the principal Commissioner should possess an intimate acquaintance with the various and complicated interests over which he is appointed to guard. Now, we certainly have no inclination to disparage the ability of the nobleman who now presides in this department, or to doubt his competence to master the most intricate questions of Indian policy; but it does appear to us, from the careless manner in which this important portfolio has latterly passed from hand to hand, until it reached Lord Ellenborough, that there exists among the gentlemen of Whitehall a disposition to think lightly of the responsibility of the charge. They seem to imagine any person who has been at the University, and is moderately informed on the usual topics of ephemeral discussion, abundantly sufficient to undertake the duties of President; and it would, no doubt, be considered symptomatic of irrational and very primitive scrupulosity if a Prime Minister should hesitate to advance any given Lord of the Bed-chamber to a situation assimilating so much to the nature of a sinecure. It ought not, however, to be concealed, nor can it be too frequently proclaimed, that though there be in Indian details nothing of that obstinate description which yields to none but the most severe and persevering study, yet that those who aspire to wield the destinies of the East, must be trained by regular and lengthened instruction, and cannot be expected to do much of good in an office which they are made to vacate only a few months after their appointment. In this respect, indeed, the measures of Mr. Fox had one great redeeming characteristic. Under the system which he would have established, some semblance of permanence and duration would have been introduced in that part of our Indian rule which is exercised under the authority of the Crown. Extraordinary, perhaps unconstitutional, power would have been vested in a few influential individuals; but, in return, inconstant and inefficient counsels would have been avoided, and, instead of an empty fiction, we should possess the reality of practical control. As it is, we regret to express our conviction, that the propensity to regard Indian affairs as matters of local interest, totally detached from the great political relations of the empire, is not less observable in the King's Ministers than in the well-dressed public. Such delusions can only be referred to an ignorant persuasion of security where none in fact exists; and it is

because the considerations presented in the work before us are eminently calculated to dissipate this illusion, to alarm our fears, and awaken our suspicions, that we sincerely rejoice in its most opportune appearance.

We have often had occasion to speak in terms of commendation of the principle which regulates promotion in the Company's army. That there are men in this branch of their employment of first-rate abilities, no one at all acquainted with Anglo-Indian society can entertain a doubt. Indeed, from the peculiar nature of the service, the natural and unconquerable distrust of Native devotion, the frequent necessity of reposing unbounded trust on individual discretion, and the extent of the operations which officers of inferior rank are often called upon to conduct, it has been long ago found necessary to encourage distinguished talent by suitable incentives of honour and preferment. The natural consequence of impartial justice, in this respect, has been to elicit a prodigious quantity of military skill; and if a worthy enemy should ever contest our supremacy in the plains of Hindoostan, we shall have no reason to regret the want of tried and able commanders.

The author of the 'Reflections on the Present State of British India' must, we imagine, be a soldier. With an apparent exuberance of information on all subjects within the compass of Indian inquiry, he evidently delights most in military details; and, without the smallest detraction from the classical taste and elegance of the whole production, and the judgment and discrimination displayed on other topics of discussion, we confess we have been most interested by that portion of the 'Reflections' which relates to the temper and character of our troops, the inefficiency of our Indian Commissariat, and the contingency and danger of Russian invasion.

It is certainly a general, and, if erroneous, a most mischievous notion, that all fears of foreign aggression are visionary and chimerical; and that, so long as we can suppress Native discontent, we may rely with perfect confidence on the permanence of our sovereignty in India. If this opinion were merely theoretical, and tended to no immediate practical evil, it might advantageously, for a time at least, give way to more important discussions, and continue a question of mere speculative curiosity. But on it, unfortunately, rests what we, in unison with our author, conceive to be the most injurious and deceitful of all fallacies—the morbid and irrational alarm of European settlement. '*Non movere quietam*,' is the maxim perpetually inculcated on those who have the daring temerity to meddle in Indian politics,—a maxim indisputably true, if the tranquillity of which it deprecates the disturbance, be the result of meek content, and grateful acknowledgement for the mildness and clemency of our sway; but pregnant with consequences the most calamitous and appalling if it prove the dignified resignation of unbending spirit, the haughty acquiescence of proud disdain, or the eep, sullen, sulky silence of despondency and despair.

The nervous votaries of this perilous quiet, lulled to slumber by dissertations on the manacles of Caste, start with Colonel Munro at the commotion excited by a single Ensign going up the country to join his regiment; they, whose clearer vision enables them to discern the incipient heaving of a troubled sea, or the curling eddies of a whirlpool on the surface of this portentous calm, point to the insurrection at Bareilly, the Dhurna at Benares, the threat of Shums-ool-Omrah at Hyderabad,* or the cruel 'necessity' at Barrackpore. The policy of the former is the tyrannous restraint, if not total exclusion, of Europeans; of the latter, an intimate incorporation of British with Native interests and affections, a league and covenant of union for the promotion of reciprocal benefit, an enlarged scheme of beneficence and wisdom, which, ensuring to England the fair, legitimate advantages of dominion, may extend to India the inestimable blessings of the arts of peace—the repose of requited toil—the security of laborious acquisition—the comforts of social intercourse—the institutions of matured civilisation—the light of moral instruction during life—and the soothing consolation of revealed religion, and its hopes and promises when life is to be no more.

Our author is a firm and able advocate of the second school. He maintains, in opposition to distinguished names, that, in the event of an irruption on our Indian territories from the North, we can have no security but in the cordial attachment of our Indian subjects; he asserts, that our policy has hitherto been such as to produce a general distrust of our good faith, and an utter alienation from the cause and the principles of our Government; he looks upon the late encroachments in Persia as mere preliminaries to a descent upon Hindoostan; and avows, with generous candour, his conviction that the forces of the East India Company would quail before the impetuous shock of the disciplined cohorts of the Czar. In support of these positions, he enters into a minute and elaborate statement of the schemes of Russia, the comparative facilities of march and transport by the various communications and routes between the Baltic and the Caspian, and thence through Persia and Afghanistan or Balk and Cabul, to the Indus; he describes the distractions of the Court of the Shah as eminently favourable to the undertaking, and asserts that the troops of Russia might reach the northern boundary before any force could be collected adequate to arrest their progress.

With these cogent and formidable arguments we are introduced to the great question of Colonisation, not as a measure of possible policy, but of strict and exigent necessity. The free settlement of Europeans is the only scheme which our author can suggest for the safety and stability of our Indian Empire; and, from the description which he gives of its probable operation, its practicability and expedience appear equally unquestionable.

* 'If,' said the brother-in-law of the Nizam, 'every true believer would but throw a handful of earth upon the infidels, they must be overwhelmed.'

“To counteract the disadvantages under which all classes of the community at present labour, to confer a benefit upon the governors, no less than upon the governed, colonisation is the only plan that can be adopted with any prospect of success.

‘By the adoption of this measure, in respect to India, it is not meant that a crowd of settlers should be sent out, as they are to the Cape of Good Hope, Canada, or Van Diemen’s Land. Colonisation is, in fact, of two distinct kinds, corresponding with the state of the country which sends forth the colonists, as well as of that which receives them. One is intended for the benefit of the former, which relieves itself by encouraging the emigration of its surplus population; the other for the benefit of the latter, and consists in the infusion of intelligence and activity into the social mass, by the settlement of men of skill, industry, and capital. It is precisely this infusion, this admixture of men of energy and intelligence with its already numerous, but almost torpid population, which is required for Hindoostan, to set before the inhabitants the effects which so fine a climate is capable of producing, when their industry is directed with ability, and animated by an active and independent spirit.

‘The general advantages attendant upon this great measure will not be confined to the Natives alone, or to the working classes: the Government of the country will feel the benefit of it in almost every stage of its administration, but more particularly in the check and restraint which the presence of respectable settlers will impose upon such of the public functionaries as are liable to be betrayed into the commission of acts of an arbitrary and unjustifiable nature, by the too great discretion with which their distance from the seat of Government induces them to believe themselves armed, and in the assistance which such men would have it in their power to render the state, by acting in the commission of the peace, and relieving the magistrate of the district from a portion of its too extensive, and often incompatible, duties.

‘The “brief authority” of public officers, when exercised in situations remote from the capital,—(and, in Bengal, the term remote may be applied to districts not very distant from Calcutta, in consequence of the slowness and difficulty of communication between all stations, excepting those lying on the principal military roads, or in the direction of the stream of the great rivers, no less than in consequence of the total silence of an enslaved Press upon all subjects relating to the servants of Government,)—and the excesses occasionally committed by individuals now residing by special favour in the country, and who may be disposed to avail themselves of their distance from the district, or city courts, and of the apparent credit which they enjoy with men in authority, by reason of the smallness of their numbers, and the habitual deference with which they are regarded by the submissive Natives, would meet with a

salutary check in the residence of a numerous and respectable class of their countrymen, and that mutual feeling of independence and consideration would be established, which is at once the cause and the effect of morality and upright conduct.

‘Rendered comparatively independent in his circumstances, the cultivator would not fail to profit by the example set before him by the European settlers, in procuring for himself the comforts and conveniences of life, and in qualifying himself for taking a share in the affairs of his district and country. The settlers would form a nucleus of intelligence and industry, the presence of which could not fail to have a favourable influence upon the minds, as well as the actions, of the population: mixing with the Natives as farmers, planters, and traders; bound to them, in short, by one common interest, and by reciprocal good offices, they would give strength and consistency to the mass in time of peace, and in war they would organise and conduct levies, and perform all the duties of a brave and active yeomanry, sufficient to animate the allegiance of all orders, and place the country in perfect security against external aggression or internal revolt.

‘Not only would the condition of the Native population be greatly improved by the measure proposed, but the state would directly participate in the advantages conferred upon the agricultural classes. The interest of wealthy and intelligent landholders would prompt them to undertake those works of public utility, the expense of which is now defrayed principally by the state, as lord paramount. Local charges of this nature form a large deduction from the gross rents, and, in addition to the cost of management and collection, which, it is to be presumed, would also be diminished, greatly reduce the net receipts of revenue. The redemption of land-tax by some; the reasonable terms on which others would lend their aid in superintending and remitting the collections; and the consequent abolition of various offices, which the present state of the country renders indispensable,—would not fail, very shortly, to relieve the Government from charges, the saving of which would more than compensate for the diminution in the stipulated amount of their land-revenue. The Government, by rigidly adhering to the principle of universal proprietorship, has become justly obnoxious to the reproach of having contributed little—nothing, towards the embellishment of the country, or the convenience of the inhabitants generally, by the execution of works of public utility.

Indian history is full of descriptions of the magnificent edifices, and other works of art, completed by former sovereigns and provincial rulers. ‘Firoze Shah, we are informed, in Dow’s translation of Ferishta, built fifty sluices, forty mosques, thirty schools, twenty caravanserais, one hundred palaces, five hospitals, one hundred tombs, ten baths, ten spires, one hundred and fifty wells, one hundred bridges, &c.

Baber, in his Memoirs, tells us, that he ordered a minaret, or turret, to be raised at every nine coss, and a post-house * at every ten coss, with a relay of six horses; and he is never tired of speaking of the number of gardens and palaces which he erected and planned. Shere Shah, Ackbar, Jehangir, Shah Jehan, and Aurungzebe, appear, also, to have vied with each other in magnificence of this nature; and the great officers of state, in all parts of the empire, have left behind them monuments of their taste and liberality. The costly materials which they employed, together with the grand scale and massive style of the edifices alluded to, form a remarkable contrast with the small and unpretending buildings erected by the English. Nothing, indeed, can be more striking than the difference between the approach to Delhi, or Agra, even in their present state of decay, and that to Calcutta, after its having been nearly a century the capital of our Eastern Empire, the seat of our Government, and the residence of the most opulent of all classes, whether European or Native. In the former, the road is lined with the ruins of palaces, gardens, fountains, tanks, serais, baths,—in short, *et quicquid tantæ præmittitur urbi*,—whilst the latter exhibits nothing from which, at the distance of a mile from the city, the traveller could be led to suppose that he was approaching a place of greater consequence than an ordinary country town. The reproach which Burke thundered against his countrymen in the East, is not yet wiped away; and though, perhaps, it cannot now be said, that, 'were we to be driven out of India this day, nothing would remain to tell that it had been possessed, during the inglorious period of our dominion, by any thing better than the ouran-outang or the tiger,' yet the monuments of state or beneficence left behind us would be comparatively few indeed; and, excepting in the town of Calcutta itself, they would be almost entirely confined to the repairing of Ali Murdan's and Firoze Shah's canals, the construction of an imperfect military road from the seat of Government to the Upper Provinces, and the erection of a jail in all the principal towns.

'The influence upon the minds of men, which is created by an attention to whatever contributes to adorn the face of the country, and adds to the comfort and convenience of the inhabitants, is at all times sufficiently great to become an object worthy of the consideration of Government. Attachment to the spot on which we were born is not a mere sentiment, grounded upon early association, but has for its basis the substantial advantages which that spot affords. To strengthen these claims, is to nourish the spirit of patriotism; and a wise Government will never relax in its efforts

* The quickest mode of travelling now in use, or indeed attainable, at present, in Bengal, is by what is called dawk; that is, by palanquin conveyance, at the rate of about four miles an hour.

to promote a feeling upon which the safety of the country may eventually depend. In India especially, all our institutions should have this object in view, in order that a foundation may be laid for organising an efficient provincial army, and a regular system of defence, in the furtherance of which all ranks of the community may be interested.

‘Little or no effect, however, from a plan of this nature, can be expected, until measures are adopted for diffusing throughout the country the benefits of elementary instruction in the mechanical arts, agriculture, and manufactures, by the possession of which the people will learn the value of labour, and be able to put forth their strength in the great field of human industry. Many people imagine that this useful measure is in actual operation, in consequence of the 43d section of the Charter of 1813, directing that ‘a sum of not less than one lac of rupees (10,000*l.*) shall be annually set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature, and the encouragement of the learned Natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India,’ &c. When, however, it is recollected that British India is supposed to contain nearly ninety millions of inhabitants, it will not be deemed surprising that the expenditure of such a small sum as ten thousand pounds is found totally inadequate to the production of any visible effect upon the manners and habits of the people. The Hindoo and Mohammedan Colleges established in Calcutta, are undoubtedly useful institutions, as far as the learned Natives of India are concerned; and while some of the former bid fair to spread a knowledge of the English language among the Natives of the higher classes of Calcutta, the latter is chiefly instrumental in qualifying Mohammedans for the appointments of vakeels, or pleaders in the law courts. The gradual introduction of the English language, however, is a point of so much importance, that any institution which has for its object the perpetuation of the existing absurdities of a body of law administered in a language alike foreign (and generally unknown) to the Judge who presides, as well as to the suitors and witnesses, cannot but be considered as a misappropriation of the funds in question. If the English language were made an indispensable qualification for every public employment, it would tend, more than any thing else, to the encouragement of general knowledge, and, as a natural consequence, to the gradual weaning of the minds of the Natives from the absurd superstition by which their energies are clogged, and which sits like an incubus upon both their mental and physical powers. A knowledge of the English language would, in this sense, conduce both to the moral and physical advantages of the Natives, and would shortly render them fit to take a share in conducting the affairs of the country, which their utter ignorance now affords an excuse for depriving them of. Education would not only engender new tastes and new wants, but confer the means of gratify-

ing them. A thousand channels of industry would be opened and doubtless new forms of invention would be bodied forth, which it is impossible, under present circumstances, to foretell; for as there are stars the light of which astronomers tell us has not even yet had time to reach the sphere which we inhabit, so there are combinations of thought in the fertile mind of man which it is hardly possible to imagine. In proportion as the genius of the Natives was called forth, the increased intercourse with Europeans, which would be the direct consequence of their newly-acquired intelligence, would elevate their moral character, and imbue them with a spirit which could not but be favourable to the propagation of the religion of the gospel amongst them. It would, indeed, be doing no less injustice to the purity of that religion than to the dignity of human nature, to suppose that any thing but utter ignorance could retain the Natives of India in the gross system of idolatry by which they are now debased; and the evident feeling of shame that is perceptible in the countenance of every Native above the ordinary stamp, when the ceremonials of his religion are spoken of in his presence, should be hailed as a good omen of the ultimate effect which the diffusion of knowledge will produce. It is easy to conceive how the most gifted genius, when standing alone and unsupported amidst a priest-ridden population, and having none but repulsive and haughty Europeans, in high official stations, to resort to, will cling to the errors of the religion in which he was brought up, even in spite of his better reason; but when the number of those with whom he can indulge in a community of thought is increased, there will be no longer any such reason for concealment; and conversion will rapidly proceed, as it always should do, by the light of reason and reflection, *non est religionis cogere religionem*; but example and education are at all times legitimate means of producing conviction.

‘With the slender means, however, at present at the disposal of Government, it is unreasonable to expect that any decisive improvement of the kind alluded to will be effected. In Calcutta, the success of several public and private establishments, but particularly of the Anglo-Indian College, has led many to form an exaggerated estimate of the measures now in operation, and of the general encouragement given by Government, as well as individuals, for promoting instruction throughout the country. Those at Calcutta are chiefly supported by the exertion of private individuals; and the countenance afforded by Government is generally supposed to be almost entirely attributed to the influence of some leading member of the society; whilst Native gentlemen of rank and wealth, though many of them undoubtedly men of liberal and enlightened minds, are not insensible to the vanity of seeing their names associated with those of the magnates of the realm in this or any other public undertaking. Certain it is, that at a distance from the capital, the spectacle of a Native of rank interesting himself in the educa-

tion of his countryman, is, if not entirely unknown, at least very rare; and, from this circumstance, together with the small number and comparatively short residence of the missionaries and others, on whom the practical charge of the schools devolves, no perceptible progress has been made, or can be expected, in a work requiring so much persevering attention, and so steady an adherence to system, as the progressive reform which it is desirable to effect in the habits and manners of the population of Hindoostan. Without the aid of a body of men who, from being settled in the country, will be impelled as much by a feeling of mutual convenience and advantage, as by a sense of their duty as Christians, to attend to the improvement of those around them, no lasting impression will be made; our utmost efforts, like writing on the sand, will be liable to be effaced by every change, even to the slightest ruffling on the surface.

'In every point of view, then, is colonisation the only effectual remedy, the 'one thing needful,' for the salvation of Hindoostan; whether we look to augmenting the efficiency of the civil Government, and enabling it to fulfil the duties to which it is now confessedly inadequate, without an addition to its expenditure which the revenue of the country could never support; or to the defence of the country against foreign invasion, without rendering it onerous, out of all proportion, to the mother country; or, lastly, to the improvement and well-being of the subject-millions committed to our sway, and the eventual establishment of Christianity over some of the fairest portions of the habitable globe.'

The spirit of philosophical inquiry evinced in the preceding extracts, animates every part of the 'Reflections on the State of India.' It is not the crude digest or inflamed invective of a pensioner or partisan, but a calm, deliberate, authoritative exposition of the evils which discredit our name, and endanger our influence in India. Whatever may be the party or prepossession of him who takes the 'Reflections' into his hand, he will find there nothing to wound his prejudices or irritate his self-love. Praise is freely bestowed where praise is due, and faults and errors are exposed, not in malignant acerbity of complaint, but solely with the view of suggesting a speedy and effectual remedy. We trust the author of this very able treatise will be induced, by public applause or friendly solicitation, to save it from the neglect which transcendent merit often fails to avert from anonymous productions. It is due to the miserable population, the improvement of whose condition is the main object of the publication; it is due to Parliament and the country, who are interested in the evidence of all capable, from their ability or experience, to inform the conscience of the great councils of the nation; it is due to the author himself, whose reputation, be it ever so high, cannot fail to be enhanced by the acknowledgment, that his name should appear in the next edition, on the title-page of this invaluable work.

**POLITICAL CONDITION OF THE FREE-COLOURED INHABITANTS
OF THE ISLAND OF TRINIDAD.**

IN 'The Oriental Herald' for February, we devoted a few pages to some remarks on the distinctions in the American Colonies arising from mixture of blood. Our purpose in the present article is to illustrate the strength of this prejudice, by a sketch of the political history of the island of Trinidad. In that portion of this history which relates to the political condition of the mixed race under the British Government, after the colony became, by conquest, a dependency of the British Empire, a melancholy instance of the influence of colonial prejudice exhibits itself on the part of Great Britain, in permitting the European inhabitants of the island to usurp a domination over the other free classes, not warranted by the state of the law in this colony at the time of its capitulation. It was not until within the last few months, that, upon a memorial being presented in behalf of this class of his Majesty's subjects by their benevolent advocate, Dr. Lushington, the constitutional equality, sanctioned by the cedulas of the Spanish law, has been finally recognised as a fundamental article of the government.

But to revert to the earlier history of the island. About the year 1778, some individuals, wearied of cultivating the worn-out and ungrateful soils of many of the surrounding islands, were prompted to visit Trinidad, where they understood there were still unoccupied lands, rich and luxuriant, capable of yielding great revenue, and of rewarding the most sanguine expectations of the enterprising planter; and their highest anticipations, in regard to the fertility of the soil, were fully confirmed by their visit. Among these planters was Mr. Rome de St. Laurent, a settler from Grenada, a gentleman who, with great ardour in agricultural speculations, possessed the most enlarged views of policy and legislation. On landing in Trinidad, he beheld an island gifted with almost every blessing which Nature, in her greatest prodigality, could lavish; a soil the most exuberant, diversified with every variety of aspect; extensive plains alternating with hill and dale; rivers capable of navigation far into the interior, and offering at every season a plentiful supply of water; mountains traversing the island in picturesque groups; and, withal, this fine country separated from the north-east point of Terra Firma by a beautiful basin, which offered a safe anchorage throughout its whole extent at the most tempestuous seasons. The whole island, too, was covered with forests containing every species of durable wood, and holding forth every advantage to a Government that knew how to avail itself of such resources.

Mr. Rome de St. Laurent, astonished that such an important colony should have remained so long neglected, immediately con-

ceived the project of persuading the Governors to permit him to proceed to the city of Caraccas, in order to concert some means of attracting an immigration of inhabitants into this valuable colony. There were at that time two Governors in Trinidad, holding distinct, jarring, and contradictory jurisdictions. Don Martin de Salvaria held the civil, and Don Rafael Delgar the military power; but both of them, pleased at the prospect of seeing a great and rapid influx of strangers attracted to the colony under their charge, willingly promised to embrace whatever plan might be suggested as efficient for the end proposed. Eventually, Mr. Rome de St. Laurent, having to proceed to Caraccas to press an appeal before the Intendant Don Josef de Avalos, against the authority of Don Rafael Delgar, took advantage of his presence at the seat of government, to accomplish the scheme which he had so long meditated. He represented to the Intendant, that few people would be tempted to settle in an island as yet in a wild state, unless very alluring prospects were held out to them; that few would quit their old abodes, where they enjoyed every comfort, to hazard living in woods and wilds, continually exposed to sickness, and subjected to all the privations necessarily incidental to first settlers, unless some very extraordinary advantages should be offered as an inducement. He further said, that, conversant as he was with the inhabitants of the old exhausted settlements, he would pledge himself that a rapid increase of population would be acquired so soon as adequate encouragement was offered.

There is something so contagious in enthusiasm, and so attractive in the enterprise of planting inhabitants in a desert, that Mr. Rome de St. Laurent found no difficulty in communicating the enthusiastic feelings which animated him, into the breast of a benevolent man like Don Josef de Avalos. Any other man than Mr. Rome de St. Laurent would have shrunk from the apparently visionary plan; but it is the character of enthusiasm to despise every obstacle, to consider every attempt as practicable, and not to calculate on the failure of the scheme which engrosses attention.

The Intendant, struck by the plausibility of the reasoning, and the splendour of the project, fully entered into his views of the expediency of granting some peculiar privileges in order to attract settlers to the colony. Here, then, were sketched out the outlines of the Cedula which was afterwards published in 1783. Mr. Rome de St. Laurent declared it to be necessary that *no difference should be made between white persons, people of colour, and blacks*, except in the single instance of allowing a superior portion of land to the former. His reason for this single exception was, that the people of colour and blacks would otherwise become too opulent, and thereby attract the jealousy of the whites. To this exception, however, Don Josef de Avalos made a decided objection; and, as Mr. Rome de St. Laurent seemed to concur in the inexpediency of the measure, the clause was omitted.

Finding every thing so favourable to his wishes, Mr. Rome de St. Laurent returned to Trinidad, and shortly after embarked for Old Spain, with the strong recommendations of the Intendant, and of the Governor of the island. The Ministry at Madrid, made fully sensible of the value of this neglected colony, prepared, without delay or hesitation, the Cedula above mentioned. Mr. Rome de St. Laurent again recommended the article concerning a larger grant to whites. From his late arrival and knowledge of localities, his arguments appeared sufficiently specious to be listened to; and the clause establishing a partial distribution was inserted. 'It is not the rigour,' says Paley, 'but the inexpediency, of laws and acts of authority which make them tyrannical.'

Don Martin de Salvaria, the Governor, exercising the civil jurisdiction in Trinidad, whose ready co-operation laid the foundation for the prosperity of the colony, did not live to see the completion of that superstructure which his talents, as well as his benevolent disposition, had raised. He was succeeded by Don Josef Maria Chacon, the period of whose administration was the golden age of Trinidad. Commerce flourished, justice poised an equal scale, and prejudice was driven to skulk in the dark abodes of a few illiberal beings. His ear was open to every complaint, his arm extended for the support of every petitioner. His memory is still held in grateful remembrance by the descendants of those he governed like a father.

It would appear that the Spanish Government did not, for an instant, hesitate to allow an equality of privileges to all its subjects in Trinidad. It had grown sensible that the prohibitory laws against the coloured people were as unjust as they were arbitrary; that they had been permitted to subsist long after the occasion in which they originated had ceased; in other words, that those laws which had been made for the first state of society in its transatlantic possessions, continued unabolished, notwithstanding a progressive civilisation had changed the general form of life. In short, the Government of Spain, in reviewing the laws of America, as if ashamed of the barbarous ordinances which had been suffered so long to remain unrepealed, at length determined to annul every one that was repugnant to the principle of equalizing the rights and privileges of every class of inhabitants in the colony it was fostering.

It may be worth while to remark, however, that almost all these prohibitory laws had been long obsolete; for, under no Government was the coloured people so indulgently treated as under that of Spain. Like a kind parent, though it held up the rod, it seldom chastised. Fearful, notwithstanding, that abuses might arise, it resolved to repeal, in favour of the inhabitants of Trinidad, all those abominable usurpations, which, during the madness of power, and in the arrogance of unbounded authority, the preceding administrations had been prevailed on to introduce. It was

with this intention the Cedula of 1783 was published, and one of the first acts of Don Josef Maria Chacon was to promulgate it.

By the first article, Roman Catholics of all nations indiscriminately were encouraged to settle; and the Governor was enjoined to receive their oath of allegiance to the Government, and obedience to the laws and penal ordinances of the Indies, to which the Spaniards were subject; immediately after which, he was empowered to grant to them, *for ever*, according to the number of their families and slaves, a certain quantity of land. Every white person was entitled to ten quarrés, and every coloured or black person to five quarrés.

By the fifth article, if they were contented and determined to continue in the island after five years' residence, they should be entitled to *all the rights and privileges of naturalisation, (as well as the children whom they had brought with them, or who should be born to them in the island;)* and, consequently, should be admitted to all the honourable employments of the state, and of the militia, according to the circumstances and talents of each.

Nothing, surely, could be more definite or satisfactory than the above article; and Don Josef Maria Chacon, to prove how earnestly solicitous he was of forwarding the benign views of his monarch, granted commissions to a great number of officers, coloured men, and blacks, who each commanded the corps composed of their respective classes. He made, moreover, no difference between the several classes of officers of the same rank; and, on levees and festivals, they all proceeded indiscriminately to present themselves at Government House. At the capture of the island by the British, some of these coloured and black officers followed the fortunes of the Spanish troops of the line, in their several capacities. But those coloured and black officers who remained on the island after the capitulation, *were degraded* by Colonel Picton, (afterwards the celebrated Sir Thomas Picton,) and enrolled in the ranks under the command of a *white serjeant!*

The fifth article of the Cedula expressly states, that the rights and privileges should be granted, not alone to the first settlers, but 'igualmente que a los hijos qui hayan llevado o les hubiesen nacido en la misma isla,' (equally to the children they may have brought with them, or who should be born to them in the island.) If provision be made for a future generation, without limitation as to time, we are bound to suppose that later settlers were to be included in this liberal system of colonisation.

The sixth article declares, that at no time should any capitation tax, or personal tribute, be imposed on the respectable or *free colonists*; and that they should only pay it for their negroes and coloured slaves, at the rate of one dollar each per annum, after they had been settled ten years in the island, without this sum ever being increased above the quota of that tax. It is worthy of re-

mark, that, to evince more strongly the equality of all the free inhabitants, the Government employed the words 'colonos blancos,' as applied to them in the aggregate; for, in every instance where a distinction was to be made, the term 'blancos' was used in reference to the whites, and 'pardos' to the coloured people.

From all these circumstances, it is evidently implied that all those persons of colour whose morals and intellectual attainments were at all conspicuous, should be entitled to the same rank and consideration as the most honourable of their white fellow-subjects.

The publication of the Cedula was immediately attended with a result highly honourable to the views of the projector. A few years afterwards, the gigantic strides which anarchy and revolution made over both Europe and the New World, drove a considerable number of individuals to seek shelter in Trinidad. The colony exhibited a motley assemblage from every nation, of every description, character, and colour. The principal part of the white settlers, however, were emigrants from the old islands,—mostly men of desperate fortunes, eager in the pursuit of gain, and destitute of either education or refinement. These, as well as the more enlightened portion of the emigrants, in abandoning their former habitations, brought away with them all their prejudices concerning colour, and that insolence of deportment to which the hereditary enjoyment of exclusive political and civil privileges, during so long a period, had given rise. Such men, of course, were chagrined to see the different position in which the coloured class were placed in Trinidad. In the other islands, they were generally little better than indigent submissive bondmen; in Trinidad, they were becoming people of property, and were lawful candidates for consideration and rank.

The happy position of Trinidad, lying as it does at the mouth of the Orinoco, offering a convenient introduction to the main land for British merchandise, probably influenced our Ministry in the attack of the island. It was one of the chief objects to which the expedition was directed in the war with Spain, at the close of the century; and was captured by the forces under Sir Ralph Abercromby, on the 18th of February, 1797. The weakness of the Governor, and the feeble manner in which he was supported, compelled him to capitulate without resistance. The treaty of capitulation contains fifteen articles, the twelfth of which is thus worded: 'The free-coloured people, who have been acknowledged as such by the laws of Spain, shall be protected in their liberty, persons and property, like other inhabitants; they taking the oath of allegiance, and demeaning themselves as becomes good and peaceable subjects of his Britannic Majesty.'

Such widely different circumstances in the condition of this class of society, from what law and prescriptive custom had established in other colonies, roused every jealous feeling against them. Hence the origin of a faction, which has proceeded with increasing power, ever since

the capture of the island by the British. During the existence of the Spanish Government, they had no hopes of monopolising all authority; for they were aware how averse that administration would be to deteriorate the condition of a class of persons, whom it had engaged by its proclamation to settle in the island, under assurances that no distinctions would be admitted but such as arose from worth, talents, or public utility.

The conquest of the island, subjecting it to the authority of a new power, led the white faction to expect the abolition of those ordinances by which they were recognised as the equals, not the superiors, of the coloured population. Bent on self-aggrandisement, this faction were little scrupulous in overstepping the bounds of probity and honour, provided they might be able to compass a favourite object. To obtain the golden prizes for which they were contending, it became necessary to falsify circumstances to the Governor, and distort facts in detail to the Ministry, without regard to principle or justice.

It was the misfortune of Colonel Picton to assume the reins of Government at a very critical moment, when the island had just fallen under a new authority, without an adequate knowledge of localities. It was a still greater misfortune to have fallen into the snares of the white faction, composed of French and English emigrants, with whose politics he connected himself. It was by the arts of this faction, whose sole aim was to deceive him, that he was led to believe that confusion every where prevailed, from the diversity of interests, and the clashing of opposite parties; that the coloured people were animated by the same spirit of revolt that had characterised those of the other islands; that the Spaniards had fostered this spirit by the privileges they had accorded them; and that it was necessary to quell so dangerous a disposition by severe regulations. To such gross deceptions his rigorous proclamations are to be attributed, and that harsh treatment which he exercised on a hitherto inoffensive and happy people.

A discretionary power was illegally assumed by Colonel Picton of modifying the laws and ordinances of Trinidad. Perceiving the necessity of compiling some regulations for the guidance of his lieutenants in distant quarters, he employed M. St. Hilaire Beggorat to draw up a code of instructions for their government in civil matters. This person, in framing the instructions, took the 'Code Noir' of Martinique (his native colony, and whence he was an emigrant) for his model, and produced a work worthy of the confessed adviser of the torture of Louisa Calderón. Then it was, for the first time, that the people of colour saw their dearest privileges, sanctioned by the liberality of the former Government, dashed to the ground and trampled on; and their charter, the twelfth article of capitulation, violated, and in effect annulled, whilst they themselves were held up as objects of contemptuous distinction.

It is unnecessary to enter into the details of the code of general police adopted by Governor Picton, to exhibit its character. It is sufficient to say, that with degradation from military rank was associated disqualification for every civil employment, and denial of every social respect. The current of colonial prejudice swept on with resistless impetuosity, till at last the irritating regulations for the conduct of the degraded class embraced the most trivial of their public amusements, and restraints on the mode in which they should be designated by the law, and addressed even in epistolary intercourse. The policy of the Government was, morally, little less cruel than the law of Lycurgus, which ordained that when infants could not, from physical circumstances, be adopted as the *children of the state*, they should be exposed to perish in the caverns of Mount Tygetus. St. Hilaire Beggorat, accustomed, in the islands of Martinique and St. Domingo, to see the coloured people pressed into the service of the Marshalsea,—subjected to military conscription from sixteen to sixty years of age,—confined to the service of the picket for at least six or seven weeks in the course of the year, one of which was passed in constant waiting at the door of a commandant, with a horse always saddled,—ordained, by the third article of 'his instructions,' the exaction of similar duties in Trinidad. Coloured proprietors were, therefore, selected by the petty civil officers, and, to gratify private pique, were compelled to stand before their doors, or in immediate attendance about the house, with their horses saddled and bridled. Malignity found ample means for its indulgence; and the jealousy excited by the growing prosperity of a coloured neighbour, often led to this outrage against common decency;.

Some coloured proprietors had the spirit to resist this mischievous exercise of authority; but, in doing so, they exposed themselves to be crushed by the iron sceptre of the Governor, in whose summary manner of proceeding, sentence of hanging, transportation, confinement in jail, or removal to other quarters, was pronounced without the hearing of witnesses, or the examination of parties. The wrong done by the one party, and the injustice suffered by the other, had established a separation wider than even the distinctions of the law. Though the glorious career of Picton in the Peninsular war has, in some measure, effaced, by brighter deeds, the dark and disgraceful transactions of his Government in Trinidad, it is well ascertained, that, under his administration, oppression had done its ruthless work with such severity, that, at the period of his recall, the coloured inhabitants, when refusing the onerous burthens entailed upon them, might literally have exclaimed, in the language of the Son of the Mist, in 'The Legend of Montrose': 'Well, be it so; while wrapt in the mantle of peace, we were lambs; it was rent from us, and ye now call us wolves. Give us the huts ye have burned—our children whom ye have murdered—our widows whom

ye have starved; collect from the gibbet and the pole the mangled carcasses and whitened skulls of our kinsmen—bid them live and bless us, and we will be your vassals and your brothers; till then, let death, and blood, and mutual wrong draw a dark veil of division between us.

Major-General Hislop^{*} was appointed the successor of Picton in the Government of the colony; and, it must be owned, at a most disagreeable period. The turbulent spirit that had been the means of occasioning the recall of his predecessor was still predominant; and he must have seen the alternative of yielding either to the current of opinion, or drawing upon himself the hatred of the faction; as he was, however, an amiable and prudent man, he contrived to steer clear of contention, without exciting malevolence, and without lending himself to be the instrument of party. There are, however, a few instances in which he suffered himself to be prevailed on to encroach on the privileges of the coloured inhabitants. On the 2d of December, 1804, he issued the following order: 'All coloured persons are hereby enjoined to present their certificates of having taken the oath of allegiance, prescribed by law, to their respective Alcaldes de Barrio and Commandants of Quarters, and also the proofs of their manumission. Such persons as act in contravention to this order will be treated as dangerous and bad subjects.' This was a very unnecessary act of authority, and instigated solely with a view of humbling and annoying the coloured people. Their loyalty was unimpeachable, and their conduct even praiseworthy; but the Council advised his Excellency to require the 'proofs of their manumission,' merely to oppress them; for, on failure of such proof, they were liable to be seized and sold as slaves. In another proclamation, dated September the 12th, 1810, every coloured person was forbidden from walking out at night in the street, without a lighted lantern, because negroes broke at night the quiet of the peaceable inhabitants. The injustice of the libellous suspicion of their malignant enemies which this order conveyed, was shown by General Hislop himself, in answer to a petition of the class some time after, in which he bore testimony to their 'undeviating, loyal, peaceable, and praiseworthy conduct;' and this at a moment when a virulent and intriguing faction was endeavouring to deprive them of their rights, and when it may be supposed their feelings were warmed by the contemplation of such inimical proceedings.

In a representation of grievances made by the white inhabitants, with an intention of eventually establishing, by the concurrence of the British Government, the exclusive monopoly of political and civil rights, so much at variance with the institutions of the Spanish Government, they laid great stress on the inconvenience resulting from that part of the Spanish code by which the Court of Appeals from the Courts in Trinidad was fixed in the Caraccas; 'which defect,' they allege, opened the door to enormous evils, which

have been ever since experienced, not merely in the ignorance of the Judges, but as much in the corrupt practice which ignorance could not detect, and which the practical system of the Courts was peculiarly adapted to facilitate.' These were, certainly, in appearance, very cogent reasons; yet the impartial observer of their machinations could easily dive into the true motives which prompted their applications to Government: it was to annihilate all the hopes, and blight all the prospects of their coloured fellow-subjects, that they desired a change of legislation. The change was not to bestow the liberal constitution of laws as they exist in England, but to reduce the island to the same condition as the other West India settlements. As British subjects, they deemed themselves entitled to the exclusive privileges enjoyed as their birth-right in the British islands whence they had emigrated. They contended, that it was just that the laws should be changed with a change of dominion, and consistent with the rule of equity, that they should obtain trial by jury, and the other benefits of the British Constitution.

'One may observe,' says a nervous writer, alluding to religious intolerance, 'that men of all persuasions confine the word persecution, and all the ill ideas of injustice and violence which belong to it, solely to those severities which are exercised upon themselves, or upon the party they are inclined to favour. Whatever is inflicted upon others is a just punishment upon obstinate impiety, and not a restraint upon conscientious differences.' So it happened with the white colonists, who complained egregiously of having been selected as objects of experiment, and of having been denied the privileges of Englishmen; and yet they were willing to see the Ministry deprive the coloured people of all their charters of liberty, that they themselves might usurp the entire authority.

The operations of the Committee of the whites were for sometime contemplated by the coloured class with patient though anxious expectation; but seeing, that in no part of the petitions they were even made mention of, they finally resolved to address General Hislop, and pray for a change of the very oppressive system under which they were labouring. They formed themselves into a Committee, and drew up a petition to his Excellency. The Governor expressed a desire that the objects to which their views were directed, in their wish to address the Throne, should be distinctly stated to him. In reply, the Committee informed his Excellency, 'that at a time when a new system of laws was framing for the government of the colony, they were solicitous to implore the consideration of their monarch towards the general interests of his coloured subjects, with a view to such a moderate and consistent plan of improvement in their condition as it may appear susceptible of.' This letter, though penned with such humility, did not save the Committee from the charge of conspiracy; and serious propositions

were agitated to banish the ringleaders from the colony. One general feeling of hostility prevailed towards every individual of that persecuted class; and the spirit of violence it engendered, subjected many to insolence and outrage.

General Hislop lost no time in answering the communication of the coloured inhabitants. He stated to them, in his written reply, that having attentively considered the subject of the petition presented to him in the name and in behalf of the free inhabitants of colour, he was empowered to reply to it in the first instance, by giving his fullest testimony to their undeviatingly loyal, peaceable, and praiseworthy conduct, justly entitling them to the confidence which he had invariably placed in them, as good and faithful subjects of their King; but, as the measures adopted towards bringing about a change of laws had not admitted of going into a detail of the system which might be ultimately determined on by his Majesty's Government, he considered their address to the Throne premature, and as indicating an apprehension on their part, that in the proposals which might be suggested for the security, welfare, and happiness of the public generally, their interests would be overlooked,—a conclusion, he thought, which no circumstance hitherto affecting them could justify. Their apprehensions being thus calmed, the people of colour felt disposed to rely on the benevolence of their sovereign. They trusted that the monarch, who, when the island fell under his dominion, promised that they should 'be protected in their liberty, persons, and property, like other inhabitants,' would, at the moment when the claims of their white fellow-subjects were taken into consideration, also extend his bountiful regard to their degraded and suffering condition. In their applications, the people of colour refrained from complaining of injuries; they made but slight allusion to their calamitous condition; nor did they make any demand for a complete change of laws, as they felt that no legislative enactments could possibly be more mild or favourable than the Spanish system towards them, if fully acted upon. They desired, then, not so much an alteration of their legal code, as a fulfilment of its ordinances; they were desirous, not for new laws, but for the faithful administration of those actually existing, in virtue of the twelfth article of capitulation. All this was promised them by that article; and as those laws had never been repealed, they deemed themselves entitled to the full restitution of the advantages accruing to them from the different Spanish regulations in their favour, of which they had been unjustly deprived by the British Colonial Government.

The petition of the white colonists was forwarded to England, intrusted to a person duly empowered to give importance to his mission. The Ministry, however, regarding the claims of the general body of the colonists, refused the prayer of their memorial. The rights of the mixed community were at once recognised; 'for,

said the Earl of Liverpool, in a despatch dated 27th November, 1810, alluding to the system proposed in the petition of the whites, 'the partial and exclusive principle on which it is proposed by the white inhabitants to be founded, whereby the largest portion of the free people of the island would be excluded from all participation in its privileges, appears to defeat the object of it, and to constitute, in point of justice, and upon the very principles of the system itself, a decided and insuperable objection against it.' This, however, was not the strongest reason alleged by that statesman for refusing to sanction the system of legislation demanded by the whites. In their application to Government, they requested to be placed on the same footing with their fellow colonists in the old colonies; but Lord Liverpool declared that no comparison could be drawn between the circumstances of these colonies and of Trinidad. 'In all the other West India islands,' said his Lordship, 'with the exception of Dominica, an exception which arises out of recent circumstances, the white inhabitants form the great majority of the free people of the colony,* and the political rights and privileges of all descriptions have been enjoyed exclusively by them. The class of free people of colour in these colonies, as far even as their numbers extend, has grown up gradually. They have thereby, in some degree, been reconciled to the middle situation which they occupy between the white inhabitants and the slaves. But, in the island of Trinidad, the people of colour at this time form a very great majority of the free inhabitants of the island; and the question will arise, according to the proposed system, whether, in establishing for the first time a popular government in that colony, we shall exclude that class of persons from all political rights and privileges? Such an exclusion, *we know*, would be regarded by them as a grievance; and it may be doubted how far it would be consistent with the spirit of the capitulation, by which their privileges were to be secured, and their situation certainly not deteriorated from that which they enjoyed under the Spanish Government.' What those privileges were, and what the security promised them, have been stated at large in the foregoing part of this article.

His Lordship's arguments were grounded upon common justice; they pleaded the mere fulfilment of the civil compact. It was a policy that would have bound every member of the society of Trinidad in a closer chain. They were to look to the sovereign as the common father, to whom was due their united fidelity, loyalty, and submission. The Earl of Liverpool's dispatch had struck a blow at the deep-rooted prejudices which pervade the whole of the West Indies. It had threatened one day to annihilate those maxims of colonial policy which had taught that no amelioration ought

* This is not correct of all the colonies. Jamaica has a population of free-coloured persons double that of the whites; and the same observation is true of several of the smaller islands.

to take place in the circumstances of those in whose veins the blood of Africa flowed. The time for its accomplishment, however, was yet distant. Sir Thomas Hislop was succeeded by General Munro, whose Government, though it endured but a few months, established, as a part of the administration of colonial justice, the flogging of the free-coloured inhabitants. It was amid this installation of violence and prejudice, that Sir Ralph Woodford was appointed to rule the colony. During his administration the laws relaxed in no respect their oppression and partiality; unhappily, he had so successfully obtained the confidence of the authorities in England, that as long as he countenanced the prevailing policy, there was no hope that the liberal sentiments of Government would ever be directed to a reform of existing abuses. As soon, however, as the successful influence which he exercised over public opinion in that island, and the confidence with which he inspired the responsible persons in the Colonial Department at home, had ceased with his life to operate with any further effect,—the work of amelioration was rapidly consummated. The occurrence of his death is said to have excited regret among the inhabitants of this important colony, over whose affairs he presided for so many years. The impartial inquirer, we think, will find nothing on which his admirers can found for him any just pretensions to public applause. With whatever feelings of partial regret he may be remembered by a few of the dominating caste, it can scarcely be denied that, in proportion as he is proved to have maintained their exclusive interests, in the same proportion he must have neglected the substantial well-being of that silent majority, who, placed by the influence of local causes in a situation in which obedience is the only duty that appertains to them, have not felt less deeply his injustice, because, in the expression of their wrongs, they were not permitted to speak with ‘a voice that was trumpet-tongued and loud.’ It is almost wholly to the public-spirited patriotism of Dr. Baptiste Philip, who dared to perform an act of just severity in laying before the Government a detail of the abuses committed by this Governor in the execution of the laws, that the coloured inhabitants of Trinidad owe the full recognition of those rights recently made by his Majesty’s Colonial Secretary.

The conduct of England in the government of this colony is, we trust, destined now no longer to bear a discreditable comparison with the liberal policy of Spain. The chartered franchises of the people of colour will cease to be violated; and no longer will it be said with reproach of England, as it has been with too much justice heretofore in the case of Trinidad, that ‘to baptise and rub the helpless, to refuse to fellow-subjects their birth-rights, belong, it seems, to this country, as the peculiar distinction of a people who send bishops to Christianise their colonies, and who zealously watch the invasion of every liberty of their own.’

DESCRIPTION OF BUSHIRE, THE CHIEF SEA-PORT OF THE
PERSIAN GULF.

THE town of Bushire, or, as the inhabitants call it, Abu Shah, is seated in a low peninsula of land, extending out from the general line of coast, so as to form a bay on each side. Its geographical position has been pretty accurately determined to be in latitude $29^{\circ} 0'$ north, and in longitude $50^{\circ} 48'$ east, as the results of many repeated observations. The appearance of the town, on approaching it, either from the land or the sea, is rather agreeable than otherwise, and promises more than it is afterwards found to contain. From the edge of the coast on which it stands, a level plain extends behind it, for a distance of more than forty miles in a straight line, where it terminates at the foot of the first range of hills, between Bushire and Shiraz, and where the mountainous part of Persia may be said to commence. These hills, being abrupt and lofty, form a fine back ground to the view in clear weather; and their distance giving them the blue haze, which often leaves only their outlines distinct, they afford a picturesque relief to the monotony of the scenery near the coast. The town itself is seated so nearly on a level with the water's edge, that the tops of the houses are first perceived as if rising out of the sea. The general aspect presents a number of tall square towers, called baudgeers, or wind-catchers, and constructed with passages for air, during the excessive heat of summer, to ventilate the houses over which they are erected. The dwellings are all flat-roofed and terraced, and mostly built of a light coloured and friable madrapore, or coralline; and as there are no domes or minarets seen among them, and a total absence of trees, gardens, or verdure, the whole picture is of a dull, grey, sandy hue, particularly uninviting, and even fatiguing to the view, under a sultry sky; indeed, except when the weather is sufficiently clear to unveil the mountains of the back ground, it possesses no relief; but the only contrast it offers, is a change from the blue surface of a level sea, to the yellow plains of a parched and sandy desert as level as itself.

On landing, the scene is not at all improved: the town is now found to stand partly on a small eminence, which is greatest in its centre, and is not more than one hundred feet at its highest elevation from the sea; from thence, it shelves gently down to the beach on either side, where the houses are literally built upon the sands. The whole number of dwellings does not amount to more than fifteen hundred, of which one-third, at least, are reed enclosures, scarcely deserving even the name of huts, as most of them are unroofed, and are inhabited by none but slaves, and the very lowest order of the people. The houses are built chiefly of a friable stone,

composed of sand and shells embedded in clay; and the best of them are constructed of burnt bricks, brought from Bussorah. The style of architecture is that which prevails in Arabia generally, with slight additions of the Persian kind. The buildings are large, square, flat-roofed, laid out in central courts and small apartments, badly lighted, and often as badly aired. Excepting the East India Company's factory, the residence of the Governor, and a few good dwellings of the merchants, particularly the Armenians, there is scarcely one comfortable, and certainly not one handsome, edifice in the place. The streets are so many narrow alleys, without sufficient height of wall on either side to shelter the passenger from the sun, the only advantage that narrow streets possess; and they are totally without order or regularity in their windings and direction. The mosques are all open buildings, without domes or minarets, and are inferior both in general appearance without, and in their neatness within, to those seen in the smallest villages of Arabia. Coffee-houses there are none, that I remember to have seen, as this beverage is not much in use among the inhabitants. The only bath that exists here is small, mean, filthy, and badly attended; and the bazaars are simply benches, covered by a roof of matted rafters, of the most wretched appearance. There are one or two good caravanserais near the landing-place for boats, occupied by, and belonging to, Armenian merchants; but those belonging to the Mohammedans scarcely deserve the name.

The town is open to the north-east, which fronts the inner harbour; to the south-west, which fronts the outer roads; and is enclosed only across the peninsula by a poor wall, extending from sea to sea, and in which is the gate of exit and entrance to and from Persia. There is nothing in all this that can deserve the name of a fortification: and the only defence which it presents towards an enemy, is a few dismounted guns without this gate, on the land-side; a battery of six or eight, nearly abreast of the factory, in the south-west quarter of the town, and half a dozen others placed before the Custom House, in the north-east quarter, and facing the inner harbour,—all of them of different calibre, and mounted on carriages of such a crazy kind as would certainly fall to pieces on a second or third discharge. On the south-west side, which faces the outer roads, it is all a level sandy beach, which, from its being shoal water near it, is beat on by an almost constant surf, though not of such violence as to prevent the landing of boats in moderate weather. The north-east, which faces the inner harbour, has a wharf or two for landing goods on, and is altogether better sheltered, though, from the number of the sand-banks, and the diversity of channels between this place and the shipping, it is not easily accessible, even in boats, except to those in some degree acquainted with the shoals; but it is always preferred as the safest and best landing place.

The population of Bushire has been variously estimated, and has, no doubt, been at a very different standard, at different periods. At present the most favourable accounts do not make it more than ten thousand, and the true number is perhaps still less. The Ah-el-Bushire, or the race of Bushire, as they are emphatically called, present a disagreeable mixture of the Arab and the Persian; in which, whatever is amiable in either character seems totally rejected, and whatever is vicious in both, is retained and even cherished. These form the great body of the people; and their dress, their language, their manners, and their general appearance, all bespeak their mongrel breed. The chief occupation of these, are trade and commerce on a confined scale, fishing, pilotage, and the navigation of their own vessels of the port. In person, they are neither so meagre, nor so swarthy as the real Arabs of the opposite coast; but they are equally ill-featured and dirty, and destitute of the high spirit, the feeling of honour, and the warm hospitality which distinguish these: they retain, however, all their meanness in bargains, and their disposition for robbery and plunder of property, not attainable by better means. Their dress is equally a combination of the Arab and Persian garments, without being purely the costume of either. The shirt, trowsers, and zuboön, or outer garment, are Persian; but the turban and the abba, or cloak, are Arabic: the one is formed of the blue checked cloth of Muscat, or the brown cloth of Shooster, and the other of the manufacture of Lahsa, Ka-teef, and Coete, on the opposite shore. The black sheepskin cap, the most peculiar feature of the Persian dress, is worn only by such as come down from the higher country, and remain as sojourners here, and is in no instance used by a native of Bushire. The common language is Persian, but of so harsh and corrupt a kind, that the natives of Shiraz, who pride themselves on the purity of their tongue, affect to treat it as almost unintelligible; and, short as is the distance, and constant as is the communication between these places, I scarcely ever remarked a greater difference than there is between their different pronunciations of the same words: the one is a model of the most harmonious utterance; the other is nearly as harsh as the most ill-spoken Arabic. This last language is understood by most of the natives of Bushire; but they have as little eloquence in their way of pronouncing this, as they have in speaking their own tongue; and one must hear the Arabic of Bushire to comprehend how harsh and disagreeable its sounds are capable of being made. This double corruption is the more striking as they are close to and in constant communication with Shiraz, where Persian is spoken in its greatest purity; and as they both trade with, and receive frequent visitors from, Coete or Graine, on the opposite coast, where the Arabic is spoken with all the softness and harmony of which it is susceptible, and in a way superior to that of any other part of Arabia in which I had heard it.

The merchants of Bushire are composed about equally of Per-

sians and Armenians. The latter, however, are men of more extensive connections with India; and as they possess more activity, intelligence, and integrity of dealing, so they are more wealthy; and this, with the countenance which they receive from the Company's Resident here, is sufficient to give them considerable influence in the place. There are no Jews of any note, as at Buasorah, nor Banians, as at Muscat; the Armenians supplying the place of both, as brokers and agents for others, as well as traders on their own account; and as these both write and speak English and Hindostanee, they are more generally useful to maritime men and mercantile visitors from India.

The Governor of the town, Sheik Abd-el-Rusool, is of a family long resident here, and he exercises all the responsible functions of the government, though he has an uncle, Sheik Mohammed, in whose presence he himself stands, and to whom he always yields the greatest honours. Both of these, when they walk out, are attended by a guard of about twenty armed men as well as servants; yet these add nothing even to the apparent dignity of the persons whom they attend. It is the daily practice of both these chiefs to come down before noon, and after El-Assr, to the sea-side fronting the harbour, where they sit on the bench of a miserable matted hut erected for that purpose, and derive great satisfaction from the salutes of passengers, and from observing what may be doing among the shipping. When Sheik Mohammed, who is the eldest but not the actual Governor, happens to be there, his nephew first stands at a respectful distance, with his hands folded beneath his cloak. He is then desired to seat himself, which he does frequently on the ground, and in the humblest and most obscure place that he can find, behind his uncle. After some time he is desired to advance forward, and he ventures to change his first seat for a better one; and this farce continues until, after repeated invitations, he becomes seated in front of his superior, while all the rest stand; but he never shares the same bench with his relative.

The forces of this Government vary in number and description at every different period of the year, as they are mostly composed of persons whose services are demanded at the exigency of the moment; so that there are sometimes not an hundred, and at others more than a thousand, in pay at once. These, like the soldiers of all the Turkish, Persian, and Arabian countries, are mostly horsemen, paid by the chiefs whom they serve, without discipline or uniformity of dress, and furnishing even their own arms and accoutrements at their own caprice. The Governor is nominally subject to the Prince of Shiraz, and through him to the King of Persia, to whom he pays a yearly tribute; but this is often withheld on slight prettexts; and nothing but the power to be able to maintain an independence is wanted, since the disposition manifests itself on almost every occasion.

Notwithstanding the meanness of Bushire as a town, it is, the best, excepting Bussorah only, that now exists in the whole of the Persian Gulf. It possesses considerable importance, when considered as the only port of such an extensive empire as Persia, for it is through this channel alone that all her supplies from India by sea are received. The former splendour of Ormuz and Gambroon, or Bunder Obassi, at the entrance of the Gulf, is known to have been derived from their commerce only, when they stood in the same relation to Persia generally, as depôts for maritime commerce, that Bushire does at present. The history and the fate of these settlements are known to every one. They were once splendid cities; they are now no more. Whether this be a fate that awaits Bushire, or not, would be very difficult to prophecy; but as it has never attained for its merchants the wealth which the liberality and munificence of Abbas the Great allowed his subjects to acquire; and as its trade, though sufficiently extensive, is crippled by the overwhelming pressure of a long train of exactions, continued from the sea to the inland capital; it is likely that it will never arrive at the pitch of opulence to which Ormuz and Gambroon attained, nor, for a long period, at least, sink to the utter desolation of those proud marts, since no change can be so much for the worse as to effect such a total abandonment.

The trade at present existing between Persia and India, admits of the average arrival of twelve or fifteen merchant ships yearly from Bengal and Bombay. Not more than half their cargo is, however, landed here, and often not more than a third, as a portion of it is usually taken out at Muscat, and a still larger portion goes on to Bussorah. From Bengal are brought rice, sugar, indigo, pepper, and spices, with a small assortment of muslin and piece-goods. From Bombay are imported the annual supplies of iron, steel, tin, lead, and woollen cloths, sent by the East India Company, and continued to be sold yearly at a loss, in consequence of their being obliged by their Charter to export a certain quantity of these articles annually from Great Britain, and to force a market for them where they can. The productions of China in sugar, sugar-candy, preserved-ginger, camphor, and porcelain, are also brought from Bombay, as well as cassia, nutmegs, and other productions of the Eastern Isles. These are all taken up into Persia by caravans of mules, which pace regularly between this place and Shiraz. The rice and sugar of Bengal often find their way to Bahrein and other islands of the Persian Gulf, as well as the coffee of Mocca, which is shipped at Muscat, in order to fill up the vacant room left by goods being discharged there. The rice of Persia is preferable to that of India, and coffee is not a very general beverage in this country, though it is all over Arabia, which sufficiently accounts for the diversion of these two articles into other channels.

The returns for these imports are made in Persian horses, sup-

plied by contract for the East India Company's cavalry, old copper collected in the interior, in domestic utensils, &c. and sent to Bengal; in assafoetida, an article much used in the cookery of India; in dried fruits, particularly almonds, small raisins, quinces, and apricots; in carpets for Mohammedan prayers, for mosques, and for private apartments, the manufacture of the country; otto of roses and rose-water, in small quantities; and in Shiraz wine. All these articles do not amount, however, to one-third the value of the imports; so that the residue is made up in money. This consists of Spanish and German dollars, a few Venetian sequins, and other gold coins, but mostly of Persian rupees. The freight of all articles from India to Bushire is nearly the same as from India to Bussorah; and the bulky articles of return are also taken back at the same rate. In treasure, however, there is this difference, that while from Bussorah it pays three per cent. to Bombay, and four per cent. to Bengal, the last risk being nearly double that of the first; from Bushire they are both paid alike, at only three per cent. for Bombay and Calcutta; and the only explanation that one can get for this inconsistency of making no advance of freight, when the distance, the time, and the risk, are all doubled, is, that it is an old custom, and cannot be broken through.

The duties on merchandise exported and imported, are regulated by the package and quality of the goods, and not fixed by a per centage on their value. Rice and sugar pay each half a rupee per bag; sugar-candy, a rupee per tub; indigo, fifteen rupees per chest; pepper, cassia, cloves, cardamons, and other spices, six rupees per bag; camphor, two rupees per box; China-ware, four rupees per chest; Mocca coffee, two rupees per bale; and sweat-meats, three rupees per package. The duties on Indian piece-goods vary considerably, according to their quality, but average at about ten per cent.; and those on the European articles of cloth, iron, steel, lead, and tin, at not more than five per cent. on their invoice price. The duties on the exports or returns are still less: horses and money, which form the greatest portion of these returns, are both exempt from duties of any kind, as well as old copper and Persian carpets; dried fruits pay only one rupee per package; assafoetida, one rupee per jar; rose-water, two rupees per case of several bottles; and Shiraz wine is free.

It is a common practice for the Governor to appropriate to himself such of the merchandise passing through his port, as may be convenient to himself, either for his own immediate use, or to speculate in as an article of commerce; but, instead of paying for such goods, when thus taken, he suffers the amount to stand over, as a balance, in favour of the owners of them, to be liquidated by remitting the duties on further imports, till the amount is made up. This is naturally an obnoxious mode of dealing in the estimation of the merchants; but they have no remedy. During our stay

here, the Governor was engaged in a war with some villages on the plain behind the town, and was much in want of lead for musket-balls. This want, instead of increasing the demand for, and consequently the price of, the article, as it would naturally have done under any well-regulated Government, had actually the effect of stopping the supplies of this metal, which were laid in expressly for the place. A vessel lying in the roads had on board several hundred slabs of lead, shipped at Bombay for Bushire; but the owner of them, fearing that if they were landed, the Governor's agents would seize them for their master's use, on the usual condition of the long payments described, requested the Captain not to land them here, and paid additional freight for carrying them on to Bussorah, where even an uncertain market was better than the ruinous one to which they would come here, by falling into the Governor's hands. Under such a system, light as the duties on merchandise may be, commerce can hardly be expected to flourish; and the fact is, that there is a disinclination to speculate beyond the actual consumption; and a fear and restraint in all commercial undertakings, which is destructive of the activity that commerce requires to make it advance, or even to keep it alive.

As a sea-port, Bushire has no one good quality to recommend it. The anchorage of the outer roads, in four fathoms water, is at least six miles from the shore, and is so exposed to the full fury of the north-west and south-east gales, which prevail here, that whenever it blows a single-reef breeze, no boats can communicate between the town and the vessel, and no supplies or information be received; while the ship herself rides as heavily as in the open ocean, without the least shelter; and as the holding ground is not good, it is not an uncommon event for vessels to part their cables and be driven to sea. The inner harbour is only accessible for ships drawing less than eighteen feet water, and as the entrance is over a bar across a channel of less than half a mile wide, such vessels can only go in with a favourable wind, and at the top of high water in spring-tides. The depth within increases to three and a quarter and three and a half fathoms, and the holdingground is good; but here, though the sea is broken off by the projection of the Rohilla Sands, a ship is exposed to all the force of a north-west wind, and the distance is still three or four miles from the shore, which renders communication by boats difficult, and often impossible, when it blows strong. It appears by some of the older descriptions of Bushire, that the Company's cruisers and other small vessels were formerly able to anchor close up to the north-east side of the town, within the inner harbour; but the channel leading up to this will now scarcely admit of small dows except they are lightened. There are anchorage-births for Native boats behind some small islands to the north-east extremity of the inner harbour, or in the deepest part of the bight which it forms. This was at present occupied by the fleet of

a certain Arab, named Ramah-ben-Jaber, who has been for more than twenty years the terror of the Gulf, and who is the most successful and the most generally tolerated pirate, perhaps, that ever infested any sea. This man is by birth a native of Graine, on the opposite coast, and nephew of the present Governor, or Sheik of that place. His fellow-citizens have all the honesty, however, to declare him an outlaw, from an abhorrence of his profession; and he has found that shelter and protection at Bushire which his own townsmen very properly denied to him. With five or six vessels; most of which are very large, and manned by crews of from two to three hundred each, he sallies forth, and captures whatever he may think himself strong enough to carry off as his prize; the vessels of Graine, of Bussorah, of Bahrein, of Muscat, and even of Bushire, where he resides, falling equally a prey to him. His followers, to the number perhaps of two thousand, are maintained by the plunder of his prizes; and as these are most of them his own bought African slaves, and the remainder equally subject to his authority; he is sometimes as prodigal of their lives in a fit of anger as he is of those of his enemies, whom he is not content to slay in battle only, but basely murders in cold blood after they have submitted. An instance is related of his having recently put a great number of his own crew, who used mutinous expressions, into a tank on board, in which they usually kept their water, and this being shut close at the top, the poor wretches were all suffocated and afterwards thrown overboard.

This butcher chief, like the celebrated Djezzar of Acre, affects great simplicity of dress, manners, and living; and whenever he goes out, he is not to be distinguished by a stranger from the crowd of his attendants. He carries this simplicity to a degree of filthiness which is disgusting, as his usual dress is a shirt, which is never taken off to be washed from the time it is first put on, till it is worn out; no drawers or coverings for the legs of any kind; and a large black goats'-hair cloak wrapped over all, with a greasy and dirty handkerchief, called the keffeca, thrown loosely over his head.

Infamous as was this man's life and character, he was not only cherished and courted by the people of Bushire, who dread him, but was courteously received and respectfully entertained whenever he visited the British factory! On one occasion, at which I was present, he was sent for to give some medical gentlemen of the navy and the Company's cruisers an opportunity of inspecting his arm, which had been severely wounded. The wound was at first made by grape-shot and splinters, and the arm was one mass of blood about the part for several days, while the man himself was with difficulty known to be alive. He gradually recovered, however, without surgical aid; and the bone of the arm between the elbow and the shoulder being completely shattered to pieces, the fragments

progressively worked out, and the singular appearance was left, of the fore arm and elbow connected to the shoulder by flesh, skin, and tendons, without the least vestige of bone. This man, when invited to the factory for the purpose of making this exhibition of his arm, was himself admitted to sit at table and take some tea, as it was breakfast-time, and some of his followers took chairs around him. They were all as disgustingly filthy in appearance as could well be imagined; and some of them did not scruple to hunt for vermin on their skin, of which there was an abundance, and throw them beside them on the floor. Rahmah-ben-Jaber's figure presented a meagre trunk, with four lank members, all of them cut and hacked, and pierced with wounds of sabres, spears, and bullets in every part, to the number perhaps of more than twenty different wounds. He had, besides, a face naturally ferocious and ugly, and now rendered still more so by several scars there, and by the loss of one eye. When asked by one of the English gentlemen present, with a tone of encouragement and familiarity, whether he could not still dispatch an enemy with his boneless arm, he drew a crooked dagger, or yambeah, from the girdle round his shirt, and placing his left hand, which was sound, to support the elbow of the right, which was the one that was wounded, he grasped the dagger firmly with his clenched fist, and drew it backward and forward, twirling it at the same time, and saying, that he desired nothing better than the cutting of as many throats as he could effectually open with his left hand! Instead of being shocked at the utterance of such a brutal wish, and such a savage triumph at still possessing the power to murder unoffending victims, I know not how to describe my feelings of shame and sorrow, when a loud burst of laughter, instead of execration, escaped from nearly the whole assembly, when I ventured to express my dissent from the general feeling of admiration for such a man.

MORAVIAN LULLABY.

THE storm hath ceased—yet still I hear
The distant thunder sounding,
And through the forest, far and near,
The headlong torrents bounding :
The jackal shrieks upon the rocks ;
The tiger-wolf is howling ;
The panther round the folded flocks
With stifled rage is growling :
But say thy prayers and sleep, my child,
God watcheth o'er us midst the wild.

PROGRESS OF COLONIAL REFORM AT THE MAURITIUS AND THE
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, AS REGARDS THE TREATMENT
OF THE SLAVE POPULATION.

IN the pages of 'The Oriental Herald,' we have on various occasions adverted to the political and civil condition of the settlements of the Cape of Good Hope and Mauritius, now recognised as integral portions of the British Empire. The gross abuses lately prevalent in the administration of the Cape Colony, have been, as many of our readers will recollect, fully and fearlessly exposed in this Journal at no distant date ; * and in our pages alone, indeed, are to be found some of the most curious historical details of the memorable administration of the late Governor, Lord Charles Somerset. It is our intention to resume, from time to time, our political survey of the progress and prospects of these two colonies, interesting not only on their own account, but as important outposts of our Indian Empire ; and we shall also occasionally extend, as heretofore, our researches to the more remote but valuable and rapidly progressive settlements in Australia. On the present occasion, however, we mean to confine our observations almost exclusively to matters connected with the slave population of the Mauritius and the Cape : and first, as respects the former.

Having, in our last Number, given in full detail the frightful picture of Mauritius slavery, as developed in its practical results, it remains for us now to notice more particularly the conduct of those who administered the government of that colony, in so far, at least, as the system of administration affected the treatment and condition of the slaves.

The island of Mauritius was captured by a British force in December, 1810, and Sir Robert Farquhar was immediately afterwards appointed its Governor. This gentleman continued to hold the appointment until June 1823, with the exception of the years 1818 and 1819, when he visited England on leave of absence, and during which interval the government was administered first by General Hall, and afterwards by General Darling. After his final departure in 1823, Sir Robert Farquhar was succeeded by Sir Lowry Cole, who held the government until he resigned it for that of the Cape, in August or September last.

We mentioned in our last Number, (p. 476,) the severe and unjust character of the old French Slave Code which prevailed in the Mauritius at the time of its capture. From that time, as we find by the Parliamentary papers recently printed, no modification

* See 'The Oriental Herald,' Numbers 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41, 42, 45, 47.

whatever was introduced by the English Government, until the 30th December, 1814, when an edict was issued by Sir Robert Farquhar. An edict of mercy, amelioration, of gradual emancipation, perhaps, for the wretched slave population, the reader anticipates ? It related, indeed, to manumission, but not for the benefit of the slave. This decree, besides requiring many onerous formalities, and renewing the old law, that no slave should be manumitted without the permission of the Governor, who alone was to decide whether the proposed manumission might be carried into effect without injury to the community, actually imposed a fine of 150 to 300 dollars on each act of manumission. By this edict, the Governor further empowered himself to employ on the highways all freed persons having no visible means of support. This unjust enactment was slightly modified by an ordinance of Sir Lowry Cole of the 27th January, 1827, and the amount of the fine was reduced to 5*l*. The modification had, however, fortunately the effect of bringing the matter before the acute mind of Mr. Huskisson, who, in an official letter of 10th October, 1827, peremptorily annulled the whole proceeding, and directed both these proclamations to be forthwith revoked.

We proceed with the following statements from a recent and interesting Number of 'The Anti-Slavery Reporter.'

'On the 13th of December, 1826, Sir Lowry Cole published an ordinance to *regulate the weight* of the chains and fetters which masters are authorised, by the existing laws, to fasten upon their slaves at their own discretion. This new regulation directs, that when two male slaves of fifteen years of age are chained together, the chains and collars are not to exceed nine pounds, and for a single male slave six pounds ;—for two negresses five pounds ; and for one negress, or for a child, three pounds ! The fetters on the *feet* of a male slave are not to exceed three pounds ! This weight, however, may in all cases be augmented by the civil commissaries at their discretion ! Negresses and children, though they may be chained, are not to be fettered ; and no slave is to be both chained and fettered at the same time, without a commissary's* authority. The use of the collar with three branches is forbidden. The penalty for violating this law, a law which, our readers will see, leaves sufficient scope to the inflictions of arbitrary power, is a fine of two to ten pounds for the first offence, and of ten to twenty pounds for the second.

'The same ordinance imposes a fine of from five to forty pounds on any proprietor who shall punish a slave that has been sent back to him by any judge or commissary of police, with an injunction "to treat him without resentment."†

* 'The commissaries, be it remembered, are all slave-holders.

† 'We have often protested against the iniquity of that principle which pervades our slave codes, and is unfortunately embodied in that for Tri-

‘ Sir Lowry Cole, about the same time that he made this first and feeble attempt to abate the excessive rigour of the Mauritius system of slavery, addressed two circular letters to the commissaries of districts. These were accompanied by a transcript of four of the clauses of the slave codes of 1723 and 1767, relating to the Sunday labour, the food and clothing, and the arbitrary punishment of the slaves. The circulars state, that, notwithstanding the laws which forbid masters, on pain of arbitrary punishment and confiscation, to make their slaves work on Sundays, the Governor has learned that, on many estates, the slaves do work on Sundays as on other days. This, he says, can no longer be tolerated, and he invites the commissaries to employ their influence to persuade the planters to give their slaves the rest of the Sunday, and on other days not to require them to work until half an hour before sunrise, or beyond a quarter of an hour after sunset.* He admits the planters may find it necessary to work their sugar-houses at night, and does “not pretend to oppose it;” but, in that case, he thinks the slaves ought to have the following day to rest themselves; and when circumstances oblige them to deprive their slaves of Sundays, he hopes they will feel the justice of an indemnity. He also directs their attention to the food, clothing and correction of the slaves. “There exist,” he says, “in this respect, abuses which it is your duty to remove, by denouncing them to the Solicitor-General.” And if this warning should not be attended to, “I will find myself compelled to adopt measures of rigour which will be repugnant to my feelings, but will be called for by the dictates of humanity, by the laws, and by the colonial interests.” He afterwards adverts strongly to the excess of punishment inflicted, by some masters, beyond the thirty lashes allowed by law, and to the various punishments inflicted on the negro women, between whom and the men, he tells us, no difference is made. “The weakness of their sex and public decency seem to require that negro women should undergo the lash only in extraordinary cases. Do not irons, the stocks, imprisonment, offer sufficient means of punishing a negro woman, whose condition, besides being almost always precarious, requires great care?” He trusts, therefore, they will give up of their own accord the use of flogging in respect of females, and “not stand in need of being compelled by coercive measures to adopt a course which sound morality calls for.”

nidad, and which inflicts punishment on the slave who fails to prove his complaint. This principle, we are happy to perceive, Mr. Huskisson, in his despatch to Sir Lowry Cole, of the 19th of March, 1828, has explicitly proscribed. “It will be necessary,” he says, “to provide that no slave may be punished for preferring a complaint, unless he be distinctly convicted of the offence of having preferred a calumnious charge from improper motives, that conviction proceeding upon adequate and legal evidence.”

* ‘This may give us some idea of what the practice has been as to hours of labour.

‘ Can Sir Lowry Cole have been weak enough to imagine that a few impotent recommendations of this sort, addressed to commissaries, all of whom are slave-holders or slave-drivers, would have any other result than that of exciting their rage or their ridicule? Or that they would have more effect in protecting the slaves from oppression than his known wishes had in protecting Sir Hudson Lowe from insult? Besides, was it only in December, 1826, that he discovered, for the first time, during a residence of three or four years in this island, that men and women were cruelly and excessively flogged; that, even while at work, their limbs might be loaded with chains and fetters, and their necks so surrounded with three-pronged collars, as to prevent the sufferers from extending themselves on the earth? Was it then he first discovered that slaves were forced to work night as well as day, with scarcely an interval of rest; and to work on Sundays just as on other days; and that their clothing was insufficient to cover them, and their food to sustain them? He might have known all this, and denounced it in 1823 as well as in 1826, and thus, perhaps, spared the miserable wretches under his government at least some small part of those sufferings, which the very terms of his circular so forcibly depict.

‘ Lord Bathurst and Sir Robert Farquhar,’ continues the able writer of the Reporter, ‘ appear to us to have much to answer for in what respects the slave population of the Mauritius. They governed that colony together for many years without introducing one solitary regulation for the defence or protection of the slaves, and apparently without a single attempt, on the part of his Lordship, to ascertain their real condition. He never seems to have even required that the laws by which the slaves were governed should be communicated to him, but seems on the contrary to have placed an unlimited confidence in Sir Robert Farquhar’s vague and delusive statements. And yet we think his Lordship must have known that the very persons composing that gentleman’s household, and who stood the highest in his confidence, were deeply interested in upholding the very worst evils of slavery. But not to dwell at present on his Lordship’s part in the administration of the affairs of this unhappy island, we will confine ourselves to that of Sir Robert Farquhar.

‘ In perusing the papers before us,* we were surprised to find, that during the whole period of Sir R. Farquhar’s government, extending from the conquest of the colony to the year 1823, not a single regulation was passed for restraining the oppressions of the master, or protecting the persons and improving the condition of the slaves. And we were the more surprised at this, on recurring to certain passages, both in his speeches in Parliament, and in his communications, at different times, with the Secretary of State. He told Lord Liverpool, indeed, soon after his first arrival, that the slaves

* Parliamentary papers printed in 1823.

in the Mauritius had been decreasing during the preceding seven years, at the rate of five per cent. per annum; and he made use of this fact to convince his Lordship of the necessity of continuing to import slaves, as otherwise the island would become a desert.* Lord Liverpool, however, regarded this fact in a very different light from the Governor; and, instead of consenting to force more human beings into this charnel-house, seemed rather alarmed by so flagrant a proof of oppression, and requested to know "the state of the laws in respect to the protection of the slaves from the cruelty and oppression of their masters," with a view to secure to them a mild treatment. Soon after this letter was written, Lord Liverpool quitted the colonial office, and was succeeded by Earl Bathurst; and it does not appear that the inquiry thus begun was prosecuted to any clear result, or to any effectual purpose. And the language adopted by Sir R. Farquhar upon the subject appears to have been well calculated to lull suspicion, and to prevent troublesome investigations: and with Lord Bathurst it succeeded but too completely. On the 15th of February, 1811, Sir Robert wrote as follows:

"I deem it proper, in regard to myself, to state that I am not by any means disposed to be a supporter of slavery; and while political considerations and my immediate duty call upon me to forward the communication," (an earnest petition of the planters to be allowed to continue the slave trade) "I have looked, on the other hand, with the feelings of humanity on the slave, and endeavoured, in every practicable instance, to alleviate the burden of his condition; to which I must add, that, from observation, I am happy to bear this testimony to the inhabitants of these islands, that I believe they are not by any means cruel masters."

'What a singular testimony is this on the part of Sir R. Farquhar, considering that the Mauritius slaves were decreasing, according to his own contemporaneous statement, at the rate of five per cent. per annum! This wholesale rate of butchery he not only views without emotion, but he is even *happy* in testifying that the keepers of these human shambles "are not by any means cruel."

"At the same time, however," continues Sir Robert, "that I do them this *justice*," (justice indeed!) "*I have judged it proper to order that when slaves are to be chained for security or punishment, these chains shall not be heavier than are indispensably necessary to secure the person of the slave; and, in the event of proprietors transgressing the order, the slaves are to become forfeited to the use of Government. By this order, and others of a similar nature,† I*

* 'See Parliamentary papers of 29th of April, 1826, p. 295, pp. 5, and 21.

† 'Neither this order, nor the "others of a similar nature," of which he speaks, have ever been produced, though all such orders have been

do not revoke any part of the assurances given to the planters, and considered indispensably necessary for the tranquillity and prosperity of these colonies, and their attachment to their new Government; *because the use of chains is still allowed for security and punishment.* And as the preservation of the slaves from becoming Maroons, or runaways and vagabonds, and keeping them in proper subjection to, and respect for, their masters, embrace every object which can be really beneficial to the proprietors, these measures are secured by chains of the allowed weight; while the principles of humanity and Christianity, on which the order is founded, conduce to the alleviation of unnecessary burdens on our suffering fellow-creatures. I hope it is unnecessary to assure your Lordship that it will be a prominent feature of my administration to ameliorate, in every possible mode, the fate of these unfortunate beings."*

But this is not all. We have a letter of Sir R. Farquhar, dated a few months later, viz., on the 1st of February, 1812, in which he says,—

- “ I beg leave to assure your Lordship, that the motives which have long incited me, as well as other gentlemen, to support human freedom, have never ceased to be the constant care of my Government; and I am happy to be able to add, that it has been in my power, *by a series of measures, to ameliorate the condition of the slaves in these colonies in general, and to bring into practice a system for their treatment, which must lead to their benefit and comfort, and ultimately, I trust, be productive of material advantage to society in general, and the highest interests of humanity.* These proceedings have not passed without evident and avowed dissatisfaction expressed by many, nor without occasional highly-coloured representations of the danger to be apprehended from my successive efforts in favour of the slaves.” “ I trust, nevertheless, that your Lordship will always have occasion to remark my exertions to meet their alarms and remonstrances, by a prudent, though not less obstinate, firmness and resistance. A consciousness of my duty to my king and country, as the chief member of one of his Majesty's Governments at this enlightened epoch of the world, as well as my ardent desire to accelerate the civilisation of the surrounding African states, will not only induce my perseverance in such a course, but prompt me to fulfil the task with all that cheerfulness and zeal, which its tendency to the development of general

called for. Indeed, the ordinance promulgated, on the subject of chains and fetters, by Sir Lowry Cole, in December, 1826, seems to prove, that, independently of the fact of their non-production, the alleged orders of 1811 had really no existence.

* ‘ And yet with all this ostentatious parade of humanity, this anxiety to apologise for his excess of tenderness, we cannot find that, during the whole of Sir R. Farquhar's administration, one single law was passed by him for the protection of the slaves.

prosperity, and to the extension of British arts and industry, to foreign countries under my immediate auspices, is calculated to inspire."—P. 11.

'And yet, can it be, will it be believed, that the whole of this loud sounding language is pure mystification; that not one of the series of measures, so ostentatiously obtruded on the admiring confidence of the Secretary of State, should have been ever promulgated; and that the Baronet's entire statement, with all its imposing circumstances, should now wear the air of absolute fiction? At least, we cannot discover a single trace, in the legislative records of the Mauritius, of these boasted ameliorations of Sir Robert Farquhar; although Lord Bathurst seems to have been satisfied with his specious but groundless generalities, without ever calling for the acts themselves. It is difficult to speak with the necessary moderation of conduct such as this, of inaccuracy so unaccountable on the one hand, and of delusion so complete on the other.

'But to proceed. On the first of September, 1812, Sir R. Farquhar again writes:

"I have, ever since my arrival in these colonies, done all in my power to better the condition and alleviate the oppression of the slaves. *The laws are strongly in their favour*; but, with courts of justice, constituted as those at present in these colonies are, it is difficult to obtain justice. I shall transmit to your Lordship a statement of the laws in regard to their protection as soon as it can be compiled. At present these laws are diffused amongst a mass of others which form the Colonial Code."—P. 23.

'Can any thing more resemble a course of delusion systematically pursued than this? "The laws" of the colony "are strongly," says Sir Robert, "in favour of the slaves." We have seen what those laws were, and had Sir Robert Farquhar transmitted them to England at the time, the spell, which his representations wound around Lord Bathurst, would have been broken. His reason for not transmitting them is as incorrect as the character he gives of them, and could only tend to excuse delay, and thus throw the matter into oblivion. In fact, he never did transmit them. They are diffused, he tells us, amongst a mass of other laws, but will be sent as soon as they can be compiled. And yet, now that they are produced, they fill only eleven widely-printed folio pages, and consist only of two ordinances. In any case he might surely have transmitted *his own* enactments, his own "series of measures." These at least must have been accessible; nay, they must have been printed and distributed in the island to produce the effect he speaks of. How came they not to be sent over? Was it because they were never framed? Neither they nor even the previous laws of the island appear to have been ever furnished by Sir Robert Farquhar. The latter were first produced in the last Session of Parliament. The

former have not yet been produced, and, there seems ground to believe, never will.

'In quitting this subject for a time, we beg to direct the serious attention of our readers to the fatal effects of incorrect statements, proceeding officially from public functionaries in distant colonies. In this case they involve the comfort and happiness of a whole community, and the lives of thousands. It would be wrong to lose the benefit of such an example.'

Upon the foregoing strictures of 'The Anti-Slavery Reporter,' so far as they affect the public conduct and character of Sir Robert Farquhar, we shall not, at present, offer any comment. That they imperatively demand from that gentleman some answer or explanation, must be obvious to every person; and we shall wait until it be seen what explanation can be given. Sir Robert is at present a member of the House of Commons, and cannot lack opportunities of clearing himself from these most serious charges, if he is conscious that they are unjust.

In regard to Lord Bathurst, we must plainly avow that we consider his conduct in the administration of the Colonial Department of his Majesty's Government to have been in the highest degree culpable and mischievous; and, in the cases especially of the Mauritius and the Cape of Good Hope, it is impossible to speak of it except in terms of the most severe and indignant reprobation. His Lordship appears to have virtually delivered over these two unhappy settlements to the entire disposal of the prefects whom he thought fit to place over them, (Lord C. Somerset and Sir R. Farquhar, *par nobilis fratrum*!) and to have blindly and criminally acquiesced in whatever measures these irresponsible Governors chose to adopt for the 'paternal rule,' as they termed it, of their respective provinces. Nay, his Lordship did more than this: he not only lent the sanction of his Majesty's Government to the most unjustifiable and ruinous proceedings of these functionaries, and thereby involved the communities under their sway in a long train of miseries and misfortunes, from which half a century of good government will scarcely be sufficient to retrieve them; but he, or the underlings of his office, absolutely stifled all complaints from the colonies, however well grounded; and once and again quashed investigation, and extinguished reform, by overawing with the displeasure of Government, or overwhelming by dismissal from office, honest and upright men, when they ventured to expose, though only in official communications, the established systems of colonial abuse; or who, in any other way, fell under the ban of the dominant functionaries he delighted to honour. So far as relates to the Cape Colony; our readers are already sufficiently aware of the truth of this remark; and though we readily allow that Sir Robert Farquhar was in some respects a person of a different stamp from the celebrated Lord Charles, yet this observation is not less applicable to the Mauritius

than to the Cape. The following illustration may for the present suffice :

In 1818, Sir Robert Farquhar, having occasion to visit England, left the administration of the island in the hands of General Hall, the senior resident officer. General Hall, who has the reputation of being a humane and honourable man, on entering upon the duties of his new office, speedily discovered that the whole colony was a scene of the most scandalous outrage and abuse. He found that the felonious importation of new slaves from Africa, which Sir Robert Farquhar professed to have long before completely suppressed, was still carried on in avowed defiance of the law, and to an enormous extent, by the colonists ; that the slaves were treated with the most barbarous inhumanity, and, in fact, worked to death, in the mode described at large in our last Number ; that the inferior magistrates and functionaries of Government, with scarcely an exception, were thoroughly imbued with the feelings and prejudices of the slave-traders and slave-drivers, determined to uphold the existing system in all its enormity, and to screen from punishment all crimes committed upon the slave population, however flagrant. He found, moreover, to his astonishment, that the Courts of Justice were equally corrupt, and equally pervaded by the same vile and sordid spirit ; and that some of the Chief Judges themselves offered strenuous opposition, instead of support, to the ameliorations which he attempted.

General Hall, a bold, blunt, straightforward soldier, was astounded, but not dismayed, by the discovery that such was the state of affairs in a community which Sir R. Farquhar had characterised so favourably. He set himself in earnest to remedy these monstrous abuses. He sent out military patrols to enforce the abolition of the flagitious slave traffic, and to seize all new slaves smuggled into the island. He caused all cases reported to him of unusual cruelty exercised on the slaves to be investigated, and the perpetrators to be publicly prosecuted ; and when he found that not a few of the functionaries lent themselves to support the oppressions and outrages of the most brutal of the slave-holders, and to thwart all his attempts to put down existing abuses, he employed with energy the discretionary power officially vested in him ; removed one or two of the most audacious individuals from office ; and suspended even one of the Chief Judges from his functions, until his Majesty's pleasure should be known.

While the acting Governor was thus occupied, and was transmitting full reports of his proceedings, and of the extraordinary scenes of iniquity and corruption thus developed, for the information of the Home Government, the host of bitter enemies he had raised by his uncompromising conduct were not less active. The statements of both parties were poured simultaneously into Lord Bathurst's

office at Downing-street. And what, thinks the reader, was his Lordship's conduct on the occasion? Did he cordially thank the honest and conscientious officer who had thus fearlessly unveiled, and set himself rigorously to abate, this unheard-of system of iniquity? Or did his Lordship appoint a Commission of Inquiry to go out forthwith to investigate the real state of affairs? Or did he cautiously suspend his judgment, and wait for more thorough information? No! Earl Bathurst adopted none of these courses. What he did was this: he placed all the despatches from General Hall, some of them (as we have heard it alleged) without even previous perusal, in the hands of Sir Robert Farquhar, who was then in London, and asked *him* to report upon them. Sir Robert, although, in his public capacity, deeply implicated, it is said, in many of General Hall's charges, did not fail to give his Lordship a plausible explanation of all these extraordinary matters. And, what is not less extraordinary, this explanation of Sir Robert's was considered perfectly satisfactory by Earl Bathurst, and was *instantly* acted upon. A despatch was sent off, ordering General Hall *immediately*, on receipt of it, to deliver over the government of the colony to another officer, (General Darling, we believe,) and to return forthwith to England; and, by the same despatch, his Lordship was graciously pleased to reinstate the functionaries whom General Hall had suspended for contumacy or corruption, in their respective offices. 'The decent order of things' being thus restored, and the brief career of 'radical reform' extinguished with opprobrium, Sir Robert Farquhar soon afterwards returned to resume his 'paternal sway,' which he held in glory and honour, till he finally resigned the government in 1823.

The only comment we shall at present make on these transactions is this, that when, in consequence of urgent representations in Parliament, a Commission of Inquiry was at length sent to the Mauritius in 1825, all that General Hall had reported was found to be *true,—and a great deal more!*

Before leaving the Mauritius, to survey the state of slavery in the Cape Colony, (which we shall endeavour to do in our next Number,) we take the opportunity to notice a letter addressed to us from Port Louis, and dated October 20, 1828. The author of this communication, while urgently claiming the support of 'The Oriental Herald' in aid of the 'Rights and Liberties' of the colonists, makes the following violent attack upon his Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry, who have just finished their investigations in that island:

'Since their arrival at the Mauritius, these gentlemen, instead of applying for information to *people of talent and respectability*, have had intercourse only with the lowest description of spies and informers, to whom they allowed monthly salaries for such dirty

services. Besides, they have been doing all in their power to kindle the flames of discord between the whites and people of colour, who had hitherto lived in peace and friendship. In a word, they are hated heartily by the whole colony.'

Now, we must confess, that this account of the Commissioners' proceedings gives us a higher opinion of their honesty and diligence in the execution of their arduous duty, than any thing we had previously heard of them. 'It shows that they have not, like some West India Commissioners we could name, been content to receive all their information respecting the condition of the slaves and coloured population from those who arrogate to themselves the title of 'persons of talent and respectability,' i. e. the slave-holders and local functionaries. In one of their reports upon the Cape, these same Commissioners declare that they were not able to procure any useful information whatever respecting the state of that colony from any person in office, although all official persons had been invited by a Government Proclamation to communicate information to them. If this was the case at the Cape, (and we shall, ere long, fully explain the cause why such was the case there,) a similar result might, *à fortiori*, be expected at the Mauritius. Could the worst class of sugar-planters, the traffickers in smuggled slaves, and functionaries accused of gross malversation and corruption, be expected to unfold such deeds of darkness (they, or their kindred, or acquaintance being implicated) as the Anti-Slavery Society has so assiduously and successfully collected from upwards of three hundred witnesses,—witnesses whom these planters and their great patron, Sir Robert Farquhar, would doubtless willingly brand with the name of 'spies and informers?' The Commissioners knew their duty better than to trust to mere *ex-parte* statements; and if they have told the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, honestly and fairly, to the Home Government, they well deserve the thanks of their country, and will, we doubt not, obtain them. There are now, fortunately for England, men in office who have honesty and nerve enough (at least, we are willing to believe so) to appreciate, as they ought to do, a faithful exposure of colonial abuses, and to deal with official delinquencies in a very different way from Earl Bathurst.

H. R.

LETTER ON THE INDIA TRADE.

BY CAPTAIN R. MOORSOM, R.N.,

(Addressed to the Editor of 'The Liverpool Times'.)

GENTLEMEN,

Whitby, Feb. 17, 1829.

THE late meeting at Liverpool, so distinguished by the intelligence displayed, the numbers who attended, and the importance of the cause which brought them together, we may confidently hope, will be highly influential in giving an impetus and direction to public opinion, and promoting a similar display of it in every city and town throughout the kingdom.

Twenty years have now nearly expired since the renewal of the East India Company's Charter last became a prominent subject of legislative discussion. This lapse of time has been fraught with important benefits to the advocates of unrestricted commerce; it has enabled them to enforce and corroborate their general theory, by a more extensive induction of facts; their anticipations of public advantage have been realised, and the assertions and sinister forebodings of their antagonists experienced practical disproof: in the conflict, therefore, which is about to ensue, they enter the field, furnished with a panoply of argument, sufficient, with common prudence and activity, to ensure a triumphant result to their labours.

Self-love and self-interest, however, mingle in all the transactions of man: constant and familiar experience shows us how closely they entwine round the judgment, embarrassing its operations, and not unfrequently depriving the clearest evidence of all its efficacy. The opposition naturally springing from these sources, we must be prepared to expect: already is it arraying itself for the field, and it behoves the advocates of free trade to stand equally on the alert; it possesses a vivacious principle of existence, which will render a system of judiciously combined operations necessary for its destruction, and it will retain its hold with the desperate and convulsive grasp of expiring mortality.

On no occasion whatever have the deductions of general principles and theory received a more striking confirmation, than that which has been obtained by the partial opening of the trade with India; every consequence, which it was asserted would follow from a more extensive application of British skill, capital, and enterprise in that traffic, has taken place; every prediction has been practically verified, and the soundness of the views of those who, in 1813, were opposed to the renewal of the Company's charter, brought to the decisive test of experience. When it was argued, for example, that if fuller scope were given to British ingenuity by the removal of restrictions, Hindoostan would become a great and increasing mart for the sale of our manufactured produce, what reply did this argument receive? The Company's agents considered and declared

such opinions to deserve nothing but contempt and ridicule ; the practical men were all in arms—the men who were to be deluded by no specious theory ; who took experience for their guide ; who had visited India, and were familiarly acquainted with the domestic habits, manners, and usages of the Hindoos, and with their peculiar religious prejudices ;—these gentlemen, almost with one accord, declared such an extension of demand to be impossible: the Hindoos, it was stated, were so strange a people, so wedded to ancient habits, that there neither existed, nor could be generated, any inclination or desire for the enjoyment of European commodities. ‘I do not,’ says Sir Thomas Munro, ‘think the Hindoo nation to be absolutely unchangeable, but they are as unchangeable as any thing can possibly be. In the event of a free trade, I do not think there would be any considerable increase in the demand for European goods ; there is no gradation in the consumption ; the wealthy Hindoo purchases no more than his poorer neighbour.’ To this gentleman, and to the class which he represents, the unanswerable reply can be given, that the value of British goods exported, has risen in twelve years from 1,541,245*l.* to 3,751,571*l.* In the imports from India, a still more extraordinary increase has taken place, evidently showing that this extension of trade has correspondently stimulated the Natives to further production. But, as is well known, this great change has been attended by no sinister effect. We have been brought into closer contact with our Indian fellow-subjects ; we have been permitted to view them with our own eyes, and not as heretofore through those of the Company’s agents. These circumstances, however, notwithstanding all predictions to the contrary, have not alarmed the Hindoos, nor in any instance have their prejudices been called into increased action. Where are the records of the insubordination, the revolts, or the ruin, which, it was unblushingly asserted, must certainly be the effect of allowing to Englishmen a freer intercourse with India ? They are no where to be found ; they have vanished into air—‘into thin air.’ We have approached the Hindoos, and, instead of finding them indifferent to the commodities and conveniences offered to them, they evince themselves to be eagerly anxious for their possession. ‘The English shawls, and different kinds of printed cottons,’ says Malcolm, ‘*which are now common in Hindoostan*, have hardly yet found their way into Central India ;’ but when Bishop Heber proceeded on the visitation of his diocese, he soon discovered that commerce and traffic had enlarged the circle of consumption, and were pressing forward with rapid strides. Wherever he came, he usually found that commercial enterprise had preceded him. When upwards of a thousand miles from Calcutta, the Bishop observes, ‘English cotton cloths, both white and printed, are to be met with commonly in wear among the people of the country, and may, I learned to my surprise, be bought best and cheapest, as well as all kinds of hardware, crockery, &c. at Pallee, a large town and celebrated mart in Marwar, on the edge of the desert, where, till lately, no

European was known to have penetrated.' The inference from facts like these, and which might be multiplied, *ad infinitum*, is decisive. We may be allowed to entertain a confident hope, that, in the discussions soon to take place, they may act as a kind of conductor, and serve to carry off, and render innocuous, such electrical phenomena as the witnesses of the Company may be prepared to exhibit for the instruction and entertainment of the Legislature.* To whatever quarter our attention is turned, the benefits arising from the relaxation of monopoly, and from the more intimate connection of Englishmen with the inhabitants of India, become visible. Superiority of quality and cheapness promote the sale of our manufactured produce, and extend its consumption beyond the narrow boundaries in which it has hitherto been confined; thus adding to the comforts of the Native population, and stimulating and rewarding the industry of the mother country. New articles of traffic are discovered, and brought into general use; while others already in existence, which, when left to the management of Hindoos, were unsaleable in Europe, on account of the rude and imperfect process employed in their preparation, by the application of English skill and capital, have obtained the first place in the market. Europeans, indeed, first began the culture of indigo in Bengal about forty-five years ago; but it is material to observe, that a moderate rate of freight and facility of conveyance, the off-spring of free trade, have been no trifling elements in giving it those advantages which have now nearly rendered inoperative the competition of indigo from every other part of the world.†

If such effects have followed the imperfect privileges, so tardily and ungraciously conceded, which the public now enjoy, what may we not be entitled to expect if the trade to India were really and in fact thrown open? If the mere appearance of the sun above the horizon has had so powerful an influence in dispelling those vapours by which the atmosphere had so long been obscured, what will be the consequence of the full blaze of his meridian beams?

It is a circumstance to be perpetually borne in mind, and a consideration which must become a principle of our belief, and be adopted for the guidance and regulation of our future conduct, that however freely we may be allowed to visit the *shores* of India, to whatever extent, and on whatever terms, we may be permitted to pile up the warehouses of Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay, with our merchandise; if it be conceded us to navigate in ships of any size, and to every port where the ocean will carry our flag,—that still,

* Sir Thomas Munro's evidence is said to have electrified the House of Commons.

† In 1826, the quantity of Bengal indigo imported into this country was 7,673,710 lbs.; in 1807, the quantity was 5,153,966 lbs.; and in 1786, 245,000 lbs.—*Vide* 'Bancroft on Permanent Colours,' vol. i. p. 250.

the mother country can never reap the fullness of benefit from her Indian possessions, if access to the interior be limited or denied. Until the trader can freely visit every district of Hindoostan, unlicensed, and without rendering himself liable to arbitrary deportation, it is manifest, that, however strong the current of traffic may be, ages will pass over before it reach those places where the present practices of the Hindoos have not been forced into a disconformity with their ancient institutions. A large portion of the inhabitants of India, living scattered in villages, lying out of the usual routes, and betwixt which and the great towns communication is difficult, must necessarily and long retain a primitive simplicity of manners. People in such situations, experience shows, rarely, of their own accord, become sensible of new wants; nor, if this feeling be aroused, can they be expected to take any very active steps to remedy a deficiency or obviate an inconvenience to which they may be exposed. A Committee of the House of Commons appointed in 1810 to inquire into the affairs of India, has given the following general picture of such establishments: 'A village, geographically considered, is a tract of country, comprising some hundreds or thousands of acres of arable or waste land. Politically viewed, it resembles a township or corporation. It has its own municipal officers; its priest, school-master, and astrologer, together with every artisan necessary for preparing those instruments of agriculture which the simple habits of the villagers require. Under this form of municipal government, the inhabitants of the country have lived from time immemorial. The boundaries of the village have seldom been altered; the same name, the same interests, and even the same families, have continued for ages. The inhabitants give themselves no trouble about the breaking up and division of kingdoms; while the village remains entire, they care not to what sovereign it devolves; its natural economy remains unchanged.' We have here, Gentlemen, the perfect *exemplar* of a society in which *the wisdom of our ancestors* is received as an imperative rule for the guidance of the conduct, and from which every attempt to deviate, should it ever be made, will be esteemed a dangerous innovation: the son, here, merely occupies the place of the father, and life knows nothing of progression or advancement. In such a situation, the human mind stagnates, and its powers become impaired; no sense of the inconveniences under which they labour, or any desire to remedy them, will ever be awakened. Improvement must receive its first impulse from the arrival and example of strangers; for men are only softened by intercourse mutually profitable, and instructed by comparing their own notions with those of others. The inhabitants of the remote districts of India will, it is probable, learn the use, and receive the desire of accommodations more extensively diversified, from ambulatory traders, like to those once so common and so necessary in England, and of whose existence there every vestige has nearly disappeared before the progress of opulence. It is

worthy of remark, that the advantages to be derived from this mode of communication with the interior were perceived by the Company at an early period of their career, and its adoption pressed upon their factors. About ninety years after their first establishment, we find them writing to their factories, and advising the employment of Armenians especially, 'because,' as they state, 'that people could vend English woollens, *by carrying small quantities into the interior provinces*, and could collect all kinds of goods suited to the European market, *better* than could be done by any of the regular agents of the Company.'

An excuse has been offered for the first establishment of the East India Company, by alleging the peculiar circumstances of England at the time, her deficiency of enterprise and want of capital. This argument was brought forward by Mr. Hope at the Liverpool Meeting, and it has been sanctioned by the authority and name of Buckingham. Were we to allow this to be a true exposition of the state of England at that time, there are, I should suppose, few persons at the present day who would deem that policy justifiable which was to divert, by the grant of peculiar privileges, a portion of her scanty capital into a channel hitherto untried. But, Gentlemen, it may, I think, be satisfactorily shown, that this argument has no foundation in truth; and the transactions of the Company itself, during the first dozen years of its existence, prove, that individual enterprise and capital were to be found in England adequate to conducting so distant a trade as that to India. The reign of Henry VII. is an important epoch in English history. By the marriage of that monarch, the conflicting pretensions of the two Roses became united; civil war had been succeeded by internal tranquillity, a condition favourable to national improvement, and the accumulation of capital. Henry was extremely attentive to foreign commerce, and passed many laws for its regulation; and, although we cannot praise the judgment and policy which dictated such laws, yet there is every reason to believe, that the attention to traffic thus shown by the King, had a beneficial effect in rendering it more respectable, and in relieving it from that contumely and scorn which the feudal system had so natural a tendency to generate. It was only by accident that Henry missed being the patron of Columbus. Cabot, who first displayed the English flag on the coast of America, although a Venetian by birth, is stated to have *long resided at Bristol as a merchant*; and it is important to observe, that of the four vessels of which his squadron was composed, only one belonged to the King; the rest were the property of private adventurers. Thus, Gentlemen, a century before the establishment of the East India Company, the English were following close upon the steps of the Spaniards, and emulating the example set by that people. In the reign of Edward VII., Willoughby's voyage took place; this was also a private adventure, fitted out at an expense of 6,000*l.*, in forty-nine shares; its object, the discovery of a North-east passage to India. The result of this

voyage is well known; the commander, with his ship's crew, perished on the coast of Lapland; but Chancellour, the second in command, eventually reached the port of Archangel, and succeeded in establishing a commercial intercourse betwixt England and Russia. The expeditions of Hudson, Davis, and Frobisher, were next undertaken; although embarked in vessels, which at the present day would be considered totally unfit for the purpose, these adventurers pursued their object with the most daring spirit; and the enlarged experience of modern times has borne testimony to the accuracy of their observations. But the reputation obtained by these expeditions was soon to be eclipsed by one still more adventurous. In 1577, Drake sailed from Plymouth, having five ships under his orders, equipped from private funds, and after encountering many perils, finally succeeded in circumnavigating the globe. When achievements like these are kept in recollection, to which many more might be added, it will scarcely be maintained that England was deficient in personal enterprise. Nor did the energy of her merchants fall short of that displayed by her sailors and commanders. English commerce, in the early part of Elizabeth's reign, had extended itself to the Netherlands, the Canary Islands, the coasts of Guinea and Brazil, to Newfoundland, and to Spitzbergen. The trade of England with Russia gradually increased; and by the Volga and the Caspian entering Persia, flourished to that degree, that in 1563 the presence of three agents was necessary at Casbin, the seat of the Persian court. Turkey and the Levant were also visited, and the traffic with Germany, and the central parts of Europe, was pushed with a vigour which excited even the jealousy of the Hanse towns. When capital existed adequate to carry on a commerce like this, a portion would naturally be found for the trade with India; nor does it require any extraordinary credulity to believe, that even had no charter of privileges ever been granted, the sum of 68,373*l.*, which was the cost of the first expedition, might easily have been obtained from individual funds.

During the whole of this period the public attention was continually directed towards India, by the report of the advantages which the Dutch and Portuguese derived from their intercourse with that country; at length, a royal charter having previously been obtained, in 1601, the first English commercial expedition to the East set sail from England. By their charter, however, the adventurers were not erected into a *Joint Stock*, but into a *Regulated Company*; in which every member advanced such a portion of the capital stock as he could afford, and traded with it for his own exclusive benefit; a condition of things nearly approaching to a system of free trade. Many companies on similar principles have existed up to the present time, and so perfectly innocuous in their effects, that not a few persons have been ignorant of their existence. In this manner did the Company continue to traffic for twelve years with perfect success, until at length the Governor and Directors

obtained an influence which enabled them to pass a resolution, that the trade should in future be conducted on the joint stock principle; an arrangement which threw into their hands the entire management and power of the concern. This change was soon attended with results unfavourable to the interest of the parties concerned; the profits, which, under the old system, in a series of years, had reached 171 per cent., quickly fell to 87½ per cent. under the new system which had been adopted. Previously, the Company had been free from debts; but the carelessness of management, and the rage for territorial acquisitions, naturally engendered in a joint stock company, soon produced serious involvements: so early as 1627, the Company acknowledged that they had contracted debts to the amount of 200,000*l.*, and that their stock had fallen to 20 per cent. discount. From that period up to the present day, the concerns of the Company have been a system of expedients; a system in which delusion has been purposely kept up; a system in which increase of debt has been denominated increase of capital; and in which trade has been carried on, not for the emolument to be derived from it, but for the sake of the power and patronage which fell to the share of those to whom its management was intrusted. Unable, almost from its earliest infancy, to withstand the slightest competition, the Company has contrived to obtain succour and support by parasitically linking itself to the Government of England, and thus diving deeply into the pockets of the community, to every member of which it would deny intercourse with those countries which, in the wantonness of power, it throws open to the enterprise of aliens and of foreigners.—Your's, &c.

RICHARD MOORSOM.

IMPORTATION OF INFERIOR TEA BY THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

(From a Correspondent of 'The Morning Chronicle'.)

IT has been matter of astonishment for a considerable time, that so little good tea is to be had at any of the shops in the metropolis. The public have been long crying out against the scarcity of an article which is now considered as a necessary of life, and have attributed the overflow of bad tea to the labours of impostors, such as were a few years ago charged with having sold weeds and sloe-leaves as a substitute. That there are persons who continue to palm English-grown tea upon the lower orders, there is no question; but they are encouraged to make experiments in consequence of the enormous quantities of inferior tea imported into this country. Of late years, an article called Souchi has been imported by the East India Company, of such quality as to be unfit for use except the flavour is smothered by a mixture with tea of a much better description. In proportion as this tea and other teas of a low description are thrust down our throats, is the importation of the superior kind

diminished; and the facilities of making a sloe or bramble substitute are increased. The great tea dealers acknowledge that they are unable to procure for their customers, at this advanced period of the trade, such tea as every body could obtain even in the year 1793, when tea was considered in its childhood in this country. It is worth while to inspect the books of the Honourable Company relative to this heavy complaint. It is well known that the best kinds of black tea are Campoi, Souchong, and Pekoe. These invariably fetch the highest prices. It appears from the documents of the Company, that in the year 1793, they sold

Of Campoi tea.....	1,050,910 lbs.
Of Souchong ditto	1,153,504 lbs.
Of Pekoe ditto.....	84,385 lbs.

It also appears from similar authority, that in 1828 the Company sold

Of Campoi tea	243,200 lbs. only
Of Souchong ditto.....	264,400 lbs. only
Of Pekoe ditto	59,215 lbs. only

In the same year, the Company imported of Souchi tea, a wretched drug, 98,455 lbs. The tea-dealers, when this tea was presented for sale, could not guess what it was made of. It was put up at the March sale of 1828, for 2s. 8d.; but the trade would not touch it. At the December sale, however, the Company got rid of it at from 2s. 1½d. to 2s. 2d. per pound.

Upon looking, then, to the proper authorities, it will be found, that notwithstanding the immense increase of population within the last thirty-five or thirty-six years, there was more fine black tea imported by the East India Company in the year 1793, by 1,613,509 lbs. than was imported in 1828. The tea-dealers admit that the Company make up for the deficiency in quality, by importing quantity; but they at the same time declare that in Hamburgh, and in various parts of the Continent, the best tea is to be had in the greatest abundance.

The profits of the Company form naturally a primary question with the public. By the Charter they put up the tea for sale at the original cost, freight and charges included, so that a farthing in the pound advance is a good profit to them at all times. An idea of their profits on tea may be formed from the advance upon the Congou teas sold at the last sale in December. Those teas were put up at 1s. 8d. and fetched 2s. 3d., by which the Company cleared 7d. per lb. The retail dealers' profit amounts to from 1s. to 2s. per lb.; and if they throw in a little home adulteration, it often extends to 3s. The wholesale dealer, who must be possessed of such a capital as would enable him to trade to China himself on the most extensive scale, and who must permit scores to be chalked up on the part of the retailers, by which he is often defrauded, is compelled to pay ready money for all his purchases, and must be satisfied with one penny per pound profit. It is often the case, too, that if a retailer

fix upon a certain chest of tea, the wholesale dealer is obliged, in order to accommodate his customer, to purchase from 150 to 190 more of the East India Company. It is asserted by the first persons in the trade, that the immense profits accruing to the Company have, instead of prompting them to liberal acts, produced a griping and mercenary spirit, like that which is produced by the sight of bags of gold upon a miser. This body of incorporated tradesmen, who stand many of them high amongst our legislators, are accused of acting upon principles of economy to their servants, such as they never have recommended in a constitutional sense.

Since the publication of the correspondence between the tea-dealers and the East India Company, on the subject of the lot-money, a most unreasonable mode of adding to the finances of the latter, the predominating spirit of retrenchment has shown itself in a manner the most objectionable. It is known that the lot-money was put on at the rate of upwards of 5,000*l.* a-year to the trade, and persevered in on the ground that it was to go to defray the expense incurred by the employment of labourers. Although the lot-money has not been reduced one farthing, the weekly allowance of the labourers has been reduced at the worst season of the year, and at a time when the price of bread was high.

It has been long the habit of the East India Company to boast of the privileges which they give to their servants, and they have set forth the following statement in testimony of their liberality.

‘The indulgence of private trade from the United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East Indies, to the commanders and officers of their freighted ships :

‘The Court of Directors of the said Company, desiring to give all due and fitting encouragement to the commanders and officers of ships employed in their service, have resolved to allow them to participate in the Company’s exclusive trade, by permitting them to occupy tonnage to the following extent, in any goods except woollens, camlets, and warlike stores, which articles they have thought proper to reserve for the sole trade and account of the Company ; and as further indulgence to the commanders and officers, the Court have agreed with the owners of ships employed in their service, to permit the commanders and officers to export and import goods to the extent of the tonnage herein mentioned, free from any charge of freight.’ Here follows a list, particularising the indulgencies. From this it would appear, that the Company made most magnificent allowances for the hazard and labours of their servants ; but in many instances—and we defy the Company to deny the assertion—those servants who have been thus admitted to participate in the Company’s ‘exclusive trade,’ have had good reason to lament such participation, having been charged for the indulgence, not less than from twenty-six to twenty-eight per cent. upon the goods upon which they ventured to speculate.

PROCEEDINGS AT BIRMINGHAM.

MR. BUCKINGHAM delivered his Course of Lectures at the Theatre of the Philosophical Institution at Birmingham, in the week commencing on Monday the 2d of March. The audience were at first about ninety persons, and they increased daily, till they exceeded three hundred. The interest evinced was deep and general throughout; and the feeling manifested towards its close, may be sufficiently gathered from the following extract:

From 'The Birmingham Gazette,' March 16.

Mr. Buckingham delivered his supplementary lecture on the state of trade to the East, at the rooms of the Philosophical Society, on Monday last. Occupying upwards of three hours and a half in the delivery, it becomes impossible to do more than enumerate some of the prominent heads under which his most able and elaborate inquiry was pursued. Mr. Buckingham commenced with describing the origin and constitution of the East India Company, the qualifications of Proprietors, and the unfitness of the Directors to manage either the commerce or government of so vast an empire; contending that the practical effect of their mismanagement had been, not to benefit either country, but to involve the Company in debt in both; and that, in consequence of their incapacity to exercise the trust reposed in them, they ought to be deprived of their exclusive possession and privileges. After adverting to the disabilities under which the English not actually in the Company's service labour in India, to the desire which universally prevails among the Natives to possess British manufactures of every description, and to the obstacles to the gratification of this desire, Mr. Buckingham proceeded to point out the beneficial effects that would necessarily result to the commerce and manufactures of this country, by opening the continent of India to the settlement of Englishmen—the consequent improvement of all the productions of its soil, its tendency to abolish slavery in our Western colonies, as well as to the total suppression of the revolting superstition of the Hindoos—the pilgrimage to Juggernaut, the sacrifice of children, and the burning of widows. The exclusive nature of the Company's trade to China, their jealousy at the least participation of this exclusive monopoly in the quadrupled price of tea, the vast population of China, the active and consuming character of the people, their disposition, if permitted, to receive the produce of this country, and the injury sustained by our shipping and mercantile interests, were severally treated of and enforced. In conclusion, Mr. Buckingham earnestly enjoined the necessity of union and co-operation in the endeavour to wrest the monopoly from its present possessors by a persevering opposition to the renewal of their Charter. At the termination of the lecture, the President of the Philosophical Society, the Rev. John Corrie, rose and addressed the audience to the following effect:

“I understand that, at Liverpool and Manchester, where, as you have heard from him, Mr. Buckingham has been giving lectures, the audience, at both places, at the conclusion of the lectures, expressed their approbation by a vote of thanks. Permit me to ask, if it would be

agreeable to you that we should follow their example? The very lively interest these lectures have excited—the numerous and increasing audiences by which they have been attended—and especially the feelings you have so repeatedly and warmly manifested this morning, seem to leave no room for doubt or hesitation. I venture, therefore, without further introduction, to propose that “the respectful and cordial thanks of this assembly be presented to Mr. Buckingham, in testimony of our admiration of the very able and deeply interesting course of lectures which he has now concluded.” Circumstances compel me to be very brief in this address; but I trust you will permit me to gratify my own feelings, by stating that Mr. Buckingham is by far the most accomplished lecturer it has ever been my lot to hear. (*The concurrence of the audience in this opinion was testified by loud, repeated, and long-continued applause.*) In regard to the lecture of this morning, which has fixed and delighted our attention for nearly four hours—which has combined all the resources of eloquence—facts—arguments—vivid description of the effects of different systems of civil and commercial policy—irony—wit—invective—in regard to this most brilliant and powerful discourse, I would only make one observation, and I am persuaded I shall give no offence to Mr. Buckingham, nor, I trust, to any of this audience—if I remind you of a circumstance which some forty years ago occurred in the House of Commons. It was at the conclusion of that memorable speech with which Mr. Sheridan introduced one of the charges against Warren Hastings, and which, by the great authorities of the day, was said to have equalled, or surpassed, all that had ever been heard or read of ancient or modern eloquence—at the conclusion of that speech, which had enraptured, enchanted, overpowered the House, it was thought necessary to adjourn immediately, and to come to no decision on the subject-matter of the speech in their excited and agitated state of feeling. Permit me to recommend a similar caution on the present occasion, and to express my hope, that, while you treasure in your memories a part, at least, of that endless variety of novel and curious information which has been so profusely spread before you—while you retain, as you cannot fail to retain, a vivid impression of the nature and bearing of that evidence which Mr. Buckingham has, with such extraordinary ability, stated and expressed—you would pause before you form any decided conclusion on that most important, I repeat it, *most important*, topic, which was the great object of the lecture; whatever opinions you may ultimately entertain—whatever proceedings you may ultimately adopt, at least have the satisfaction of feeling confident they have not been the result of momentary excitement, but of cool, deliberate, and mature reflection.”

‘The proposal was seconded by Joseph Walker, Esq., Bailiff, and the vote was passed amidst the most animated applause of the company. Mr. Buckingham was so much overpowered, that it was with extreme difficulty he could give expression to his feelings. An address from Mr. Buckingham appears in this paper, in which he submits a plan in prosecution of his endeavour to promote a free trade to all parts of the Eastern World.’

The following is the Address referred to; and, as it is intended to pursue the same plan in all the great mercantile and manufacturing towns and districts which Mr. Buckingham may visit, it is thought best to insert it here, to show the distant readers of ‘THE ORIENTAL HERALD’ the nature of the information which it is

likely to contain for their gratification, by the measures here taken to acquire it.

' To the Inhabitants of Birmingham.

'Mr. Buckingham cannot quit the town of Birmingham without expressing his regret, that the rapid succession of his engagements should render it impossible for him to pay his personal respects to the many distinguished families and individuals from whom he has received, during his short stay among them, so many unequivocal and flattering proofs of sincere and deep interest in the great public object of which he is the humble advocate—a Free Trade to every part of the Eastern World. He takes this, therefore, as the only practicable method of assuring them, that at no place previously visited by him with the same view, has he received higher gratification or more certain indications of a powerful sympathy being awakened by the Lectures which he has recently had the honour to deliver before them. He hopes at some future, and not very distant period, to have the happiness of meeting them again, and offering further illustrations of the benefits which they have it in their power to secure for themselves, this country, and mankind, by preventing the further renewal of the existing monopoly of trade to the East.

'In the mean time, and with the hope of thus assisting, at least, to keep alive the interest now so powerfully excited, Mr. Buckingham takes the present occasion to say, that out of the profits arising from the delivery of his Lectures, a portion has been laid aside for the supply of such publications as may be most desirable for reference and use to any Association that may be formed in Birmingham, with the express view of promoting the great question of Free Trade to the East; and that an equal portion will be appropriated as rewards for the composition of certain Prize Essays descriptive of the present state of Birmingham and its surrounding districts, especially with reference to its trade and manufactures, its commercial relations with other parts of the globe, and an enumeration of the probable advantages which the town and neighbourhood would derive from the opening of a free commercial intercourse with all the vast and populous regions of the East.

'These Essays are to be composed, as nearly as the candidates may find practicable, on the models of "The Account of Bussorah, the chief Emporium of the Persian Gulf," which will be found in "The Oriental Herald," vol. xix. p. 36, and "The Account of the Trade to Smyrna, the Principal Mart of the Levant," which is contained in the same work, vol. x. p. 72. For such as may be presented before the 1st of August next, the following premiums will be given:

For the first in order of merit	£25
For the second.....	10
For the third	5

'In addition to which, the sum of 5*l.* will be given for any other article illustrative of the local resources and manufactures of Birmingham, which may be deemed sufficiently complete and interesting to deserve insertion in "The Oriental Herald."

'The principal object of thus inviting compositions of this nature is to make "The Oriental Herald" the channel of conveying to the inhabitants of the Eastern World, among whom its circulation is much greater than that of any other English publication that can be named, the best information respecting the manufacturing and mercantile power of Great

Britain, so that India and England may be each intimately acquainted with all the articles respectively produced by either, and thus to bind the two hemispheres more closely together by the most indissoluble of all ties—natural and reciprocal interest—and perpetually increasing demand and supply.

‘It is intended, also, by this graduated scale of rewards, to encourage the exertions of several candidates; but Mr. Buckingham leaves the decision of their comparative merits to better judgments than his own—for which purpose he proposes to submit such compositions as may be deposited at the Philosophical Institution before the 1st of August next, to the judgment of the following public officers and gentlemen of the town of Birmingham, who have kindly undertaken the arbitration, and whose award will be final:

‘WILLIAM HAMPER, Esq., Magistrate,
The High and Low Bailiff,
The President, the Vice-President, and the Secretary
of the Chamber of Commerce,
The President, the Vice-President, and the Secretary
of the Philosophical Institution,
EDWARD JOHNSTONE, M.D.,
JOHN JOHNSTONE, M.D.,
Rev. RANN KENNEDY, M.A.,
THOMAS ATTWOOD, Esq., Bunker.
JOSHUA SCHOLEFIELD, Esq., Merchant,
E. T. MOORE, Esq., Merchant,
WILLIAM PHIPSON, Esq., Assay Master,
JOSEPH FREDERICK LEDSAM, Esq.,
Mr. HILL, of Hazelwood.’

It is understood that very early steps will be taken by the Chamber of Commerce at Birmingham, to convene a Public Meeting on the subject; when we have no doubt the spirit and intelligence of that town will be manifested in the resolutions and petitions which will result from it.

PROCEEDINGS AT BRISTOL.

THE delivery of Mr. Buckingham's Lectures at Bristol, which commenced on Monday the 16th of March, was attended with even more marked success than at Birmingham. On the first day the audience scarcely exceeded eighty persons: two causes operating disadvantageously—one, the great excitement occasioned in Bristol by the pending Catholic Question; the other, a very strong feeling on the part of the West Indian merchants of the port, that the opening of India to colonisation would lead to the improvement and introduction of East India sugars, and thus injure their property. Notwithstanding these obstacles, however, the audiences increased daily; and, at the closing lecture, on Monday the 23d, exceeded five hundred in number. The spacious Music Hall was filled even to the gallery; and on the platform, from which Mr. Buckingham spoke, were seated the Mayor, and several members

of the corporation, with forty or fifty of the principal ladies and gentlemen of Bristol. The whole lecture, which lasted nearly four hours, was listened to with the greatest attention; and its reception, by the audience may be inferred from the following extracts:

From 'The Bristol Gazette,' March 19.

'On Monday last, Mr. Buckingham, who is well known as the able and spirited Editor of 'The Oriental Herald,' and whose works are in the hands of every lover of Eastern Literature, commenced a Series of Lectures on the past and present state of the East, particularly in regard to its trade with this country. The first subject which he touched upon was Egypt. It was not to be expected that much which was new could be brought forward of a country so amply described by ancient authors and modern travellers, among the latter of whom the Lecturer himself holds so distinguished a place; yet we were highly pleased by the easy, affable and unostentatious manner in which Mr. Buckingham recited the narrative of his Travels, and felt peculiar interest in accompanying him, as it were, in a revisit to the Pyramids, Catacombs, the Sphynxes, the Colossal Statues, the Baths, the Temples, and the Monuments of that wonderful portion of the Globe. Mr. Buckingham took a systematic view of Egypt, including its geography, antiquities, climate, animals, vegetable and mineral productions, chief towns, commerce, government, religion and manners. As he proceeded he enlivened his narrative by various anecdotes and adventures personal to himself, and by reflections made on the spot: these reflections to our mind were the most interesting part of his Lectures, for they bespoke good taste and sound judgment: in them we appeared to identify the reality of the wonders he described. We purposely abstain from running into detail, because at the present moment we have not room, and secondly, one all-absorbing subject attracts men's attention; but we can with perfect confidence assure our classical readers that they will derive a high treat in attending these Lectures; they will find every thing they have read of in Herodotus, Strabo and Diodorus in ancient history, or in Denon, Belzoni, and the Lecturer himself, in modern times, revived and retouched.

'Of the great and important object of these Lectures—the value of an open trade to India—we shall go into more detail when Mr. Buckingham has concluded his Supplementary Lecture; at present he is merely leading his friends, like a skilful and amusing guide, through the classical regions of Egypt, Arabia, Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Babylon, Media and Persia, and will then conduct them to Hindoostan, where all the riches of the East will be laid open to their view, and the means of attaining a share of them pointed out, if the hurtful and unjust monopoly of the East India Company can be set aside: an event not less interesting to our fellow-citizens in a commercial point of view, than desirable and beneficial to the nation at large.

'Mr. Buckingham delivered himself in a colloquial and narrative style, and it struck us, whilst he was recounting his adventures, that he might with more propriety than the celebrated Mathews, assume the significant appellation of being 'At Home' with his friends. We are sure that his audience felt themselves in that pleasant situation, and testified their gratification by their unanimous plaudits. Perhaps no man existing has gone through more adventures than Mr. Buckingham. His "Travels" history" is indeed wonderful—and the cruel and unjust treat-

ment he received from the Indian Government entitles him to the sympathy, not only of every friend to a free Press, but to every Englishman, who values his liberty and is jealous for the fair fame of his country. We heartily congratulate him on the prospective success of his undertaking. In Liverpool, Birmingham, &c., his Lectures have been received with the greatest *ecclat*, and public thanks have been voted to him: we are happy to perceive that they have attracted general attention here, and those who shall allow the opportunity of attending them to escape, will suffer a loss which they will deeply regret.

Last evening and this morning he delivered his Second and Third Lectures, which included a vast range of subjects; giving a description of all that was remarkable in Arabia, the Red Sea, Palestine, Phœnicia, Syria, the Decapolis, Mesopotamia, and Babylon, with vivid pictures of Mecca, Medina, Mocha, Jerusalem, Damascus, Aleppo, Baalbeck, Palmyra, Tyre, Sidon, Antioch, and all the other towns; the river Jordan, the lake Tiberias, and the Dead Sea. In Mesopotamia, he described the Tigris and Euphrates, Ur of the Chaldees, Moosul, and the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon. The manners of the Arabs and Syrians were dwelt upon with great ardour, especially their independence, their hospitality, the bravery of their men, and the beauty of their women. Throughout every part of his lectures Mr. Buckingham showed the same discrimination of character, and relieved his subject by many just and striking observations and reflections.

‘He will deliver three other Lectures this week, and on Monday his *Supplementary Lecture*, which will embrace much valuable information respecting the trade to India.’

From ‘The Bristol Journal,’ March 23.

‘On Saturday evening Mr. Buckingham completed his Introductory Lectures: we can but repeat our commendations of the easy and familiar style of their delivery, and the interesting and valuable information which they contained. On Monday he delivered his *Supplementary Lecture*, to a very large and most respectable audience, including the Chief Magistrate, whose entrance was greeted with loud applause, and who sat on the right hand of the Lecturer.

‘Mr. Buckingham commenced by observing, that bold as the assertion was which he had made a few days since—that he should be attended by a still more numerous audience on this day than on any which had preceded it—he felt on looking round him, that it had been amply fulfilled. Coming among them, as he did, an almost perfect stranger, he could only ascribe the interest which he found he had created, to the great cause itself, which he was satisfied would work its own way. He had been in Bristol but one brief week, but had formed in that short time acquaintance with men whose information he had found valuable, and whose friendship he should cherish to the end of his life. If at any period he felt embarrassed in addressing a public audience, he felt it then, when he saw the excitement which his subject had created, and recollected that amongst other obstacles which he should have to overcome, would be the repetition of statements he had already given; but he trusted to the forbearance of the meeting, and felt cheered by the encouraging countenances which he saw around him; for it were better that he should repeat some of the facts which he had already stated, than omit any thing that was essential to be known.

"In the first place, he should draw the attention of the meeting to the theory of the East India Government, and show that even by that, the Company were incompetent to their trust. He should next show that in practice it was decidedly bad, and on the principle recognised in this country, from the Prime Minister to the lowest officer of police, incapacity was a justification for removal from office.

"Having gone over these various subjects, Mr. Buckingham took a view of what he considered would be the effect of giving fair scope to free labour in the East: the first which presented itself was the cultivation of sugar, and here he did not see any of the danger which some had conceived would arise to the West Indies: the latter were already in possession of a better article, better materials to work with, and also in possession of the market; they had nothing to fear from competition: besides, the increased and increasing demand for it, especially in Ireland, of which there appeared now some prospect, from the settlement of a question which had long agitated the country and kept it from its industry—*(Loud and continued cheers.)* He begged pardon, he really did not mean to touch upon a question of party feeling—but if the effect should be, as many anticipated, that Ireland should become more amalgamated with England, and capitalists be induced to settle there, it was not unfair to calculate that a portion of its population, say two millions, would become consumers of sugar; with this increased demand, and with a further demand arising from a more liberal use of tea, he did not think there was any cause for the West India Interest to be alarmed.

"Mr. Buckingham then touched upon the local advantages of Bristol for the shipment of iron from Wales, and woollen goods from Gloucestershire and Somerset, and referred to a Report, published in 1812, by the most eminent merchants in Bristol, stating the hardships they experienced in not being able to profit by those local advantages: portrayed the advantages of a free trade to China; showed the great monopoly in the article of tea; ridiculed the dangers which the India Company pretended would arise from English sailors being admitted to visit the shores of the Celestial Empire, whilst their own sailors and those of America were suffered with impunity; recapitulated the hardships which Englishmen suffered from not being allowed to participate in the benefits of the trade; apostrophised the English flag, which he said floated in every quarter of the globe as an ensign of honour, but in India was an ensign of disgrace to an Englishman; and concluded a most able and luminous lecture, which our limits compel us to abridge, by calling upon those citizens of Bristol who hated oppression and detested cruelty, who loved freedom in trade, justice and equity in law, and who venerated their country and were jealous of its good name, to come forward when the time of action arrived, and by "a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether," put an end to an odious monopoly, which had been as injurious to its promoters as it was to the claims of humanity and the interests of the country.

"At the conclusion of the Lecture, the applause was intense, and the cheering continued for several minutes. When it had subsided, the Mayor, John Cave, Esq., rose, and addressed Mr. Buckingham to the following effect:

"Sir, as the Chief Magistrate of the city of Bristol, I cannot suffer this numerous and respectable assembly to depart without expressing, on my own behalf, as well as on theirs, our deep sense of the important ser-

vice which you have rendered to us, and to our common country, by the able manner in which you have developed the evils of a system which you call upon us to assist in amending. I am sure, Sir, that I speak the unanimous sense of this assembly when I say, that the city of Bristol will give you its most cordial support, and will gladly unite with Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, and other great towns of the kingdom, in immediate steps to obtain a removal of the existing restrictions on our commerce with the East. (*Cheers.*) For the entertainment and instruction conveyed to us in your animated and accurate descriptions of the several countries through which you have so delightfully led us, you are entitled to our warmest thanks, (*cheers.*)—and for the still greater object of your present Lecture, which is to show the existing evils of our rule in the East, and point out the means of benefiting both this country and its empire in that quarter of the world, you are entitled not merely to our thanks but our cordial co-operation; and that co-operation we will zealously and cheerfully accord. (*Cheers.*) I am persuaded; Sir, that such a cause, in the hands of such an advocate, must ultimately triumph; and I am confident that the city of Bristol will be always ready to hail your re-appearance within its walls with pleasure; and that it will not be second to any city in the kingdom, in its efforts to secure for its countrymen at large, a full participation in that extensive field of commerce with the Eastern World, from which they are now most unjustly excluded. I remember, during the last discussions on the East India Company's Charter, when I was sent on the deputation that went from Bristol to London, being in company with the Earl of Buckinghamshire, (the near resemblance of the name to your own has struck me as remarkable,) when he used this remarkable expression: "This state of things cannot last long;" and now my conviction of its truth is stronger than ever. Under the present heavy imposts levied by the United States on English manufactures, it is the more desirable to encourage the cultivation of cotton in India, which can be grown of finer quality by the introduction of seed from other countries, as well as of tobacco and other products, more particularly as India, being a British possession, will take our goods in return, and make us less dependent on a foreign country attempting to become our rival in manufacturing. In the name, Sir, of the citizens of Bristol, I tender you their cordial thanks and best wishes for your continued success in your public-spirited and patriotic career. (*Immense applause.*)

Mr. Buckingham, in reply, expressed his high gratification at the cordial spirit with which his efforts had been already met in Bristol, and felt, both on personal as well as public grounds, deeply indebted to his Worship the Mayor, and the hospitable inhabitants of this city, for their kindness and attention. He wanted only, to complete his happiness, the power of returning to the East, to communicate personally to those whom he had left behind, and whose interests he was advocating here, the impressions created and the sympathy excited on their behalf in all the towns of England which he had visited. But, though deprived of that pleasure, he would not fail to let them know through other channels, what measures were taken for their benefit, and how warmly and universally these measures were supported by their distant fellow-subjects. Mr. Buckingham concluded by expressing his intention to re-visit Bristol shortly, for the purpose of watering the seed now planted, and repeating his Lectures throughout. (*This announcement was received with loud cheers.*)

Mr. W. E. Acraman then addressed the meeting, and stated that a requisition had been already drawn up and addressed to the Mayor of Bristol,

requesting him to call a public meeting of the inhabitants, to take into consideration the best means of promoting the great object of Free Trade to the East. He invited the signatures of all those who were favourable to the object; and before the meeting dispersed, the requisition was accordingly most numerously signed.

As a document of some interest at the present moment, and which has not before been placed on record, we subjoin the following Report, which was produced at the meeting at Bristol, and the reading of which excited considerable attention.

'Report of the Committee appointed by a General Meeting of the Merchants, Traders, and other Inhabitants of the City of Bristol, (convened by the Right Worshipful the Mayor, and held at the Guildhall, on the 19th of February, 1812,) for the purpose of collecting information, inspecting documents, &c., relative to the trade to the countries within the East India Company's monopoly, and to report their opinion to a future General Meeting thereon.'

'Your Committee, in the commencement of their duty, had anticipated the necessity of going into some length of argument, and, perhaps, even some detail of calculation, in the report which they should have the honour to present to their fellow-citizens, and through their medium to the public. To this conclusion your Committee was led, not from any doubt which they could possibly bring themselves to entertain of the justice and policy of a Free Trade to the East, but because the subject intrusted to their consideration was one, over which a veil of mystery had been too long and too successfully thrown, as though there was something in the nature and operations of Eastern trade, exempting it altogether from the general laws to which commerce has, through all ages and in all countries, been subjected; and because your Committee had also observed, that no efforts appeared to have been made in England to remove that delusion, or to evince that her people (generally so enlightened) were prepared to assert, or had even formed a notion of, their rights and interests upon a question to the British merchants and to the country in general the most momentous which, perhaps, ever has, or by possibility ever can, come under their contemplation as a great commercial people.

'Your Committee feel it a matter of sincere congratulation, that they are enabled to report that their efforts are not now necessary to awaken their fellow-subjects to the proper feeling on this important topic; the spirited example which several of the leading towns, out-ports, and manufacturing districts have since set to the country, is calling forth such a universal expression of the public sentiment, as by the justice of its object and the moderation and firmness of its character, must, in the judgment of your Committee, be irresistible.

'Your Committee, intent only on the commercial character of the East India Company, will avoid all reference to their situation as *sovereigns*, and will in that relation leave them to the consideration of the Government and Legislature.

'Your Committee thinking it unnecessary, under present circumstances, to notice the East India Company's Monopoly as existing at any period more remote than the last renewal of their Charter and privilege, will not waste your time in inquiring into the causes which first induced the Le-

gislature to establish the Company; remarking only, that the general state of foreign trade in those days, and the peculiar state of that to India, might, and probably did, render such a measure at that remote period necessary.

‘ It is only to be lamented (as it has been severely felt) that so lately as the year 1793, when the true principles of commerce were better known and understood, the Government of this country should have been induced to sanction the renewal of the East India Company’s monopoly, and that the legislative proceedings necessary for carrying into effect a measure so important to the country, and so fraught with evil, should have been allowed to pass both Houses of Parliament almost *sub silentio*.

‘ Your Committee, aware that precedent will not sanctify injustice, might not have felt themselves called on further to advert to the Act of the 33d of the King, cap. 52; but as the East India Company seem, by their reasoning, desirous that that Act should be considered as having laid down principles by which future ages were to be bound, so your Committee are not less willing at once to destroy its operation as a precedent, by showing the peculiar circumstances under which it has crept into the volume of our statutes.

‘ England, at the period alluded to, (April, 1793,) had just entered into a war with France, unlike any in which she had before been engaged; and which, from its peculiar character, exciting anxiety and agitation in her Government and people, had placed her in a situation of which her history scarcely afforded an example. The Government, alarmed at the slightest prospect of innovation, not only would not oppose, but was even glad to lend its whole weight and influence to, the support of any measures which would leave India and her concerns unaltered and in safety.

‘ On the other hand, the comparative silence of the merchants and manufacturers is but too sufficiently accounted for by the severe shock which commercial credit had then just received, and the general and unexampled embarrassment under which it then laboured.

‘ Upon the trade now carried on by the East India Company under the provisions of the Act so obtained, your Committee report it as their opinion, that the commerce to the countries within the scope of the monopoly would require a capital far greater than the floating capital of the Company, and even much beyond its whole means, were they entirely disengaged.

‘ If this opinion of your Committee be well-founded, it follows, as a necessary consequence, that the East India Company will be unable to prove that they are possessed of the means to carry on the extensive commerce at which they would aim, increased as its field has been by their immense territorial acquisitions; and, failing as they will in this important point, an obligation will be imposed upon the Legislature, founded on principles of the soundest and best established policy, to open the trade to the merchants of the United Kingdom, with whom alone will be found the capital, skill, enterprise, and perseverance, requisite to carry into effect an advantageous commerce with the East, and “to derive from those flourishing dominions the utmost degree of advantage to the commerce and revenue of the United Kingdom.”*

* Vide Prince Regent’s Speech to Parliament.

‘ After remarking on this obvious deficiency of capital in the East India Company,* your Committee find themselves led, by the order of their subject, to the consideration of the waste and prodigality by which that limited capital is rendered still more inadequate; but, upon these points, and numerous others not less important, as connected with the general management of the Company’s trade, your Committee will forbear to enlarge, partly because, in the recent resolutions and petitions, these subjects have been already discussed, but principally because your Committee are anxious to avoid exhibiting feelings of hostility towards the East India Company, or resting your cause on an appeal to the passions, when it can be so well and so safely supported upon the broad basis of reason, justice, and public right.

‘ To one point connected with the subject, your Committee cannot restrain themselves from beseeching your most particular attention—the smallness of the export which the East India Company have afforded to all the varied products of our ingenious, industrious, and enterprising manufacturers; an export decreasing as our possessions in India have extended; and, though destined for the supply of a coast and country equal in extent to half the habitable globe, yet so limited in its amount as to be hardly perceptible in the aggregate account of British exports annually laid before Parliament.*

‘ This view of the case, though important at any period, could never have commanded the pointed notice of your Committee so much as at the present moment, when, from the operation of numerous concurrent causes not within the province of your Committee to discuss, the manufacturers of numerous and populous districts are reduced to a state of distress, which calls for all the relief which can be afforded without compromising the honour and dignity of the country.

‘ Your Committee, when they look at the retrograde state of the exports to India, and contrast their amount with that to those parts of the world where British commerce is unrestricted, feel themselves fully warranted in concluding that the East India Company are incompetent to carry on with effect the important business of the export and sale of our manufactures through the vast and populous regions within the scope of their monopoly.

‘ This important point forms, of itself, a sufficient ground for refusing a farther renewal of the Company’s privilege.

‘ Your Committee think it also their duty to call your attention to the uncontrolled admission of aliens, in amity with his Majesty, into the full participation with the Company of all that valuable and beneficial commerce, so long and so obstinately denied to British merchants, by which this nation has sustained losses in commercial resource and national revenue to an immense amount; and which (if the future be estimated by the past, and the present system were to be persevered in) will still farther diminish the trifling benefit which this country now derives from her Eastern commerce.

‘ Your Committee consider it as a fortunate circumstance, that they are spared the observations they would have found it necessary to have made on the Regulations for “Private Trade” to India, as arranged at the last renewal of the privilege; regulations, not less degrading to our

* ‘ 1810, British exports, 34,940,550*l*. East India ditto, including stores, 1,876,000*l*.

merchants, than embarrassing and inefficacious in their operations. The recently published correspondence between his Majesty's Government and the Directors of the India Company, satisfies your Committee that those stipulations are viewed by the Government in the same light in which they have been seen by your Committee and by the country, and renders farther discussion upon them unnecessary.

The same correspondence affords to your Committee full information of the wishes of the Company, and the views of the Government upon the general question of the renewal of the Company's privilege, so far as the discussion had proceeded on the 23d ult., and upon which your Committee will find it necessary to offer a few observations.

In performing this duty, the spirit of moderation which your Committee have prescribed to themselves, will prevent their remarking (as fairly and pointedly they might do) on such of the Company's propositions as the Government have thought fit to dismiss; those yet under discussion call for all the notice which your Committee, in the reasonable limits of a report, can bestow upon them.

The opening the trade to China, as it is acknowledged to be the most beneficial part of the Company's commerce, is naturally the most pointed object of their jealousy.

The objections alleged to a free trade to China are founded on the extreme probability of its giving rise to quarrels with this singular and capricious people, and of danger to our national revenue; and to these objections the Government seems to have yielded. To the first of these objections your Committee can best answer, by adducing the experience of the long series of years in which the Americans and other foreign nations have carried on trade to China, without material interruption from the disputes in question; and to both these objections your Committee would reply, that nothing can (in their judgment) be less difficult than for Government to place the China trade under the inspection and control of officers of its own nomination and appointment, whose general superintendence might embrace the double object of preventing disputes with the natives, and frauds upon the revenue.

Upon the East India trade your Committee have briefly to observe, that, according to the proposed arrangements, the East India Company, or rather its Directors, have, with the utmost reluctance, yielded to the Board of Control, as an indispensable condition upon which alone the Company could expect the support and assistance of the Government in the renewal of their charter, that the subjects of this Empire shall participate in such trade; taking, however, especial care under most extraordinary pretexts, so to fetter, to load, and to embarrass this participation with unnecessary restrictions, and degrading and harassing regulations, as will render it once more unavailing to the skill and energy of the British merchant, to which scarcely any thing in the way of commercial restriction had been found to operate as a barrier.

For this boon the East India Company seem to consider themselves entitled to ask a larged raft on our national credit, to avoid that pecuniary embarrassment which they cannot otherwise avert. Dismissing minor regulations and restrictions of this proposed enlarged trade, your Committee entreat your attention to that by which the Company propose that the whole of the Indian trade shall be brought to the port of London, the goods sold at the Company's sale, and to be as at present under the Company's management; to which proposition the Government has

listened, upon the sole ground of security to the revenue;—your Committee need not occupy much of your time in pointing out the very obvious result of such an arrangement, or the fallacy of the reasons on which it is attempted to be founded:

‘ Such a regulation would have the effect of converting the East India Company’s monopoly into a monopoly by the merchants resident in London, to the entire, unjust, and impolitic exclusion of the capital and enterprise of the out-ports of the United Kingdom, and the consequent narrowing of the trade to the extent of such exclusion.

‘ Your Committee cannot, whilst on this part of the subject, overlook the large sums of money which, in the course of the last few years, have been expended upon some of the principal out-ports, with the express intent to render them more adapted to an extended scale of commerce and an enlarged class of shipping; nor can your Committee entertain such an opinion of the Legislature as to believe, that its enlightened members will refuse to allow to those ports the just remuneration for such outlay, which the opening of the trade to the East would, in its free and, fair sense, so much assist to afford; still less does your Committee believe that they will refuse, upon grounds so weak and untenable as those alleged by the Company.

‘ The objection as to the revenue is best answered by a reference to the experience of past years, which fully supports your Committee in the position, that, in the principal out-ports, (and in none more than in Bristol,) the duties both of customs and excise are as faithfully and diligently collected, and as promptly and cheerfully yielded, as in the port of London.

‘ Your Committee will not trouble you further with the detail of the arguments adduced by the East India Company against opening the Indian and China trades; arguments not only in direct opposition to the declared opinions of all the most enlightened theorists in all ages, but also uniformly contradicted and disproved by practical experience, in every instance in which they can be brought to that safe and unerring test.

‘ These arguments (if such they may be called) appear to your Committee to contain in them nothing but what, if allowed to prevail, might be equally adduced against the freedom of any and of every branch of British commerce; and certainly contain, or at least imply, a stigma upon the general character of the British merchant, hitherto known and upheld in the remotest corner of the world as an example of honour and good faith.

‘ Your Committee cannot avoid the expression of their surprise at the mode in which the East India Company appear to have taken up the subject of the renewal of their privilege, in their discussion with his Majesty’s Government thereon.

‘ Your Committee would almost be drawn to the conclusion that the Company have forgotten that, on the expiration of their present grant, *the full and absolute trade to India, to China, and the other Eastern shores and seas*, reverts, as their *undoubted birthright and inheritance*, to the *subjects of these realms*, under such salutary laws for regulating and protecting their commerce as the Legislature, in its wisdom and paternal care, may deem necessary.

‘ Your Committee repeat, that the East India Company seem to have
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forgotten that the *merchants and people* of England have nothing to ask for; *their* right, unless again restricted, is open to them; and *their* capital, industry, ability, and integrity, afford to their Government, to themselves, and to the world, an ample guarantee of their complete ability to enjoy it.

'The Company will, however, be reminded that it is *they alone* who must appear before the Legislature in the character of petitioners for a favour, to be granted or not as shall appear most for the general advantage of the empire; a character of which they have wholly lost sight in stipulating with the Government against the people of England, for terms and conditions as rigid as if the Company were the party granting, the indulgence, and by whose favour alone it could be enjoyed.

'Although the extraordinary and unexpected pretensions of the Directors, on behalf of the Company, now before your Committee, have led them into detail considerably beyond their wish and first intention, your Committee adhere to their opinion, that the trades of India and China differ in no essential point from any or all the other branches of commerce, conducted with such unexampled wisdom and success by the merchants of this great empire; requiring only, like them, to be fully protected by the supreme authority of the state, and, by the same high authority, to be regulated with the greatest caution and delicacy; for, whenever or wherever trade has been constrained or directed by the hand of power, it has invariably declined, and finally vanished; and therefore it is, that only in free and well-governed states, commerce has been seen to flourish.

'The best illustration of these positions is perhaps to be found in the trade in question. This monopolised, restrained, or, as the East India Directors are pleased to call it, this *regulated* trade has continued to decline under its present system of constraint; and, as if for the complete and triumphant illustration of these principles, its declension has been actually seen to keep pace with the extension of territory, and its security from enemies and from rivals.

'Your Committee beg leave to report it as their most decided opinion, that the trade to India and China can only be made productive and effectually available to the people of this United Kingdom, by being laid open to their individual exertions, unshackled and on the same footing of freedom with all other trades of the kingdom.

'That the revenue arising from commerce is, in its amount, dependent on the composition of articles imported, and not on the mode of importation, and that the revenue from Eastern imports will be as safely and faithfully collected from the general body of merchants as that of any other branch of trade under the existing regulations.

'That the revenue arising from consumption, and the general diffusion of advantage to be derived from the great body of the people from a free and open trade, is the only legitimate and practical participation that the public can, in the judgment of your Committee, enjoy or desire; the continued disappointment of other modes of participation from the East India Company, furnishes the strongest and most practical proof in confirmation of this position.

'Your Committee, therefore, with the sense they entertain of the importance of the great question at issue, confident in the opinions they have submitted, and still more firmly persuaded that no considerations, short of great and imminent danger to the United Kingdom, her reve-

nue or her foreign possessions, can or will induce her enlightened Legislature to deprive her subjects of their undoubted right to trade to all countries and people in amity with their sovereign, do most earnestly recommend, that this meeting do present to both Houses of Parliament petitions, praying that the exclusive privilege of the East India Company may not again be renewed, but that the trades to India and China may be fully and freely opened to the enterprise, skill, and capital of the merchants of the United Kingdom, without any of those unnatural and destructive restrictions serving to cramp and narrow the trade, and to harass individuals, but wholly unproductive of benefit to the East India Company.

‘Your Committee further recommend it to be the expressed opinion of this meeting, that any compensation which, in the wisdom and justice of Parliament, may be thought due to the East India Company for past sacrifices made for the public service, or upon any other fair and legitimate ground, should be raised by a fair, equal, and just impost on the trade, to be collected, preserved, and distributed, as Parliament in its wisdom, justice, and liberality, may think fit to award.

‘And your Committee further respectfully recommend, that you will be pleased to sanction and authorise their future exertions, until by the unanimous voice and united endeavours of the whole body of the British nation, their commercial rights may be restored, and the United Kingdom become the great Emporium of Eastern Commerce.

British Commercial Rooms, March 28, 1812.

‘ADN. MOENS.

CHARLES PAYNE, JUN.

WILLIAM FRIPP,

MICHAEL CASTLE,

JOHN CAVE,

SAMUEL BIRCH,

WILLIAM PERRY,

‘JOHN LOUDON M‘ADAM, V. P.

THOMAS DANIEL,

JOHN MASTERS,

GEORGE DYER,

PHILIP GEORGE,

JOSEPH HELLICAR,

JAMES FOWLER.’

‘Free Trade to India and China.’

‘At a General Meeting of the Merchants, Traders, and other Inhabitants of the City of Bristol, convened by the Mayor, by public advertisement, and holden at the Guildhall of the said City, on Friday the 3d day of April, 1812, to receive the Report of the Committee appointed at the last General Meeting, and to adopt such measures as might be deemed expedient thereon.

(*In the absence of the Right Worshipful the Mayor.*)

‘SAMUEL BIRCH, Esq. in the Chair.

‘The Report of the Committee being presented and read to this Meeting,

Resolved unanimously,—That this Meeting highly approves and adopts the same, as being in full and complete unison with their opinion upon every part of this important subject.

‘Resolved unanimously,—That, in common with the other subjects of this United Kingdom, we have an undoubted and inherent right to trade to all countries, and with all people, in amity with his Majesty; subject only to such general political and financial regulations, as the Legislature in its wisdom and fostering care may deem just or expedient.

‘Resolved unanimously,—That the long and continued infringement

of this right, in the instance of the East India monopoly, has been not less severe and unjust towards the merchants and manufacturers than injurious to the general interests of the whole body of the British people.

Resolved unanimously,—That as much as in us lies to prevent the recurrence of a system so destructive to the best interests of this United Kingdom, we will most cordially unite with our fellow-subjects throughout the same; in all such legal and constitutional measures as may have for their object the throwing open to the skill, the capital and the industry of the British merchant and manufacturer the whole of the valuable commerce of those immense regions comprehended within the limits of the Company's exclusive privilege. And that we will as cheerfully concur in any measure of indemnity to the East India Company which the wisdom of the Legislature may think their due for past services or sacrifices; provided such indemnity be procured by a fair, an equal and a just impost, and not attempted in the shape of restrictions, tending to harass and perplex the British merchant, to narrow and cramp the commerce, and altogether inadequate for any purpose of advantage to the Company.

Resolved unanimously,—That petitions, founded on the Report and these Resolutions, be presented to both Houses of Parliament.

Resolved unanimously,—That the petitions now read be adopted, as containing the sense of this meeting, and that the same be signed by the Chairman and the persons attending this meeting, and such others as may think proper to sign the same.

Resolved unanimously,—That his Grace the Duke of Beaufort, Lord Lieutenant of the County of the City of Bristol, and the Right Honourable Lord Grenville, Lord High Steward of the said City, be respectfully requested to present the petition to the House of Lords; and that the Members in Parliament for this City be also requested to present the petition to the House of Commons; and that they severally be solicited to support the same with their utmost weight and interest.

Resolved unanimously,—That, as an application to Parliament has been found necessary, by which considerable increased expense will be occasioned, an enlarged subscription be immediately solicited, and that the Committee be requested to take the necessary measures for promoting and obtaining the same.

Resolved unanimously,—That the warmest thanks of this Meeting are due, and hereby given to the existing Committee, for their great exertions and active zeal in carrying into effect the resolutions of the former general meeting: and that they be continued with full power to take all and every measure, in the name and on behalf of this meeting, in furtherance of the objects of the foregoing resolutions.

SAMUEL BIRCH, Chairman.

Resolved unanimously,—That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Chairman, for his able, judicious and impartial conduct in the Chair.

PROCEEDINGS AT WAKEFIELD.

WE are glad to be able to close our report of proceedings in the country, by printing the resolutions of a Public Meeting held at Wakefield; not doubting but that we shall soon have it in our power to add similar reports from nearly all the great towns of the kingdom. Leeds will be visited early in April, and other places in rapid succession:

From 'The Wakefield and Halifax Journal,' March 13.

A Meeting was held yesterday, at the Court-house, Wakefield, pursuant to requisition, to consider of the propriety of petitioning the Legislature to lay open the trade to India to the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain, by refraining to renew the Charter of the East India Company. Lawrence Hitchon, Esq., was called to the Chair, who read the requisition, and opened the business of the meeting. Mr. W. Holdsworth brought forward a number of resolutions, the most important of which were first read continually, and then put and carried separately. A few occasional observations were made by those who took part in the business of the meeting; but no formal discussion took place. The resolutions were all carried with the greatest unanimity. The meeting was not only numerous, but highly respectable.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE MEETING.

'At a meeting held this day, at the Court-house, Wakefield, pursuant to requisition, Lawrence Hitchon, Esq., in the Chair, the following resolutions were proposed, and agreed to unanimously:

'Moved by Mr. George Craven, and seconded by Mr. Wm. Naylor,

'That it having, of late years, become the policy of the Legislature to remove such restrictions as have heretofore fettered the commerce and manufacturers of this country, and tended to impede the free commercial intercourse which ought to subsist between one nation and another, this meeting is of opinion that the removal of the remaining restrictions and monopolies, which still press heavily upon the different interests of the kingdom, would be highly conducive to the general welfare.

'Moved by Mr. Leatham, and seconded by Mr. R. Carr,

'That the agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing interests would be greatly benefited by the opening of a free trade to the East Indies and China.

'Moved by Mr. W. Holdsworth, and seconded by Mr. Billam,

'That the partial opening of this trade to the British merchant, in 1814, has been productive of great good, and affords conclusive evidence, that the further extension of the private trade would be of incalculable benefit to the leading interests of the kingdom.

'Moved by Mr. T. Barff, and seconded by Mr. S. Dawson,

'That, whilst the advantages to be derived from this measure, to the whole of the United Kingdom, would be very great, the benefit arising to this part of the country would be peculiarly so, as the consumption of woollens by the immense population of India and China, if once introduced into those countries, on a principle of fair competition, would no doubt increase to a prodigious extent.

'Moved by Mr. W. Naylor, and seconded by Mr. Billam,

'That the prohibitory duties of the Northern States of Europe, and the Tariff of the United States of North America, having curtailed the trade in course woollens, the staple manufacture of this district, this meeting is of opinion, that the further opening of a commercial intercourse with the East Indies and China would tend greatly to revive that trade, and restore the former prosperity of this town and neighbourhood.

'Moved by Mr. Harrison, and seconded by Mr. Smith,

'That although the advantages to be derived from this measure, by the woollen manufacturer, would be very considerable, they would not surpass those which the agriculturalist would receive; inasmuch as the de-

mand for our native clothing wools, of late so little in request, would no doubt become as extensive as formerly, if the export of the manufactured article to those countries was not restricted by the monopoly of the East India Company.

‘Moved by Mr. Holdsworth, seconded by Mr. S. Dawson,

‘That this meeting, strongly impressed with a sense of the great importance of a Free Trade to the East, to the kingdom in general, and to this district in particular, feels it to be its imperative duty to petition both Houses of Parliament, to take this subject into their serious consideration, and in due time to make provision for abolishing the injurious monopoly of the East India Company, and laying open to the British merchant that beneficial intercourse with the rich and populous countries of Hindoostan and China, in which he has hitherto been allowed so small a share; while to China, from which he has been entirely excluded, the merchants of America and other foreign countries have always had free access.

‘Moved by Mr. Leatham, seconded by Mr. W. Naylor,

‘That the following gentlemen be appointed a Committee to prepare a Petition in accordance with the foregoing resolutions, and to carry into further effect the objects of this meeting:—

‘Rev. M. J. Naylor,
W. Leatham, Esq.
W. Naylor, Esq.
Mr. Thomas Barff,

‘Mr. W. Holdsworth,
Mr. H. W. Wood,
Mr. J. B. Billam,
Mr. Thomas White.

‘Moved by Mr. Leatham, seconded by Mr. Swallow,

‘That Lord Wharnccliffe be requested to present the petition to the House of Lords, and Lord Milton that to the House of Commons; and that Earls Harewood and Fitzwilliam, as well as the county members, be desired to support the same in their respective places.

‘Moved by Mr. W. Holdsworth, seconded by Mr. Billam,

‘That the above resolutions be advertised once in “The Wakefield and Halifax Journal,” and in “The Leeds Mercury;” and that a few copies of them be struck off, at the discretion of the Committee, to be sent to particular individuals.

‘Moved by Mr. W. Naylor, seconded by Mr. Craven,

‘That the expense incurred be defrayed by the Town.

‘L. HITCHON, Chairman.

‘Moved by Mr. W. Naylor, seconded by Mr. W. Holdsworth,

‘That the thanks of the Meeting be given to the Constable for calling the meeting, and for his conduct in the chair.’

‘Wakefield, March 12th, 1829.’

During the month of April, Mr. Buckingham purposes delivering his Course of Lectures in the City of London, for the information of the merchants; at the Freemason’s Tavern, for the inhabitants of the central parts of the Metropolis; and at Almack’s, for the nobility, Parliamentary members, and the fashionable world; and on the 30th of April, Mr. Whitmore brings forward his motion for a Committee of the House of Commons to inquire into the state of the trade between Great Britain, India, and China, which cannot, we apprehend, on any reasonable ground be refused. The issue may be easily predicted.

STEAM MAIL PACKET TO INDIA VIA THE CAPE.

(From 'The South African Advertiser,' December 20, 1828.)

Mr. WAGHORN, it appears, went to England in February 1827, recommended by the Indian Government to the Court of Directors, for aid in the prosecution of his plan; and again returned to India to get further patronage and support towards establishing a *Steam Mail Packet*, that shall only carry letters, despatches, parcels, &c.—no cargo, nor passengers, under any circumstances whatever. Sufficient depots of coals to be first established; that she shall perform the voyage to the Cape in thirty-six or thirty-seven days, and to India within seventy-five to eighty days, independent of winds, weather, &c. Some of the merchants of London connected with the East India trade have promised him individual assistance; and his reason for applying to the Steam Fund in Calcutta was, to obtain the remaining premium originally subscribed by the Government and inhabitants of Bengal, the half of which was voted to to Captain Johnson of the *Enterprise*, in January 1827.* The remainder Mr. Waghorn is to have for his purpose, through the direction of the Secretary to the East India Trade Committee in London. A rate of postage has been sanctioned likewise by the Bengal Government for this especial purpose. He then proceeded to Madras, and at a public meeting the rates of postage were sanctioned there the same as at Bengal. What the subscriptions at Madras may have amounted to cannot yet be quoted; but if we refer to the resolutions and speeches at the meeting, it will be unquestionably to a considerable amount. At the Mauritius he has received support from the Government, and likewise from the inhabitants through their agents in London.

A public meeting of the merchants and inhabitants (of the Cape) will take place in the Commercial Room at twelve o'clock to-day, to take the subject into consideration.

The following are the Resolutions, which were supported by most of the official and mercantile gentlemen of the Madras community:

Resolutions.—That this meeting do approve, and are desirous of seconding to the utmost of their power, the efforts that have been

* We observe, on referring to the Meeting, at Calcutta, that Captain Johnson says—Mr. Waghorn was an individual, from his personal knowledge, of persevering industry, and unshaken self-possession in the hour of danger; and that he conceived, if any one could carry the projected speculation into effect, it would be Mr. Waghorn; he added, he felt convinced that a vessel of proper dimensions would make the voyage in seventy days.

lately made in Calcutta for the promotion of a communication by means of steam-vessels between this country and England.

2. That the plan submitted by Mr. Waghorn for accomplishing the object referred to in the foregoing resolution, is deemed to be worthy of encouragement.

3. That subscriptions towards the furtherance of Mr. Waghorn's plan be opened, and that the mercantile agents at Madras be requested to receive the same up to the 14th of January, on which day the sum so collected shall be paid to Messrs. Arbuthnot and Co., to be remitted to J. Begbie, Esq., Secretary to the East India Trade Committee, for the purpose of being applied towards the proposed object under proper restrictions and provisions.

4. That the following gentlemen do form a Committee for the purpose of carrying the foregoing resolutions into effect :

Colonel Conway, Mr. M'Donnel, Mr. Norton, Colonel Hanson, Mr. Cator, Colonel Cadell, Mr. Binny, Mr. E. Gordon, Mr. Wardrop, Mr. Lys, Mr. Seth Sam, and Mr. Griffiths.

5. That copies of the proceedings of this meeting be forwarded to the out-stations of this Presidency, that all who are interested in a quicker communication than now exists with England be made aware of the sentiments entertained here towards the project, and be induced thereby to subscribe in aid of its execution.

The following rates of postage have been sanctioned by the Bengal and Madras Governments :

	If less than 75 days	If less than 85 days included.	If less than 100 days included.
To each single letter, not exceeding 1 Sa. Wt.	Rs. 3	Rs. 2	Rs. 1
If exceeding 1 Sa. Wt. double, if ex- ceeding 2 Sa. Wt. treble, and so on			
newspapers, each	3	2	1
Accounts, law-papers, &c. &c.	3	2	1
Certified outside as such, and containing letters, per oz., and if more than 100 days the common ship postage.			

Mr. Waghorn says, in his letter to the subscribers to the Calcutta Steam Navigation Fund,—‘The plan of sailing will be, according to my present view, as follows :—The vessel will start from Falmouth with the mails for Madeira, Cape, Isle of France, and India : no passengers, no cargo, but simply letters and parcels. Letters 4s. each, and parcels the same charge, by the ounce ; for which charge the sanction of the authorities, both here and at home, I would apply for.

‘The depots for coals I would arrange as follows—Madeira, Cape, and Isle of France, touching at Trincomalee and Madras, in the S. W. monsoon, to land letters, but if possible, without anchoring. I do not conceive it at all necessary to have more depots

between the Isle of France and India; for I am informed that I could always procure sufficient at Trincomalee to bring me on to Calcutta.

In the N. E. monsoon we should touch at Trincomalee, to land all packets for Ceylon, Bombay, and Madras, on account of the strong opposing winds and currents on the Coromandel coast; we will come up the Bay of Bengal on its eastern side in sight of the islands, where the winds are moderate or light, and the currents trifling. At Calcutta we would remain only ten days for the mails, calling at Madras on our way back, and remaining a few hours there.

As to the practicability of my scheme, I can only say, gentlemen, that my own conviction, founded on nautical experience and much thinking on the subject, is supported by the opinions of every person in England with whom I have conferred, who was competent to form a judgment on my plan. Among those who took considerable interest in it, I may particularly mention the Hon. Hugh Lindsay, Captain Ross of the Royal Navy, who commanded the expedition to the North Pole, Mr. Maudsley, who, in science and execution in engineering, is universally known, and Mr. Gurney, the inventor of the steam coach.

SEIZURE OF AN INDIA TRADER IN THE THAMES FOR A VIOLATION OF THE COMPANY'S CHARTER.

A VESSEL employed in the India trade, called the *Jane Eliza*, together with a most valuable cargo, has been seized to-day in the river, for a violation of the Charter of the East India Company. It seems that the law by which the monopoly of that great trading-body is established, prescribes that no vessel shall make the voyage direct home from China to England, without incurring the forfeiture both of ship and cargo. The operation of this law has, it seems, been heretofore usually evaded by touching at Singapore, where the cargo being landed, and fresh clearances obtained, nothing remained to vitiate the voyage. In the low prices to which almost every description of goods has fallen, this condition, necessarily involving a considerable expense, was felt to be a very onerous one, and came by degrees to be only partially complied with—that is, a portion of the cargo, instead of the whole, was landed, and the new clearances thus obtained were suffered to pass without question. In the case of the *Jane Eliza*, however, no part of the cargo, it is admitted, was landed, but the vessel, after having touched at Singapore, proceeded with fresh clearances for England, and the informality or fraud having been discovered, has been subjected to seizure in the manner described. The cargo, independently of the vessel, is valued at 50,000*l.*; it consists chiefly of silk, nankeens, tortoise-shell, and

other articles usually imported from China. One house alone in the East India trade has 800 bales of silk on board of the *Jane Eliza*, and there are large consignments of the same valuable description of goods to other houses in the same line. The affair has excited a most lively sensation among the mercantile interest connected with that part of the globe, who contend that this part of the Company's privileges is most injurious to them, while of no advantage to the corporation itself; and that it deprives them or their correspondents, in the present depressed state of the English markets, of all profit whatever from the shipments. It is generally supposed that both ship and cargo will ultimately be released, but not without considerable expense to all concerned, as well as loss of time, which may prove more injurious to the owners of the goods than any fine that will after due consideration be imposed. The merchants are highly indignant at the whole proceeding, and will, it is said, avail themselves of it as a striking instance to prove the injurious nature of the Company's monopoly.—(*Times*, March 26.)

LETTER FROM BENGAL.

[The following extracts of a late letter from Calcutta, contains a picture of Lord William Bentinck's character and manners, which are not likely to find their way into any of the newspapers of India. They have reached us through a source which we deem authentic, though, of course, we cannot vouch for the perfect accuracy of the picture in all its details.]

Calcutta, Sept. 5, 1829.

WHEN Lord William Bentinck arrived off the Chaundpaul Ghaut, it was about a quarter before six in the evening. Immediately on landing, he stepped into a palanquin, and pushed on for the Government House, followed by such of the great officers of Government, Secretaries, &c., as had assembled there to do him honour,—helter, skelter, some on foot, and others in such conveyances as they could, under so unexpected and rapid a movement, get access to; the rain falling all the while. It was of course intended that he should land and be escorted to the Government House, under all such honours as are usual on similar occasions; but he, either disliking that kind of thing, or not liking to wait till *all was ready*, stepped on shore, and proceeded to the Government House in the above very unceremonious manner; creating, as you may suppose, a somewhat amusingly ridiculous scene, altogether of a new description in Calcutta, i. e. of a Governor-General flying from the honours intended to be showered upon him. Near the Government House he passed the state-carriages that were going to Chaundpaul Ghaut for him; and by the time he had got into it, the troops from the fort that were to have formed a street from the latter to the former, had reached the landing-place. The Members of Council, Judges of the Supreme Court, and other great officers, received him at the Government House, where the ceremony of being sworn

in was in due form gone through. A list of the General Staff of the Governor-General, comprising aids-de-camp, &c., was then handed to him, in blank, together with a corresponding one, containing the names of those who held these offices up to that moment. His Lordship not appearing to understand the matter rightly, it was explained to him that such was the usual course, and that the first act of authority was always the nomination of such personal staff, which should be published, together with his Lordship's accession to the Government, *instantly*. He coolly replied, that he should look about him before he made any appointments; that he was not prepared for any thing of the kind just then. And thus, in defiance of all former usage, to the scandal of all, and they say, much to the vexation of many, he actually entered on the duties of his government without a single aid-de-camp or officer on his personal staff to assist him in discharging them. After some days, one gentleman, Captain Caldwell, who had been on the staff of the three preceding Governors-General, was nominated; some time after, a second; and I believe he now has, in all, four aids-de-camp, instead of about a dozen, who, under different denominations of honorary, extra, &c., gave *splendour* and *effect* to the administration of his predecessor, the Honourable W. Butterworth Bayley, Esq. How the Government was to go on, or how the dignity of the Viceroy was to be maintained, under a state of things so unprecedented, people here professed themselves quite unable to comprehend: the thing, however, has taken its course; the world has gone on much as usual; and many do not hesitate to say, that we have been nearly, if not perhaps quite as well, governed since his Lordship came, as we were before.

Lord and Lady Bentinck went to the cathedral the Sunday after their arrival; and a few days subsequent to that, his Lordship held a public levee, and her Ladyship a drawing-room; and all this to our great wonder and amusement, without the aids of aids-de-camp; but enough on this important head. Fortunately, we have survived the shock occasioned to our Eastern feelings by this great change; and, if I am not mistaken or misinformed, other and greater changes, not less inimical to local usage and prejudices, are in contemplation, and may be expected gradually to develop themselves.

The *first* appointment made by Lord William Bentinck, was that of Mr. Merridge to the same office in his household which that gentleman had held in Lord Amherst's, *i. e.* of unofficial private and confidential secretary, comptroller of his private and domestic expenses, &c. &c. This young man is country born, the son of a pilot; and being well educated, of good natural talents and sound principles, he somehow got access in the early part of his life to Sir John Malcolm, who saw and duly appreciated his worth. Sir John's confidence he appears to have obtained in a very high degree. On Lord Amherst's coming to India, Mr. Mer-

ridge accompanied him; and, during his residence here, notwithstanding the invidious and disgraceful attempts that were made through Mr. Lushington, at the instance of many of the civil servants, to oust him from his seat at his Lordship's table, he kept up with great credit to himself, and much to the gratification of every feeling and honest mind. Besides this situation, worth 600 rupees per month, he held that of Clerk to the Stationary Committee, worth about as much more. On Lord Amherst's leaving India he naturally felt anxious to do something which should make up to Mr. Merridge for the loss of the former of these places; and the office of Secretary to the Lottery Committee, worth 1000 rupees per month, being vacant at the time, he endeavoured to prevail on his Council to bestow it on Mr. Merridge. But no; the dignity of the Civil Service would be compromised by such proceeding; it had been held by a civil servant before, and must now be conferred on another. Lord Amherst was thwarted in Council in this almost the last act of his Government. Poor Merridge was put aside as unworthy. The first act of Lord Bentinck's Government was to show that he thought Merridge worthy of his confidence. This matter caused almost as much alarm and consternation as that of the aids-de-camp had done before. People knew not what to make of it, or how to account for the new Governor's proceedings, till they came to recollect that Lord Amherst and Lord Bentinck were old acquaintances, as well as of the same side in politics; and that their accidental meeting at the Cape of Good Hope had afforded opportunities of communication such as had never before occurred between men placed in similar situations,—the one proceeding to take charge of the Government the other had just relinquished.

Lord Amherst is a man of mild deportment and plain address and manners, possessing at the same time a strong mind and feelings. It was said at the time, that he was much hurt at the decided opposition he had experienced to his efforts in favour of Mr. Merridge, and many sympathised with him on that occasion. The office of Secretary to the Lottery Committee was not one that, by the rules and custom of the service, required a regularly covenanted Civil Servant to discharge its duties; nor was there any thing whatever connected with the matter which appeared (in the public mind) to call for what certainly was looked on as an unnecessarily harsh measure of opposition to Lord Amherst's just and benevolent views and wishes. Nor was this the only point on which Lord Amherst is supposed to have been thwarted just before his departure: he must, therefore, have left India with his feelings strongly excited as to certain men and measures here; and it is very naturally supposed that he had not omitted to make the best use of the fortunate meeting with his successor at the Cape, to make him a participator in them. This apprehension has excited uneasiness in the breasts of many

here, and, together with Lord Bentinck's cool and reserved method of proceeding with his public business, is well calculated to stimulate to vigilant exertion all the public servants employed under his Government.

Lord Bentinck and his Lady would appear to be persons for whom the Eastern appendages to rank have few or no charms: he had not been here many days before he felt himself accommodated by the numerous Asswarees about the Government House; and he desired to be allowed the privilege enjoyed by other English gentlemen, of walking about his own house and grounds unwatched and without guards at his heels. In consequence, a great reduction has taken place in the former Government House train; and himself and Lady Bentinck walk about, as well here as when at Barrackpore, unattended by any but such as they call for or invite to attend them. But I shall give you a few anecdotes of Lord Bentinck that may be depended on, and which will give you a good idea of his habits, both public and private.

Some few days after Lord Bentinck's arrival, a gentleman returning up the Course from his morning ride, observed, as he approached the south-west angle of the Government House, a gentleman dressed in a white jacket and white hat, on the road outside the railing, looking about him, and this he immediately saw to be Lord Bentinck, wholly unattended. He bowed to his Lordship, who observed, that he was early home from his morning exercises; adding, 'I am expecting some horses which Mr. Cooke the stable-keeper was to have sent for me to see. I wonder they are not come.' The gentleman immediately replied, that with his Lordship's permission, he would drive to Cooke's and hasten them. 'Thank you,' says Lord Bentinck, 'the shortest way, perhaps, will be for you to drive me there at once.' So in stepped his Lordship into the gentleman's buggy, and away they went to Cooke's stables, which his Lordship spent half an hour in rummaging with apparently much pleasure, unlorded, and no more noticed than any other gentleman would have been on a like occasion. On getting into the buggy again at Cooke's door, Lord Bentinck said, that there was another place he should like to call at before going home, which was the coachmaker's, as he wished to see how his carriages were getting on. Away then they drove to Stewart's, and having strolled about there some time, returned to the Government House. On alighting from the gentleman's buggy, his Lordship said, 'I was lucky in meeting you this morning. We have had a pleasant ride, and I have done my business quite pleasantly. Had I gone in one of my own carriages, I should have been encumbered and annoyed by my own followers. Good morning.' Whether the gentleman drove from Stewart's to the Government House, or whether his Lordship drove, I cannot tell; some say one drove, and some say the other; certain, however, it is that such a spectacle had not be-

fore been seen in India as a Governor-General driving in a buggy through the streets of Calcutta, with a private gentleman, wholly unattended, and without any thing whatever to distinguish him from any other individual.

I need not attempt to tell you, who know the feelings and habits of the population of Calcutta so well, the different impressions this simple scene produced on different classes : with some it was an utter dereliction of all dignity, and calculated to compromise the consequence of all the great officers of Government ; others thought differently ; and Lord William Bentinck, without apparently much troubling himself with what any of them thought, (if he knew any thing at all about it,) takes a drive in a buggy occasionally, with some one or another, in his white jacket and hat, equally unattended and undistinguished as he was in his first adventure. Nay, they go further, and say, that he has been seen amongst the group at Tulloch's auction, three or four times, on a horse sale day. No one on those occasions takes the least notice of him.

What his Lordship's views are on the great questions and measures of Government, no one appears able to form the most distant conjectures. No changes have yet been made : many were talked of and expected ; but he appears to be determined to inform himself of every thing, before he does any thing ; and he goes about to accomplish his object in a systematic and business like way. The Secretaries and Heads of Departments are no longer the sole channels of seeing and hearing to the Governor-General. He applies several hours daily to public business. Papers and documents relating to great questions, departments, offices, &c. are got together, and laid on his office-table, agreeably to previous orders. He goes through them with much attention ; and when he has considered one subject, and made his notes upon it, the papers are tied up, and he proceeds to another : and, in this cool and deliberate manner, is he quietly going on, examining into every thing ; completing his information, when needful, by at once sending for gentlemen from the different offices and departments, without waiting for official references by correspondence, through the usual channels of the Secretaries' offices, &c. His aim appears to be to go straight forward to his object ; and, however effectual his mode of doing things may be, it embarrasses extremely the Heads of Departments, not only by the novelty of the procedure, but by the perfect darkness in which these former lights of the Government are left as to his opinions and future intentions, for he keeps his own counsel, and they know not what to make of him. I will give you one instance of the manner in which he took up a public question the other day, which will give you some notion of his mode of doing things :

You are, perhaps, aware that the expense of postage on newspapers is very high here ; so much so, as to put the newspapers

beyond the reach of those residing at any distance from Calcutta : this has several times been represented to Government, and relief prayed for. Government was willing to lessen the stamp charges, but the means of doing so, without injury to the public revenues, was what created the difficulty. The thing had been considered and reconsidered over and over again ; still nothing had been decided on. Shortly after Lord Bentinck's arrival, another application on the subject was made. This paper is understood to have been very ably drawn up, and to have been signed by all the newspaper proprietors ; and is said to have attracted Lord Bentinck's immediate notice. Instead of waiting to grope through all the former proceedings which had been had on the subject, he sent at once for Mr. Stockwell, the Postmaster-General, and desired him to make him acquainted with the merits of the case—to show him what had been done, and what could be done, towards affording the relief desired. Stockwell, although a clever man and a good public servant, was rather nonplussed by so direct a proceeding, and would have taken shelter behind the *former proceedings*, which he said were with the Revenue Board ; said he would apply for them, through the Secretary's office, and bring the matter his Lordship wished information upon to his notice, &c. His Lordship is said to have replied, ' Pooh, pooh, Mr. Stockwell, let the Board of Revenue and their last load of proceedings alone ; your own office must contain papers enough on the subject, put them into your pocket, and step down to me with them to-morrow at eleven, and we will try if we cannot together devise the means of removing the formidable obstacles now opposed to the people's reading the newspapers ; really, these seem to have accumulated to a formidable extent,' &c. His Lordship and Mr. Stockwell are said to have met accordingly, and in an hour or so to have planned an arrangement, which is now officially before Council, and which, it is hoped, will remove all difficulties, and afford general satisfaction.

A new code of Custom House regulations is under consideration ; the merchants, &c., have been called upon to offer their opinions on the several provisions, &c., and several well-written letters on the subject have appeared in the papers. Lord Bentinck has taken up this matter also with some earnestness ; he has had several conferences with Mr. Siddons ; and, the other day, while business was going on, paid a very unexpected visit there, went through every department of it ; from thence to the Board of Trade, &c. He has made several of those visits to different places, appearing when quite unexpected. He goes without any kind of retinue, looks about him, asks some questions, which he has prepared before hand, and retires as quietly as he went. As no one knows where he will call next, all keep closely to their business ; and there is, perhaps, more attention now paid to the discharge of public duties than ever has been known before.

Hundreds here, as usual on the coming of a new Governor-General, were furnished with letters of introduction from their connexions in Europe, from which great expectations were formed: the delivery of some of these are said to have caused some very laughable incidents. His Lordship carefully represses every expectation of promotion from private influence and patronage: his every act is the act of the Governor-General in Council, from which he will hear of no appeal. The civilians therefore, particularly, who in former times used, as it were, to choose their own appointments, and would neither go here nor there, but as they pleased, now receive notice of their appointments to different offices, with orders to proceed, &c. The other day, the collector of Chittagong, who had been, there some years, having lost his health, was compelled to come to Calcutta preparatory to going to sea. Another collector was in course required to supply his place; and they appointed, without reference to him, a young gentleman who has always been hanging on at some unimportant place at the Salt Golahs, which he preferred, as keeping him amongst his connections, and amidst the gaieties of Calcutta. This appointment was as a thunder-stroke to the young gentleman, who, as soon as he heard of it, flew away to the Government House, obtained an audience, prayed to be released from it on the grounds of private convenience, family connections here, delicate state of health, &c.; to all of which his Lordship replied, 'Those are matters for your private consideration; by the public act of Government, you are appointed collector of Chittagong, and I shall in no instance interfere with the orders of the Governor-General in Council.'

Those amongst the civilians and military staff who have tolerable appointments, are glad to stick to what they have, instead of worrying the Government for something better. A military Major, who has held for many years a good staff appointment, went the other day, on the strength of a letter of introduction from his brother-in-law, Lord somebody, to request a better, and one that would keep him in Calcutta, as his lady did not prefer leaving it. In explanation to some inquiry made, his Lordship was told that, *unfortunately*, he was near *promotion*, and that if he did not get another staff appointment, his next step as Lieutenant-Colonel would compel him to join his regiment. His Lordship is said to have laughed at the Major's dilemma, and to have said it was the first instance he had ever heard of military promotion being considered a misfortune to a soldier; adding, that the Major had better make up his mind to join his regiment: and it is said he will be compelled to do so. Such examples as these speak forcibly enough; they will not fail to repress the inordinate expectations of adventurers, founded on private influence alone, of which there has been too much in this country.

In my former letters I have noticed the apprehension we were

all living under of deep retrenchments from our salaries lately. It is said, a tremendous list of reductions, which had been some time in preparation, and affecting almost every person employed, even down to the humblest classes, came before Council. His Lordship is said to have asked Mr. Bayley, if this was not rather beginning at the wrong end, and if it would not be better first to see what could be done in the way of savings from the salaries of the higher classes, who had enough and to spare, &c. If this was really the case, and it is believed to have occurred, we may perhaps for the present set our apprehensions on this score aside.

I could give you sheets of anecdotes of Lord William Bentinck and his proceedings; but those you have, will perhaps enable you to form some opinion of the justice of the expectations formed by the more thinking classes, that the administration of this nobleman will be a just, able, and most efficient one.

Mr. Brougham, in a letter to our celebrated barrister Turton, which was received about the time Lord Bentinck arrived here, says, that a man with a clearer head and a sounder heart never went to India; that from his sound principles and great talents, his absence was felt as a loss to the Administration at home, &c. God knows, both talents and principle were wanting here; and few seem to doubt that both will be abundantly found in Lord William Bentinck.

LETTER FROM BOMBAY.

Bombay, 20th October, 1828.

IN my letter of the 30th ultimo, I alluded to the probability of some unpleasant clashing of authority taking place between the Government and the Judges of the Supreme Court, respecting the issuing of two writs of *habeas corpus* to bring before the Court a Native from Tannah, and another, of rank, from Poonah; which, it was understood, the Government would oppose on grounds of state policy, and under the belief that the Court did not possess the jurisdiction of the King's Bench to issue the prerogative writs of the Crown, or any jurisdiction beyond the island of Bombay, excepting over Europeans, or Natives in the service of the Company, to which it is apparently limited by the Charter of the Court. After hearing Counsel at considerable length on both sides, the Judges (Sir Charles Chambers and Sir John Grant) took time to consider their judgment, which they delivered, at great length, on the 29th ultimo, as published in 'The Bombay Courier,' of the 4th October, in which they concurred entirely in opinion as to their having full authority, and the same jurisdiction as the Court of King's Bench,

to issue the prerogative writs of the Crown, and to direct them to any person within the territories subject to the Bombay Government; and an improper return having been given to the first writ of *habeas* to the Native at Poonah, issued by Sir John Grant alone, in chambers, the Court ordered another writ (of *alias habeas corpus*) to be issued, returnable 10th October.

During the discussion of the question before the Court, and when the first writ was sent to Poonah, Sir John Malcolm was there, and directed Mr. Dunlop not to allow the Native to be taken to Bombay; and, as the Members of Council declined acting in such an important matter, and in direct opposition to the Court without his being present, Sir John came down to Bombay, when a letter was written by the Government to the Judges, stating their determination not to allow the writ against the Native of Poonah to be executed, and that they would instruct their collectors and magistrates in the interior not to give any return to similar writs, and trusted the Judges would suspend their proceedings, and content themselves with protesting, or appealing, until an answer should be received to a reference made to the authorities at home. This letter from Government gave great offence to the Judges, who, in Court, on the 6th of October, directed it to be read and filed in Court, as a document on which they might found ulterior proceedings, if necessary; and both remarked, in terms of astonishment, regret, and wounded feeling, on its tone and tenor, and decided, that the Court could take no notice of it, beyond acknowledging its receipt, by the Clerk of the Crown, to the Secretary to Government.

This letter, and the speeches of the Judges, were published, with their consent, in 'The Gazette' of the 8th October, with the whole proceedings of the Court in regard to the Tannah case. On the 10th October, when a return to the writ to the Native at Poonah should have been made, Sir John Grant was in Court alone; and, an improper return having been given as before, he ordered another writ of *habeas* to issue, returnable immediately, under a fine of 10,000 rupees; and, if this should not have the desired effect, he intimated the intention of the Court to issue an attachment on the first day of term; and thus the matter rests at the present time. The Government is determined to send an overland despatch through Egypt, in charge of Major Barnewell, in order to get as speedy an answer as possible from the authorities in England; and it is, no doubt, most desirable that such an open and avowed variance and opposition between the Court and Government should be set at rest as soon as possible, and that the jurisdiction of the Court should be clearly defined.

Sir Charles Grey, the present Chief-Justice of Calcutta, in a case which came before him last year, gave an opinion in favour of the extended jurisdiction of the Court to the fullest extent,—of which neither the Judges here, nor the law advisers of this Government,

were aware, at the time of their giving their judgment here ; and it is so far satisfactory and conclusive, that they arrived at the same opinion, without either being acquainted with the sentiments of the other on the subject. The opinion of Sir Charles Grey is published in 'The Gazette' of the 15th October,* and shows clearly, that, however impolitic the proceedings of the Judges may be considered by some, they could not have acted legally otherwise than they have done, upon application for such writs being made to them. Sir Charles Grey has generally leaned to the aid and support of Government, as far as possible ; and Sir Charles Chambers has likewise manifested the same desire, when he could do so with independence, and conscientiously. I mean, that he has always shown temper and moderation in cases in which the Government were concerned, and a proper respect to the local authorities. It has, therefore, surprised every one the more, to witness the strong manner in which the letter from Government affected him, and the severe remarks which it called forth from him on the bench. Indeed, both the Judges appear to have taken it as an attempt to lead them from the sacred path of their duty, and to diminish the interference, or influence, of the Crown throughout these territories.

The policy of giving the Court such extraordinary jurisdiction in this country seems doubtful, when it is limited in its jurisdiction over the subject matter, which must arise out of such writs ; and it is difficult to see to what good end the execution of them could tend, unless this is made a court of appeal or review of the proceedings of the Courts in the interior, which probably would be desirable ; and there is no doubt that there are many irregularities in the Native Courts which require reform, which the Civil Servants of the Company wish to avoid ; and the clamour against the effects of the interference of the Supreme Court in the interior, in any way, is, therefore universal, and has been, in a great measure, the cause of so direct an opposition by the Government to their proceedings.

Sir Charles Chambers, I have reason to think, was inclined to be very cautious about exercising any such interference, and would only have done so when he could not conscientiously avoid it. He, therefore, felt very much such a decided opposition ; and, taking it in the aggravated light which he did, as a slur upon his character and reputation, I lament to say, that there is no doubt of its having hastened his death, which took place on the 13th instant. He had been complaining of rheumatism and gout flying through him, and was looking ill for some weeks before, but was not so unwell as to be confined to the house until Saturday the 11th instant, when he was seized with an apoplectic fit, or a determination of blood to the head, for the relief of which he was bled largely on the following day ; and, although every remedy was applied, he expired on

* We shall publish this Report in our next.—Ed.

Monday morning, in the thirty-ninth year of his age. He was a most amiable man in every relation of life, supported his station in society and high office with great courtesy and dignity, and was greatly esteemed by the Natives, to whom he was always a kind friend. At the time of his sudden decease, Lady West was lying in a dying state in his house, and she only lived three days afterwards, having sunk under affliction and fatigue consequent to the loss of her husband, to whom she was devotedly attached.

Sir John Grant is thus left the only Judge of the Court, and under circumstances of no pleasant nature, as regards the late lamentable casualties, and the difference with the Members of the Government; but he is a man of an active and cheerful disposition; and, although he must have a great deal to do, I trust he will get on well until he has further relief from England; for if any thing were to happen to him before the arrival of other Judges, the Court would be shut up altogether, there being no provision in the Charter for a Judge coming round from Bengal or Madras, *pro tempore*, as was the case in the time of the Recorder's Court.

NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

We can easily conceive the just indignation which Sir John Grant will feel, when he finds, that, instead of being advanced, as he ought to have been, to the Chief Justiceship of Bombay, he has been kept as a Puisne Judge, and that Mr. Dewar, a young barrister, who has no claims whatever to such a distinction, (save and except his devotion to the Government whom the Judges so nobly opposed,) has been promoted, by an order from the Directors here, over his head! This is the reward of subserviency; and these are the mortifications to which merit and independence are subjected.

SONNET.—THE JUST MAN.

As on an eminence, alone he stood,
 Unmoved amidst the storms of life: his mind
 Formed not a fetter which itself should bind,
 But on an inward consciousness of good
 Calmly reposed;—and oft in thoughtful mood
 He would survey the busy crowd below,
 In disputation, wrangling to and fro—
 Christian with Christian floating down life's flood,
 Eternally engaged in fierce dispute
 Respecting trivial articles of faith
 And modes of worship. Oh, how ill they suit
 With Christian charity! The Scripture saith,
 Ye children of the earth, the prayer sincere
 Will reach from man to God, nor be rejected there.

Neath, Feb. 1829.

S. GARDNER.

DEBATE AT THE EAST INDIA HOUSE.

On Wednesday, March 18, a Quarterly General Court was held.

THE COMPANY'S STOCK.

W. ASTELL, the Chairman, stated, that the accounts of the Company's stock were made out for India up to the 1st of May, 1827, and for England up to the 1st of May, 1828.

EAST INDIA WRITERS' BILL.

The CHAIRMAN said, that the Court was made special, for the purpose of having laid before it a copy of a Bill, then before Parliament, relating to writers in the Company's service. Three years ago, Parliament thought it expedient to pass an Act to repeal a clause in a former Act, which rendered it necessary that every person appointed to a writership should have previously served four terms at Haileybury College. The object of the present Bill was merely to continue the operation of the repealing Act, which was about to expire.

Mr. DIXON asked, whether this Bill had been introduced with the sanction of the Company.

The CHAIRMAN replied, that it was introduced at the suggestion of the Court of Directors.

General THORNTON thought it would be better to pass a permanent Bill at once, than to renew the measure from time to time. He approved of the principle of the Bill, because he thought that, at the present time, young men destined for service in India, could obtain a fitting education without going to the Company's College. There was now an Oriental Professor at the London University, as well as many others in London and its neighbourhood. He had always considered it improper that young men should be educated at Haileybury, at the Company's expense. In all other situations, individuals were educated at their own expense—those destined for the church, for instance, where their expectations were very small; whilst young men, who were presented with profitable offices, in which they might expect to acquire fortunes, were educated at the Company's expense. He understood that since the Suspension Act had been in force, young men had not been examined with respect to their proficiency in the Oriental languages. He wished to know whether this was true.

The CHAIRMAN said, that the present Bill would have the effect of a permanent measure, since it would continue in force until 1834. The hon. gentleman then stated, as we understood, that the Court of Directors and the Board of Control had not considered it necessary, that candidates for writerships should be examined with respect to their knowledge of the Oriental languages. He could hold out no hope to the gallant General that the Company would benefit by the London University, for the examinations would continue to be conducted as heretofore.

The Bill was then read, and the Court adjourned.

CIVIL AND MILITARY APPOINTMENTS, PROMOTIONS, AND CHANGES IN INDIA.

[B. signifies Bombay—M. Madras—and C. Calcutta.]

- ANDERSON, W. S., Surg., rem. from 33d to 36th N. I.—M. Aug. 13.
 Austen, Thomas, Ens., posted to 12th N. I.—M. Aug. 25.
 Arrow, J. R., Ens., posted to 15th N. I.—M. Aug. 25.
 Austen, Capt., 18th N. I., to act as Superintend. of Family Payments and Pensions, during illness of Capt. Wilson.—M. Sept. 9.
 Barnett, W., Lieut. and Brev. Capt., 53d N. I., to be Capt. of a comp., v. Reding, prom.—C. Aug. 22.
 Bagshawe, S. R., Lieut., to officiate as Interp. and Quar.-Mas. to 7th N. I., v. Hudleson, on duty at Presidency.—C. July 28.
 Barnes, W. R., Ens., app. to do duty with 58th N. I.—C. Aug. 1.
 Beaven, F., Ens., app. to do duty with 42d N. I.—C. Aug. 1.
 Biddulph, Geo., Cadet, Inf., prom. to Ens.—C. Sept. 5.
 Benson, R., Capt., 11th N. I., and Assist. Sec. to Gov. in Mil. Dep., to be Mil. Sec. to Governor-Gen.—C. Sept. 5.
 Boyd, M., Lieut.-Col. Com., removed from 46th to 5th N. I., v. Nation, deceased.—C. Aug. 12.
 Brice, H. S., Assist.-Surg., rem. from 33d to 14th N. I.—M. Aug. 13.
 Brooking, S., Assist.-Surg., posted to 6th N. I.—M. Aug. 15.
 Babington, W. R., Senior Ensign, 17th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Fullarton, prom.—M. Aug. 15.
 Bisset, W., Cadet, Inf., prom. to Ens., Aug. 13.; app. to do duty with 39th N. I.—M. Aug. 21.
 Best, S., 1st Lieut. Eng., to be Assist. to Superintend. Eng. in Southern Division, v. Patrickson, perm. to return to Eur.—M. Sept. 9.
 Bayes, L. T., Ensign, posted to 16th N. I., and to rank below Ensign E. T. Cox.—M. Sept. 11.
 Baron, C. R., Cadet, prom. to Cornet.—B. Aug. 1.
 Boxwell, Assist.-Surg. adm. on the Estab.—B. Aug. 1.
 Barrington, Assist.-Surg., adm. on the Estab.—B. Aug. 1.
 Behan, Assist.-Surg., adm. on the Estab. Aug. 1; and app. to the brig *Euphrates*.—B. Aug. 11.
 Bonamy, Capt., 6th Foot, to be an Aid-de-camp on personal staff of Com.-in-chief.—B. Aug. 7.
 Baillie, T., Capt., to act as First Assist.-Com.-Gen., v. James, on furl. to the Cape.—B. Aug. 12.
 Coventry, C., Capt., 33d N. I., to take charge of 8th, or Cawnpore Prov. Batt., during absence of Lieut.-Col. Gibbs on leave.—C. Aug. 16.
 Cunliffe, K. H., Lieut.-Col., Inf., to be Lieut.-Col. Com., v. Nation, deceased.—C. Aug. 16.
 Cumberland, R. B., Mr., adm. Assist.-Surg.—C. Sept. 5.
 Campbell, C. H., Maj., Artill., rem. from 5th to 2d batt.—C. Aug. 12.
 Curphey, W., Maj., Artill., rem. from 2d to 1st batt., and to command of Artill. at Nusseerabad.—C. Aug. 12.
 Clerk, Robert, Esq., to be Sec. to Government in Public Financial, Commercial Law, and Ecclesiastical Depart.—M. Aug. 26.
 Campbell, A. M., Lieut., and Brev. Capt., 7th Lt. Cav., to be Assist. Civ. Eng. in Southern div.—M. Aug. 26.
 Conolly, H. V., Esq., to be Dep. Sec. to Gov. in Military Dep.—M. Sept. 2.
 Clapham, W., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 37th to 43d N. I.—M. Aug. 4.
 Cottrell, L. F., Cornet, posted to 9th Lt. Cav.—M. Aug. 9.
 Caswell, J., Assist.-Surg., rem. from 6th to 43d N. I.—M. Aug. 13.

- Clubley, J. K., Maj. Inv. Estab., posted to 1st Nat. Vet. Batt.—C. Aug. 15.
 Church, W. J., Ens., posted to 17th N. I.—M. Aug. 25.
 Cockburn, A. K., Ens., posted to 50th N. I.—M. Aug. 25.
 Cotton, W., Sen. Lieut., 10th N. I., to be Capt., v. Jourdan, prom.—M. Sept. 12.
 Campbell, D. C., Cadet, admitted Assist.-Surg., and prom. to Ens., and app. to do duty with 21st N. I.—M. Sept. 12.
 Cox, E. T., Ens., posted to 10th N. I., and to rank next to Ens. C. Macauley.—M. Sept. 12.
 Currie, Claud, Surg., returned to duty.—M. Sept. 12.
 Carr, G., Ens., 16th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. Sept. 12.
 Campbell, R., Capt., 21st N. I., to be Maj., v. Noble, dec.—B. Aug. 2.
 Cavage, W., Lieut., 21st N. I., to be Capt., v. Campbell, prom.—B. Aug. 2.
 Denty, H. F., Major, Inf., to be Lieut.-Col., v. George, dec.—C. Aug. 16.
 Davis, T. D. L., Capt., 25th N. I., to be Major, v. Vincent, prom.—C. Aug. 22.
 Durham, S., Surg., posted to 23d N. I.—C. Aug. 1.
 Dougan, J. C., Ens., app. to do duty with 2d Extra N. I.—C. Aug. 1.
 Dittmas, F., 2d Lieut., Eng., to be Assist. to Superintend. Eng. in Northern Div., v. Best.—M. Sept. 9.
 Dyce, Lieut., 39th N. I., to be Sub-Assist.-Commissary-General, v. Frew.—M. Sept. 9.
 Daniel, Mathew, Cornet, posted to 3d L. Cav., and to take rank from July 27, 1828.—B. Aug. 2.
 Davidson, R., Assist.-Surg., to act under orders of Medical Board on a special duty.—B. Aug. 8.
 Erskine, W. C., Cadet, Inf., prom. to Ens.—C. Sept. 5.
 Edwards, E., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 12th to 17th N. I.—M. Aug. 4.
 Elphinstone, C. J., Ens., app. to do duty with 29th N. I.—M. Aug. 13.
 Eaton, Jas. Dr., adm. Assist.-Surg., and app. to do duty under Garr. Surg. of Fort St. George.—M. Aug. 26.
 Fallowfield, J., Surg., rem. from 3d to 4th N. I.—C. Aug. 12.
 Festing, T. B. P., Capt., 33d N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—C. Aug. 22.
 Farquharson, G., Lieut., 8th N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—C. Sept. 5.
 Fenning, D. A., Lieut. and Brev. Capt., 5th L. Cav., to be Dep.-Assist.-Adj.-Gen. in Ceded Districts, v. Wilson.—M. Aug. 15.
 Fullarton, J., Sen.-Lieut., 17th N. I., to be Capt., v. Stuart, invalided.—M. Aug. 19.
 Foulis, D., Lieut.-Col.-Comm., removed from 5th L. Cav. to 9th L. Cav.—M. Aug. 23.
 Farquhar, R., Ens., posted to 28th N. I.—M. Aug. 25.
 Frew, Capt., 44th N. I., Sub-Assist.-Commis.-Gen., to be Dep.-Assist.-Commis.-Gen., v. Burns, prom.—M. Aug. 25.
 Gordon, J., Surg. (M.D.), posted to 6th Extra N. I.—C. Aug. 1.
 Gillanders, A., Ens., app. to do duty with 60th N. I.—C. Aug. 1.
 Gould, T., Lieut., 11th N. I., to be Interp. and Quarter-Master, v. Sewell, prom.—C. Aug. 12.
 Gramshaw, R. M. O., Major, Artill., rem. from 1st to 5th Batt.—C. Aug. 12.
 Groube, Dodson, Cornet, posted to 1st L. Cav.—M. Aug. 23.
 Germon, J. P., Ens., posted to 48th N. I.—M. Aug. 25.
 Goldingham, Lieut., Artill., perm. to place his services at the disposal of the Government of Fort Cornwallis.—M. Sept. 5.
 Gill, G., Capt., 1st N. I., returned to duty.—M. Sept. 19.
 Gordon, R. H., Lieut., 2d N. I., returned to duty.—M. Sept. 12.
 Gibb, J. R., Assist.-Surg., returned to duty.—M. Sept. 12.
 Glasscock, W. M., Ens., doing duty with 29th N. I., on furlough to Europe, for one year, without pay.—M. Aug. 22.
 Graham, A., Assist.-Surg., to be Civ. Surg. at Ahmednugger, v. Walker, promoted.—B. Aug. 4.

- Hamilton, G., Ens., 53d N. I., to be Lieut., v. Barnett, prom.—C. Aug. 22.
Hall, A., Cornet, app. to do duty with 2d L. Cav., at Muttra.—C. Aug. 1.
Hay, John, Lieut.-Col., 17th N. I., returned to duty.—C. Aug. 12.
Home, R., Lieut.-Col., posted to 12th N. I.—M. Aug. 4.
Hoffmes, P., Ens., rem. from doing duty with 10th to 16th N.—M. Aug. 9.
Halstead, W. A., Ens., posted to 11th N. I.—M. Aug. 25.
Hamilton, Richard, Ens., posted to 1st N. I.—M. Aug. 25.
Hooper, H., Vet. Surg., rem. from 2d to 8th L. Cav.—M. Sept. 3.
Harwood, John, Lieut., 48th N. I., returned to duty.—M. Sept. 12.
Holloway, E. V. P., Lieut., 42d N. I., on furlough to Europe for health.—M. Sept. 9.
Ironside, E., Ens., 62d N. I., to be Lieut., v. M'Donald, resigned.—C. Sept. 2.
Jones, R. E., Ens., 25th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Williamson, prom.—C. Aug. 22.
Johnstone, D., Ens., rem. from doing duty with 31st to 29th N. I.—M. Aug. 4.
Jackson, J., Ens., app. to do duty with 19th N. I.—M. Aug. 9.
Jennings, J. F., Vet. Surg., rem. from 1st Brig. Horse Artill. to 7th L. Cav.—M. Sept. 3.
Jourdan, H. G., Sen. Capt., 10th N. I., to be Major, v. Short, promoted.—M. Sept. 12.
Kilner, J., Lieut., to be Acting Executive Engin. at Deesa.—B. Aug. 7.
Littler, J. H., Major, Inf., to be Lieut.-Col. v. Cunliffe, prom. in succession to Auriol, invalided.—C. Aug. 16.
Lowry, R., Cadet, Inf., prom. to Ens.—C. Sept. 5.
Loveday, W., Cadet, Inf., prom. to Ens.—C. Sept. 5.
Lawrence, E., Capt., 22d N. I., to be Assist.-Sec. to Government in Mil. Depart., v. Benson, prom.—C. Sept. 5.
Ludlow, E. E., Lieut. 20th N. I., to be Interp. and Quar.-Mas., v. Pyne, prom.—C. Aug. 12.
Leese, J. V., Assist.-Surg., rem. from 3d to 4th N. I.—C. Aug. 12.
Laurie, Capt., 9th N. I., on furlough, to Europe for health.—M. Sept. 12.
Markeson, F., Ens., 14th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Thorpe, prom., v. Ramsay, dec.—C. Aug. 22.
Mansell, H., Brev.-Capt. his Majesty's 14th Foot, to be an Aide-de-Camp on Personal Staff of Gov.-Gen.—C. Aug. 22.
Mac Dowell, J., Surg., prom. to 59th N. I.—C. Aug. 1.
Mac Leod, T. H. S., Cadet, Inf., prom. to Ens.—C. Sept. 5.
Marshall, G. T., Lieut., 35th N. I., to officiate as Interp. and Quar.-Mas., v. Hay, on leave.—C. Aug. 12.
Muray, A., Surgeon, removed from 4th to 3d N. I.—C. Aug. 12.
Maitland, J., Cornet, posted to 4th Light Cavalry.—M. Aug. 23.
Macqueen Lachlan, Cornet, posted to 8th Light Cavalry.—M. Aug. 23.
Mackenzie, W. A., Ens., posted to 17th N. I.—M. Aug. 25.
McClellan, Lieut., 33d N. I., permitted to place his services at the disposal of the Governor of Fort Cornwallis.—M. Sept. 5.
Monin, A., Senior Lieut.-Col., Inf., to be Lieut.-Col. Comm., v. Graham, deceased.—M. Sept. 12.
Montgomery, H., Lieut., 2d Brig. Horse Artillery, to be Acting-Riding-Master.—M. Sept. 1.
M'Leod, Colin, Lieut., 42d N. I., to be Adjut., v. Holloway, on furlough to Europe.—M. Sept. 12.
Meredith, J. J., Major, 4th Light Cav., on furl. to Europe.—M. Aug. 19.
M'Master, B., Capt., 6th N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—M. Sept. 12.
M'Daniel, M., Cadet, prom. to Cornet.—B. Aug. 1.
Mann, G. K., Second Lieut., to be First Lieut., v. Lewis, dismissed the service.—B. Aug. 4.
M'Kenzie, T., Assist.-Surg., app. to H. C.'s sloop of war *Cootie*.—B. Aug. 11.
Moir, W., Esq., to be Assist. to Coll. of Colombo, and Sitting Magis. at Caltura v. Wilmot, Esq.—Ceylon, Aug. 14.

- McNaughten, C. C., Esq., to be Assistant to Collector of Jaffnapatam, v. Moir, —Ceylon, Aug. 14.
- Maitland, H. M., Ensign, app. to do duty with 65th N. I.—C. Aug. 1.
- Maitland, C. H., Lieut., 9th N. I., to be Interp. and Quar.-Mast., v. Farquharson, resigned.—C. Aug. 12.
- Maitland, C. E., Esq., to be Registrar to Prov. Court for Northern Division.—M. Sept. 5.
- Maitland, J., Lieut.-Col.; posted to 37th N. I.—M. Aug. 4.
- Maitland, Lieut., rem. from doing duty with 25th to 35th N. I.—M. Aug. 21.
- Maitland, T. J. C., Mr., to be Assist. to Magis. and Collec. of City and District of Dacca.—C. Aug. 16.
- Maitland, G., Surgeon, posted to 29th N. I.—C. Aug. 1.
- Maitland, G., Ensign, app. to do duty with 46th N. I.—C. Aug. 1.
- Maitland, R., Surgeon, rem. from 36th to 33d N. I.—M. Aug. 13.
- Maitland, M. L., Lieut.-Col.-Comm., entitled to a half-pay share of Off-reckonings, in consequence of the death of Maj.-Gen. S. W. Ogg, of Inf.—M. Aug. 19.
- Maitland, T., Lieut.-Col.-Comm., entitled to a half-pay share of Off-reckonings, in consequence of the death of Maj.-Gen. S. W. Ogg.—M. Aug. 19.
- Maitland, J., Lieut., 3d, or P. L. I., to be Quar. Mast. and Pay-Mast., v. Moore, on furlough.—M. Aug. 19.
- Maitland, J. F., Cornet, posted to 1st L. Cav.—M. Aug. 25.
- Maitland, W. O., Sen. Ens., 10th N. I., to be Lt., v. Cotton, prom.—M. Sept. 12.
- Maitland, G., Lieut., Eng., on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. Aug. 22.
- Maitland, A., Cadet, prom. to Cornet.—B. Aug. 1.
- Maitland, E. W. E., Ens., 21st N. I., v. Cavage, prom.—B. Aug. 4.
- Maitland, R., Capt., to be Inspect. Engin. of Surat div. of Army, v. Frederick, on furl. to Eur.—B. Aug. 7.
- Maitland, T. U., Capt., 14th N. I., to be Major, v. Littler, prom.—C. Aug. 22.
- Maitland, W., Capt., 53d N. I., to be Major, v. Denty, prom.—C. Aug. 22.
- Maitland, C., Surg., posted to 13th N. I.—C. Aug. 1.
- Maitland, W., Ens., app. to do duty with 42d N. I.—C. Aug. 1.
- Maitland, W., Ens., app. to do duty with 42d N. I.—C. Aug. 1.
- Maitland, C. S., 2d Lieut., to act as Adj. and Qu.-Mast. to 2d batt. Artill., v. Garret, on leave.—C. Aug. 12.
- Maitland, J. C., Vet. Surg., rem. from 8th to 2d L. Cav.—M. Aug. 13.
- Maitland, E. H., Capt., 8th L. Cav., to be acting Riding-Mast., v. Thomson.—M. Aug. 22.
- Maitland, Jas., Lieut. 9th N. I., app. to duty with Rifle Corps.—M. Aug. 21.
- Maitland, J., Lieut.-Col.-Comm., rem. from 9th to 5th L. Cav.—M. Aug. 23.
- Maitland, Alex., Ens., posted to 7th N. I.—M. Aug. 25.
- Maitland, J. A., Lieut. 51st N. I., to be temporary Sub.-Assist.-Commis.-Gen., v. Dyce.—M. Sept. 9.
- Maitland, W. E., Ens., 2d Eur., Regt., to be Lieut., v. Phillips.—B. Aug. 1.
- Maitland, G. O., Cornet 3d L. Cav., to be Lieut. v. Johnstone, dec.—B. Aug. 2.
- Maitland, T., Assist.-Surg., to be Vaccinator in Deccan, v. Graham.—B. Aug. 4.
- Maitland, J., Surg., (M. D.), posted to 24th N. I.—C. Aug. 1.
- Maitland, Jas., Mr., adm. Assist.-Surg.—C. Sept. 5.
- Maitland, W., Ens., rem. from 20th to 65th N. I.—C. Aug. 12.
- Maitland, F., Lieut., 71st N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. Sept. 5.
- Maitland, E., Lieut. Engin., on furl. to the Cape for health.—C. Sept. 1.
- Maitland, Lieut., rem. from doing duty with 25th to 39th N. I.—M. Aug. 21.
- Maitland, H. W., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 35th N. I. to 1st Eur. Regt.—M. Aug. 23.
- Maitland, T., Lieut.-Col., Com., 11th N. I., perm. to res. command of garrison of Bellary, and to return to Eur. on furl.—M. Aug. 26.
- Maitland, R., Sen. Maj. and Supernum. Lieut.-Col., 10th N. I., to be Lieut.-Col. v. Maunsell, dec.—M. Sept. 9.

- Stafford, C., Lieut., 51st N. I., to be Adj. v. Russell, app. to Commissariat.—M. Sept. 12.
- Sewell, Thos., Lieut., 50th N. I., returned to duty.—M. Sept. 12.
- Stewart, T., Lieut.-Col., 11th N. I., on furl. to Eur.—M. Sept. 5.
- Stokes, T. W., Capt., Invalid Estab., on furl. to Eur. for health.—B. Aug. 1.
- Thorpe, K., Lieut., 14th N. I., to be Capt. of a comp., v. Raban, prom.—C. Aug. 22.
- Tweede, T., Surg., posted to 11th N. I.—C. Aug. 1.
- Thorpe, R., Lieut., 14th N. I., perm. to res. situation of Interp & Qu.-Mas.—C. Sept. 5.
- Thomson, C. H., Esq., to be Collec. and Magis. of Chingleput.—M. Aug. 26.
- Tapp, J. H., Ens., rem. from doing duty with 2d. to 35th N. I.—M. Aug. 21.
- Thompson, A. P., Lieut., 8th Lt.-Cav., on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. Aug. 19.
- Tremlett, H. A., Ens., 17th M. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. Sept. 12.
- Vincent, W., Major, Inf. to be Lieut.-Col. v. Pepper, dec.—C. Aug. 16.
- Viveash, H. Esq., to be Princip. Collec. & Magis. of Madura.—M. Aug. 26.
- Wells, F. O., Mr., to be Register of Suburbs of Calcutta.—C. Aug. 15.
- Williamson, A. A., Lieut., 25th N. I., to be Capt. of a comp. v. Davies, prom.—C. Aug. 22.
- Webb, G., Surg., posted to 54th N. I.—C. Aug. 1.
- Wallich, N., Surg., (M.D.) posted to 44th N. I.—C. Aug. 1.
- Wright, Alex., Brev. Capt., 72d N. I., on furl. to New South Wales for health.—C. Sept. 5.
- White, H. P., Ens., app. to do duty with 29th N. I.—M. Aug. 1.
- Wangh, G., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 1st Eur. reg. to 36th N. I.—M. Aug. 23.
- Woods, W. G., Cornet, posted to 2d L. Cav.—M. Aug. 23.
- Wake, C. S. A., Ens., posted to 34th C. L. I.—M. Aug. 25.
- Wright, Geo., Lieut., 10th N. I., to be Adj. v. Catton, prom.—M. Sept. 12.
- West, J., Lieut., rem. from 1st Vet. Batt.—M. Sept. 80.
- Worsley, A., Ens., app. to do duty with 9th N. I.—M. Sept. 12.
- Williams, J., Cadet, prom. to Cornet.—B. Aug. 1.
- Williams, Assist.-Surg., admit on Estab.—B. Aug. 1.
- Waddington, C., Capt., to be Superint. Engin., at Presid., &c., v. Pouget.—B. Aug. 7.
- Yates, G. H. S., Cadet, prom. to Ens., Aug. 22; app. to do duty with 46th N. I.—M. Aug. 21.

BIRTHS.

- Armstrong, the lady of Capt. Edw., Dep-Assist. Com-Gen., of a daughter, at Quilon, Aug. 28.
- Aldrett, the lady of Capt., Artill., of a son, at Madras, Sept. 4.
- Boileau, the lady of Thomas, Esq., Civ. Serv., of a son, at Tellicherry, Sept. 1.
- Bohail, the lady of J. W., Esq., of a daughter, at Negapatam, Sept. 13.
- Carthew, the lady of Lieut., 21st N. I., of a daughter, at Palaveram, Sept. 17.
- Davidson, the lady of Capt. C. J. C., Engin., of a daughter, at Bareilly, July 14.
- Dowker, the lady of Capt., 2d reg., of a daughter, at Madras, Aug. 12.
- Douglas, the lady of Lieut. Dep.-Assist.-Com. Gen., of a daughter, at Masulipatam, Aug. 13.
- Hankins, the lady of Lieut.-Col., Madras Establishment, of a son, at Walton Bridge House, Jan. 19.
- Hartman, the lady of E., Esq., of a son, at Malacca, July 19.
- Luxmore, the lady of Lieut., H. M.'s 16th reg., of a daughter, at Galle, Ceylon, Aug. 10.
- Moor, the lady of M., Esq., of a son and heir, at Futtchgurh, July 16.
- Macdonald, the lady of Lieut., 3d Cav., of a daughter, at Arcot, Aug. 28.

- Nelson, the lady of Robert, Esq., Civ. Serv., of a son, at Negapatam, Aug. 16.
 Poyntz, the lady of Lieut., H. M.'s 30th reg., of a son and heir, at Madras, Sept. 4.
 Robertson, the lady of W. J., Esq., Civ. Serv., of twins, a son and a daughter, at Futtchepore, Aug. 26.
 Smith, F. E., Lieut., 1st Extra N. I., of a son, at Dinapore, July 30.
 Symes, the lady of Capt. G. F., Commis. of Ordnance, of a son and heir, at Masulipatam, Sept. 15.
 Sillery, the lady of Dr., Med. Staff, of a daughter, at Point de-Galle, Ceylon, Aug. 19.
 Sprye, the lady of R. J. M., Lieut., 9th Mad. N. I., of a son, at Penang, Aug. 4.
 Turnbull, the lady of G., Esq., Civ. Surg., of a daughter, at Hummeerpore, Aug. 15.
 Watson, the lady of Major J. S., Artillery, of a son, at Madras, Sept. 23.
 Williamson, the lady of T., Esq., of a daughter, at Malacca, July 18.

MARRIAGES.

- Bayley, J. W., Capt. Major of Brigade, Nagpore Serv., to Annabella, youngest daughter of the late H. Crawford, Esq., of Greenock, at Bellaspore, Aug. 7.
 Campbell, John, Esq., of the Nizam's Civ. Serv., to Eliza, youngest daughter of the late W. Harrington, Esq., Mad. Civ. Serv., at South Downs, on the Neilgherries, Aug. 19.
 Clarke, A., Lieut., Dep.-Assist.-Comm.-Gen., to Frances, daughter of the late S. Drewe, Esq., of Bishop's Castle, Shropshire, at Bangalore, Aug. 26.
 Jones, David, Esq., of Pengelly, Cardiganshire, South Wales, to Anne Charlotte, youngest daughter of the late Assist. Surg. John White, 17th Dragoons, at Bombay, Aug. 14.
 James, Lieut. and Qu.-Mas., 33d N. I., to Miss Letitia Agnes Palmer, at Mergui, in Tenasserim, May 17.
 Powell, Major S., Dep.-Adj.-Gen. of the Army, to Miss Goodfellow, eldest daughter of Lieut.-Col. S. Goodfellow, at Bombay, Aug. 14.
 Roddy, C. H., Lieut., H. M.'s Ceylon Rifle Regt., to Johanna, youngest daughter of the late J. F. Conrady, Esq., at Colombo, Ceylon, Aug. 30.
 Shelly, W., Lieut., 20th regt., N. I., to Mrs. Alexander, at Quilon, July 20.
 Strettell, Edward, Esq., 20th N. I., son of the late Edward Strettell, Esq., Adv.-Gen., Bengal, to Mrs. Susan Hughes, at Alipee, Aug. 27.
 Stonehouse, J. H., Esq., to Julia, second daughter of J. H. Clarke, Esq., at Ghazeeepore, Aug. 14.
 Wynch, J., Capt., Horse Artill., to Eleanor Juliana, only daughter of the late Capt. Peregrine Davie, Mad. Estab., at Secundrabad, Sept. 10.

DEATHS.

- Cron, Mr. Thomas, Surgeon of H. C.'s ship *Marquis of Camden*, at Bombay, Aug. 12.
 Clerk, C., Esq., Civil Service, at Bombay, Sept. 7.
 Donaldson, A. C., Ens., 2d E. I., aged 19, at Deesa, Aug. 23.
 Douglas, Maria Norman, wife of Lieut. Arch., at Masulipatam, Aug. 21.
 Fenwick, Robert, son of the late Col., aged 47, at Jezimghur, in Tirhoot.
 Gibbings, A. B., Ens., 16th N. I., aged 21, at Vellore, Sept. 2.
 Marrett, P. T., Ens., 4th N. I. aged 19, at Palaveram.
 Mien, N. G., Ens. N. I., at Allyghur, Aug. 7.

Pickford, H. W., Lieut. 18th N. I., aged 23, at Mhow, Aug. 2.
 Potkinson, R. A., Capt. of Jaffnapatam, aged 60, at Negapatam, Aug. 17.
 Price, the Rev. I. D., (D. D.), at Ava,
 Ramsay, D., Lieut. 14th N. I., aged 21, near Chinsura, July 22.
 Swinton, R., Capt., late of H. M.'s Foot, at Aurungabad, Aug. 6.
 Sugden, R., Lieut. 13th Light Dragoons, at Arnee, July 24.
 Taylor, J., Lieut.-Col., 1st E. reg., at Sattarah, Sept. 16.
 Trotter, Alex., Major Comm., 1st N. I., Allahabad, Aug. 27.
 Walker, A. S., Lieut., Bomb. Eng., at Poonab, Aug. 4.
 Wylie, Susan, wife of John, Esq., (M. D.), Resid. Surg., at Madras, July 27.

SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

ARRIVALS FROM EASTERN PORTS.

Date. 1829.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Place of Depart.	Date. 1828.
Feb. 28	Liverpool ..	Bahamian ..	Pierre ..	Bengal ..	Sept. 27
Mar. 2	Dublin ..	George Canning	Barstall ..	Cape ..	Dec. 4
Mar. 3	Liverpool ..	Welcome ..	Paul ..	Bengal ..	Oct. 3
Mar. 17	Falmouth ..	Rapid ..	Huntly ..	Bengal ..	Oct. 24
Mar. 20	Isle of Wight	Berwickshire ..	Madan ..	China ..	Nov. 20
Mar. 20	Portsmouth	Victory ..	Farquharson	Bengal ..	Sept. 6
Mar. 20	Southampton	Duch. of Atholl	Daniel ..	China ..	Nov. 29
Mar. 20	Dartmouth..	Eliza Jane ..	Fish ..	China ..	Nov. 1
Mar. 20	Dartmouth..	Alexander ..	Ogilvie ..	Singapore	Sept. 17
Mar. 21	Downs ..	Dunira ..	Hamilton ..	China ..	Nov. 21
Mar. 21	Downs ..	Mangles ..	Carr ..	Bengal ..	Oct. 19
Mar. 21	Downs ..	Fame ..	Bullen ..	Bengal ..	Sept. 15
Mar. 21	Downs ..	Royalist ..	Harris ..	S. Seas ..	—
Mar. 21	Coves ..	Copernicus ..	Stevens ..	Mauritius	Dec. 20
Mar. 21	Portsmouth	Active ..	Wells ..	St. Helena	Jan. 19
Mar. 21	Liverpool ..	Albion ..	M'Leod ..	Bengal ..	Sept. 28
Mar. 21	Downs ..	Sunbury ..	Patterson ..	Mauritius	Dec. 28
Mar. 23	Dartmouth..	Sir D. Scott ..	M'Taggart	China ..	Nov. 29
Mar. 23	Dartmouth..	Edinburgh ..	Box ..	China ..	Nov. 29
Mar. 23	Downs ..	Pacific ..	Allen ..	S. Seas ..	—
Mar. 23	Liverpool ..	Othello ..	Thompson	Calcutta	Sept. 17
Mar. 23	Liverpool ..	Welcome ..	Buchanan..	Mauritius	Dec. 21
Mar. 23	Liverpool ..	Crown ..	Baird ..	Bombay ..	Nov. 12
Mar. 23	Liverpool ..	John Hayes ..	Worthington	Bengal ..	Nov. 8
Mar. 23	Isle of Wight	Camden ..	Terry ..	Mauritius	Dec. 19
Mar. 23	Falmouth ..	Fils de France	Geoffrey ..	Penang ..	Aug. 15
Mar. 25	Falmouth ..	Elizabeth ..	Pell ..	Mauritius	Nov. 18
Mar. 25	Falmouth ..	Tyne ..	Brown ..	Mauritius	Dec. 8
Mar. 26	Plymouth ..	Briton ..	Pockley ..	S. Seas ..	—
Mar. 26	Plymouth ..	Orynthia ..	Rixon ..	Batavia ..	Dec. 4
Mar. 26	Plymouth ..	Mary ..	Dobson ..	Bengal ..	—
Mar. 26	Penzance ..	Atlanta ..	Johnson ..	Mauritius	Dec. 9
Mar. 27	Plymouth ..	Wanstead ..	Langdon ..	V. D. Land	Oct. 6
Mar. 27	Plymouth ..	Boddingtons ..	Taylor ..	N.S. Wales	—
Mar. 28	Plymouth ..	Chatham ..	Bragg ..	Bombay ..	Oct. 27
Mar. 28	Dartmouth..	Thames ..	Warming ..	Singapore	Nov. 16
Mar. 28	Dartmouth..	Ranger ..	May ..	S. Seas ..	—
Mar. 28	Penzance ..	Euphrates ..	Buckham ..	Bengal ..	Oct. 16
Mar. 28	Scilly ..	Cerres ..	Warren ..	Bombay ..	Sept. 6

ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

Date.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Depart.
1828.				
Oct. 3	Calcutta	.. Clyde	.. Scott	.. Liverpool
Oct. 5	Calcutta	.. Hercules	.. Vaughan	.. London
Oct. 6	Calcutta	.. Rose	.. Marquis	.. London
Oct. 8	Calcutta	.. Children	.. Parry	.. Liverpool
Oct. 9	Madras	.. Lord Lyndoch	.. Beadle	.. London
Oct. 10	Calcutta	.. Malcolm	.. Eyles	.. London
Oct. 10	Madras	.. Juliana	.. Tarbutt	.. London
Oct. 10	Madras	.. Minstrell	.. Arckoll	.. London
Oct. 14	Calcutta	.. Lonach	.. Noakes	.. London
Oct. 14	Madras	.. Belzoni	.. Talbert	.. London
Oct. 15	Calcutta	.. Roxburg Castle	.. Denny	.. London
Oct. 15	Calcutta	.. Minerva	.. Watson	.. Greenock
Oct. 16	Calcutta	.. Herculean	.. Maclean	.. Liverpool
Oct. 16	Calcutta	.. Flora	.. Sherriffe	.. Falmouth
Oct. 16	Calcutta	.. John Taylor	.. Atkinson	.. Liverpool
Oct. 18	Calcutta	.. Atlas	.. Hunt	.. London
Oct. 19	Calcutta	.. Renown	.. Baker	.. London
Oct. 19	Calcutta	.. Meteor	.. Watson	.. Hull
Oct. 20	Calcutta	.. Carn Brea Castle	.. Davey	.. London
Oct. 24	Singapore	.. England	.. Reay	.. London
Oct. 25	Singapore	.. Clorinda	.. Carrew	.. London
Oct. 27	N. S. Wales	.. Woodford	.. Millbank	.. London
Nov. 3	Calcutta	.. Columbia	.. Kirkwood	.. Liverpool
Nov. 6	China	.. Lady Kennaway	.. Delafons	.. London
Nov. 16	China	.. Ld. Wm. Bentinck	.. Craigie	.. London

DEPARTURES FROM EUROPE.

Date.	Port of Depart.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Destination.
1829.				
Mar. 1	Downs	.. Henry	.. Bunney	.. Cape
Mar. 1	Downs	.. Integrity	.. Riddock	.. Mauritius
Mar. 3	Downs	.. Admiral Benbow	.. Crawford	.. Mad. & Bengal
Mar. 4	Downs	.. Falloden	.. Mould	.. Mauritius
Mar. 4	Downs	.. Cleveland	.. Havilock	.. Mauritius
Mar. 5	Downs	.. Miranda	.. Dalgarno	.. Mauritius
Mar. 5	Portsmouth	.. Calista	.. Harrkins	.. V. D. Land
Mar. 8	Liverpool	.. Turners	.. Leader	.. Bombay
Mar. 11	Cowes	.. Austen	.. Ladd	.. Mad. & Bengal
Mar. 11	Portsmouth	.. Thames	.. Forbes	.. China
Mar. 12	Liverpool	.. Collingwood	.. Snipe	.. Singapore
Mar. 14	Downs	.. Annandale	.. Fergusson	.. Bombay
Mar. 14	Downs	.. Repulse	.. Gribble	.. China
Mar. 15	Portsmouth	.. Waterloo	.. Addison	.. N. S. Wales
Mar. 19	Downs	.. Mary	.. Stonehouse	.. Cape
Mar. 21	Downs	.. Amelia Wilson	.. Harris	.. Bombay
Mar. 22	Liverpool	.. Eagle	.. Batty	.. Cape
Mar. 22	Gravesend	.. Rose	.. Nichol	.. Cape
Mar. 22	Downs	.. Frances	.. Heard	.. Cape
Mar. 23	Downs	.. Thetis	.. Gray	.. N. S. Wales
Mar. 23	Liverpool	.. Amethyst	.. Carthard	.. V. D. Land
Mar. 26	Liverpool	.. Harriet	.. Oldham	.. Bombay
Mar. 26	Clyde	.. Neptune	.. Whittleton	.. Bombay

GENERAL LIST OF PASSENGERS.

PASSENGERS HOMEWARD.

By the *Berwickshire*, from China:—Mrs. James, widow of the late Dr. James, Lord Bishop of Calcutta, and child; Rev. S. H. Knapp, his late Lordship's Chaplain; Capt. George Welstead, and three servants.

By the *Victory*, from Bengal:—Col. Otto, Mad. Cav.; Major Russell, Mad. Cav.; Capt. Bennett, Mad. Cav.; Lieut. Elton, 13th Light Drag.; Jas. Majoribanks, Esq.; Dr. Johnstone, Mad. Estab.; Masters Johnstone and Hitchins; Mesdames Valpy, Young, and Farquharson; Misses Valpy, C. A. Valpy, Mary Louis, and Farquharson; Mr. Henry Heathorne, from St. Helena; 29 invalids, three servants, and two children.

By the *Duchess of Atholl*, from China:—Col. T. Steward, Mad. Estab.; John Thomas Bigge, Esq., H. M.'s Commissioner, from the Cape; Master James Hawkins, from the Cape; five Chinese proceeding to the Propagandi College at Rome, and three servants.

By the *George Canning*, from Cape:—Col. Wyatt; Mrs. Reid; Miss Fraser; Mrs. Davies, and family.

By the *Sir David Baird*, from China:—Capt. Wm. Bowen, Bengal Army (died at sea); Mr. Andrew Lynn (died at sea).

^F By the *Othello*, from Bengal:—Capt. Festing; Lieuts. Donnithorne and Streatfield; Messrs. Jas. Donnithorne and Plumb; Mesdames Festing and Plumb; Misses Festing and Plumb.

By the *Albion*, from Bengal:—Lieuts. Garrett, Lewen, Robuck, and Knyrith; Mr. Gisborne and son; Mesdames Gisborne and Lewen; Miss S. Lewen.

THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

No. 65.—MAY, 1829.—VOL. 21.

AMERICAN EXPORTS FROM CANTON.

‘IN one of your answers,’ (said some noble Lord to Mr. Grant, before the Parliamentary Committee by which he was examined as a witness,) ‘you have stated that the opening of the private trade with Canton would be incompatible with the existence of the Company on their present footing, and in another, that the same circumstance would work the abolition of the Company;—do you mean to confine that answer to the interests of the Company as connected with the China Trade, or to extend it generally to the existence of the Company in India and China, as a mercantile and political body?’

MR. GRANT.—‘My immediate meaning undoubtedly was the Company’s establishment in China; but it cannot be unknown that the stability of the Company, and their means of conducting the Indian administration at present, entirely depend upon the profits of the China Monopoly, because they derive no income whatever from the territory, nor have done for many years, not owing, I presume to say, to their mismanagement, but to the course of great public events in that quarter of the world, which were not under their control, but under the control of his Majesty’s Government; so that, if the China Monopoly were now to fail, they would not have wherewithal to pay the dividends to the Proprietors, nor to pay the capital stock invested by the Proprietors, the Indian territory not only yielding nothing to them, but being very largely in debt.’*

We begin with this candid acknowledgment of the Ajax of the East India Company, one whose abilities certainly entitled him to be considered a favourable ‘sample of their host,’ and who was specially commissioned to find a reason for every extravagance, and to protect all misconduct by his broad and ample shield, because it enables us, without suspicion of exaggerated censure, to place before our readers a clear, definite, intelligible view of the spirit of urgent desperation in which the East India Company are prepared to conduct their war against the public. As long as any man of information or experience can be induced to mask absurdities and palliate malversation, there will be no lack of arguments, hypotheses, and con-

* Lords’ Report, p. 139.

jectures, to prop a fabric which the irresistible battery of facts has already shaken to its base, and which is now nodding to a precipitate fall. The inconvenience, however, of these ingenious artifices is, that they can only be produced by men of sense: stupidity, ignorance, and folly, cannot weave fallacies or disguise sophistications; and, shrinking from the shame of inconsequence or inconsistency, intelligent witnesses will often yield to skilful analysis, as the chemists say, a sudden precipitate of truth.

Mr. Grant had scarcely delivered himself of this honest confession, when their Lordships requested him to withdraw. No wonder; of what use was his testimony after this? Thenceforth the object of the contest was clear, the visors of the whole regiment of monopolists were removed, their scabbards thrown away, they fought *pro aris et focis*, listed to perpetuate extortions without which further existence was impossible, under the banners of a necessity which knew no law.

Inadvertencies, or rather discoveries, of this description abound in the evidence of Mr. Grant. He was, beyond question, the best informed, the most amply supplied, of all the apologists of the Old Lady, to whom the Hindoos look with mingled feelings of awe and admiration. No man had more accurately surveyed her strong positions, none more gallantly resented an imputation on her honour, or was more keen to avail himself of the slightest error of her assailants. Accustomed by the early habits of interested contemplation, to discover absolute perfection in every crevice of her system, he looked upon all interlopers as profligate adventurers, whose sole object was to excite disaffection and revolt, that in the midst of turmoil and confusion they might seize and dissipate her estate; whom, therefore, it was the paramount duty of her guardians, the Directors, to coerce. That he had really frightened himself into the belief of this preposterous paradox, there seems no reason to doubt. After accumulating, in the mere wantonness of knowledge, an interminable *sortes* of suppositions by which he hoped to decoy the common sense of the Parliamentary Committees into the belief that the admission of free merchants to the Indian trade was big with danger to the country, his peroration usually consisted of pathetic expostulation with the free traders themselves, descanting on the disappointment of their former hopes, and adjuring them by his regard for their interests, by their own desire to maintain their credit as men of business, and the comfort and happiness of their families, not to embark on the tempestuous and perilous sea of Indian speculation. Thus, when it occurred to the shipowners of London, that a profitable commerce might be carried on by means of circuitous voyages from this country to the north-west coast of America, and thence to the port of Canton, innumerable items from his note-book, 'hypothetical' and 'argumentative,' were adduced in proof of the utter futility of these expectations, and the certain confusion which must

attend such ill-judged and hazardous adventures. Yet, delighting in the concoction of sophistical plausibilities, Mr. Grant disdained an utter fabrication. The laborious compilations of figures by which he hoped to discourage the schemes of the shipowners, were refuted by one little exception which his dread of appearing ignorant, or his vanity, or his candour, prompted him to suggest. 'The trade,' said he, 'with the north-west coast of America cannot be made available except by return cargoes of the produce of China.' If he had then said all he thought, he would have added, 'This shall not be while we hold our bond. As long as Parliament shall be weak enough to sacrifice the public good to prudish affectation of adherence to plighted faith, so long will the Company extort three millions sterling per annum from the 'hard hands of the honest peasantry'; so long shall the flag of the United States wave supreme in the Eastern Seas; so long shall the manufacturers of Leeds, Birmingham, Manchester, and Glasgow, and the shipowners of London, Liverpool, and Bristol mourn over the improvidence of the minister, who, in 1813, renewed for twenty years, a monopoly on which free merchants shall not encroach, and which no excess of private bankruptcy or national misfortune shall tempt us to resign.'

Europe had not long enjoyed peace after the final overthrow of Buonaparte, when the British Cabinet found it necessary to reconsider our relations with the East. Those whom the arguments of Mr. Canning had, in 1813, failed to convince, saw, in the altered circumstances of the world, reasons for abandoning the system of absolute exclusion which, in opposition to his advice, had then been adopted; and, in 1820, as President of the Board of Control, he was directed to solicit the consent of the Directors to certain alterations in the law relative to the trade with China, which urgent representations from numerous interests throughout the country concurred with his own views of commercial policy to recommend. Deferring to the apprehensions of tumult and disorder which the servants of the Company were unanimous in anticipating from the indiscriminate resort of British sailors to Canton, Mr. Canning did not claim for the Free Traders an unrestricted participation in the commercial opportunities of that station. He insisted chiefly on the inconvenience and impolicy of excluding British vessels from the carrying trade between Europe and Asia, and the injury likely to result to the commercial prospects of this country by habituating the people of the Continent to receive the products of the East from Dutch or American purveyors. This was a branch of trade in which the East India Company had never shared; and if the proposed concessions could be made without danger to their footing in China, and their monopoly at home, it seemed reasonable to expect a ready and cheerful acquiescence. With this view, Mr. Canning, particularly cautious not to alarm the jealousy of the Directors, asked for no license to the port of Canton, but confined himself to the following very modest propositions:

1. That permission be given for a direct trade between our settlements in India and foreign Europe.

2. That the Company should consent to the article of tea forming part of the return cargoes.

3. That the Company should form a depôt for the purchase of tea either at Prince of Wales's Island, or some place in the Eastern Archipelago.

It was the object of Mr. Canning's first proposition to admit British traders to a participation of the carrying trade between the East Indies and Europe, which the Americans had successfully contested with the other maritime nations of the Continent. A power had been reserved by the 53 Geo. III., c. 155, s. 20, enabling Parliament to legalise this circuitous navigation, with a special reservation, however, of the dominions of the Emperor of China, and of all traffic in the article of tea. This power has since been exercised by the Circuitous Trade Acts, measures which unfortunately are rendered almost inoperative by the peremptory refusal which the Hon. Company thought fit to give to the second and third propositions.

These propositions were not made in carelessness or disregard of the exclusive privileges of the Company. In the previous discussions upon the subject, the objections to general participation in the traffic in tea had been limited to the danger of misunderstandings at Canton, and the invasion of the Company's monopoly of the home market. The first of these objections had originated in a notion that tea could profitably be shipped only at the port of Canton. When, however, it became known that the greater part of the teas obtained at that port were grown in provinces many hundred miles up the country, and that the expense of the inland navigation was much greater than would be that of conveyance in Chinese vessels to the various islands of the Archipelago; that, in point of fact, all those islands were already supplied by the junks, and that the establishment of an emporium would, in course of time, ensure a regular provision of the choicest teas, all fears of arbitrary interruption of the Company's trade were at once removed, and no medium was left between acquiescing in a demand so reasonable, and an ungracious and illiberal negative. This, however, the Hon. Company did not hesitate to give; and we shall now attempt, by a reference to the advantages enjoyed by the Americans, to demonstrate its injurious effect on the shipping and commercial interests of this country.

In recent numbers of 'The Oriental Herald,' we have presented some accounts of the goods imported into China by the East India Company and the Americans. The following statement will best describe the nature of the commodities which constitute the return cargoes:

STATEMENT of AMERICAN EXPORTS from CANTON.

SEASONS.	No. of Vessels.	Ton- nage.	Bohea.	Congo.	Campol.	Soucheong.	Pe- tee.	Hyson. Stim.	Hyson.	Young Hyson.	Im- perial.	Singlo.	Twan- lay.	Soucheong.	Cassia.	China.	Matta.	Rha barb.
			Chests.	Chests.	Chests.	Chests.	Chests.	Chests.	Chests.	Chests.	Chests.	Chests.	Chests.	Chests.	Pecula.	Pecula.	Pecula.	Pia.
1804-5	-34	10,159	1,800	21,060	15,000	16,345	—	22,905	11,141	4,290	1,708	—	—	—	4,143	3,080	—	165
1805-6	-42	12,480	605	23,000	10,000	19,165	—	37,231	16,468	11,420	2,947	—	—	—	3,135	3,535	—	—
1806-7	-37	11,268	4,430	6,778	3,692	26,263	100	35,897	24,430	12,422	2,693	1,800	—	—	1,447	2,690	—	182
1807-8	-33	8,803	2,875	13,709	3,276	11,579	614	21,702	10,106	4,686	1,424	310	400	—	2,088	4,194	—	—
1808-9	-8	2,215	320	87	—	2,625	—	8,476	3,613	3,108	1,299	—	—	—	627	1,000	—	—
1809-10	-37	12,512	5,510	19,819	6,377	17,545	797	35,988	19,353	5,266	1,594	962	—	—	3,884	4,566	—	—
1810-11	-16	4,748	545	1,225	—	2,102	200	18,891	2,685	4,575	1,348	1,113	—	—	2,061	5,149	250	7
1811-12	-25	7,406	264	1,427	984	3,302	—	23,929	3,969	7,083	1,673	1,080	—	—	2,653	8,552	243	77
1812-13	-39	1,816	540	—	121	2,760	—	5,352	1,854	6,669	661	—	—	—	675	2,113	—	—
1813-14	-9	2,854	350	4,569	—	4,992	—	3,856	467	3,910	223	—	—	—	539	8	—	—
1814-15	-30	10,208	2,025	21,995	11,616	17,048	242	20,222	6,261	15,013	2,018	—	100	—	3,345	5,935	—	13
1815-16	-38	13,096	1,086	17,115	8,429	24,937	632	33,401	12,107	15,119	3,305	398	807	—	6,244	7,950	450	192
1816-17	-39	14,325	1,700	13,145	5,379	22,941	735	34,671	13,627	23,132	4,239	250	1,474	310	2,597	11,487	1,669	959
1817-18	-46	16,022	749	16,582	7,023	32,609	774	44,259	18,728	22,443	3,725	701	2,841	663	5,038	3,747	999	483

STATEMENT of AMERICAN EXPORTS from CANTON—(continued.)

[illegible]

By the East India Company no articles are exported which are not included in the preceding statement; but, on the other hand, many items which it contains are totally omitted in their lists. We believe we are not far from the truth when we say that, with the exception of tea, the export of China produce is a matter of perfect indifference to the Company. But some trifling reservation of tonnage is allowed to the commanders and officers of their ships, in which small quantities of nankeens, silks, and other articles of inferior value, are permitted to be shipped. A considerable proportion of the American tonnage, it will be seen, is occupied by various descriptions of drugs, the scent of which, without much care and circumspection, is injurious to the quality of the tea; and, as that is the grand material of the Company's trade, there are public orders prohibiting the lading of all such commodities in the vessels which bring home teas. Thus aniseeds, arrack and other spirits, arsenic, hartall and orpiment, assafoetida, camphor, cassia buds, cassia lignea, cloves, galange root, mace, musk, nutmegs, oils of all descriptions, pepper, terra japonica, rhubarb, turmeric, &c., are all by name prohibited as articles of speculation to the officers of the tea-ships; and the consequence is, that the trade in them is extremely limited. Their exports being thus almost entirely confined to tea, they have no market for the disposal of it except the British dominions. In 1819, according to Mr. Grant, the export of teas from this country to foreign Europe amounted only to 150,000 lbs., and we believe it has since materially decreased. Some increase has, however, taken place in their exports of tea to Canada induced by an intimation from Government, that if the markets of that colony were not better and more reasonably supplied, they would allow the Canadians a free trade to China. The Company preferred the former alternative; and, on the average of the years 1825 and 1826, they imported into Quebec 15,033 chests.

The American merchants make a much more extensive use of their favour at Canton. Their principal export is also of tea; and indeed, if it were prohibited, the trade would not remunerate the adventurers. But the vessels in which they sail are of much smaller burthen than those of the Company;* the expenses of their navigation are likewise considerably less; and the articles which the Company neglect or prohibit are most of them of trifling bulk and considerable value. Though quite unfit to constitute a cargo themselves, they are extremely useful as auxiliaries; and the precautions necessary to prevent injurious consequences from their contact with the teas, are amply repaid by the high price they fetch in the markets of Europe. It appears, from a statement presented by Mr. Rickards to the Lords' Committee in 1821, that, in the year 1818, 214 American vessels were at one time absent from the United States on trading voyages to India and China, and the following statements of the mode in which they dispose of the produce of that empire and of the neigh-

* In 1821, of forty-three vessels chartered by the Company, only one was of less burthen than eight hundred tons, the average being twelve hundred tons. The average burthen of the Americans is two hundred tons.

bouring islands, will suffice to convince our readers, that, however valueless the trade to the Archipelago and Canton may be 'without return cargoes,' it is abundantly valuable with them :

Exports from China to the United States.

	1823-24.	1824-25.	1825-26.
Bohea Tea.....	2,413 chests	5,785.....	3,340
Souchong.....	29,296.....	31,566.....	24,627
H. Skin and Twankay..	32,246.....	56,788.....	45,299
Young Hyson	31,217.....	39,303.....	45,461
Hyson.....	11,562.....	14,501.....	19,072
Imp. and Gunpowder..	5,587.....	6,017.....	8,019
Pekoe.....	315.....	215.....	368

Chests and boxes, 112,636..... 154,175..... 146,086

Cassia.....	6,457 peculs	8,634.....	9,023
China Ware.....	404.....	1,097.....	1,985
Matting.....	2,650 rolls	3,380.....	2,783
Rhubarb.....	89 peculs	139.....	185
Crape.....	55,616.....	105,811.....	46,705
Crape Shawls.....	142,425 No...	226,835.....	264,630
Crape Scarfs.....	8,688.....	8,100.....	15,800
Crape Dresses.....	23,298.....	48,950.....	58,050
Florentines.....	2,850 pieces	2,897.....	1,025
Sarsnets	45,384.....	66,174.....	62,662
Sinchaws.....	12,302.....	11,119.....	7,740
Pongees.....	2,850.....	2,967.....	2,145
Handkerchiefs.....	37,877.....	81,501.....	90,985
Satins.....	5,914.....	7,384.....	7,880
Levantines.....	8,645.....	10,026.....	6,280
Camblets.....	370.....	150.....	358
Sweetmeats.....	239.....	628.....	716
Pearl Buttons.....	3,535 gross	13,650.....	13,200
Fireworks.....	230 boxes	4,620.....	4,930
Sugar.....	500 peculs	3,749.....	18,500
Tortoise Shell.....	1.....	15.....	9
Oil of Cassia.....	3.....	.....	24
Nutmegs and Cloves.....	.....	.....	77
Drougels.....	150.....	.....	125
Rattans.....	.....	.....	174
Beaver Skins.....	.....	.....	6,280
Window Blinds.....	28.....	16.....	47
Nankeens.....	237,000 pieces	532,000.....	664,000
Various articles.....	3,500 dollars	12,150.....	30,000

Exports to Europe by American Vessels.

	1823-24.	1824-25.	1825-26.
Bohea Tea.....	.....	620.....	926
Campoi.....	1,220.....	971.....	1,772
Congo.....	4,438.....	5,455.....	3,390
Souchong.....	2,187.....	2,742.....	3,116
Pekoe.....	449.....	547.....	733
H. Skin and Twankay.....	830.....	5,272.....	2,895
Young Hyson	1,630.....	2,543.....	1,938
Hyson.....	3,754.....	3,443.....	1,934
Imp. and Gunpowder.....	878.....	738.....	328

Chests, 15,388

22,333

17,032

Cassia.....	1,515 peculs.....	754.....	807
Sugar.....	—.....	—.....	2,545
Sweetmeats.....	—.....	—.....	140
China.....	—.....	—.....	176
Nankeens.....	14,400 pieces.....	4,000.....	15,000
Raw Silk.....	—.....	21.....	111
Crape.....	—.....	456.....	3,644
Crape Shawls.....	—.....	950.....	8,325
Handkerchiefs.....	—.....	400.....	2,547
Satins.....	—.....	—.....	150
Sarsnets.....	—.....	—.....	1,468
Lutestrings.....	—.....	—.....	209
Various articles.....	—.....	—.....	3,500

Exports to South America, Manila, and Sandwich Isles.

	1823-24.	1824-25.	1825-26.
Imp. and Gunpowder.....	—.....	—.....	208
Hyson.....	116.....	—.....	110
Young Hyson.....	—.....	15.....	40
Souchong.....	—.....	130.....	178
Sugar.....	180.....	332.....	1,185
China.....	10.....	112.....	662
Sweetmeats.....	—.....	—.....	93
Cassia.....	—.....	—.....	286
Fireworks.....	—.....	—.....	247
Nankeens.....	7,650.....	56,500.....	42,000
Matting.....	—.....	—.....	803
Satins.....	220.....	124.....	1,358
Sarsnets.....	450.....	293.....	2,387
Camblets.....	60.....	—.....	175
Handkerchiefs.....	4,475.....	3,113.....	2,348
Lutestrings.....	—.....	—.....	825
Crape.....	8,317.....	2,933.....	1,920
Crape Shawls.....	—.....	—.....	20,830
Shirtings.....	—.....	—.....	3,019
Cotton Handkerchiefs.....	—.....	—.....	1,805
Various articles.....	22,000 dollars.....	—.....	16,200

Total Imports, 1823 and 1824.. dollars, 6,460,366

Exports, 1823 and 1824..... 5,547,697

Imports, 1824 and 1825..... 8,962,045

Exports, 1824 and 1825..... 8,501,119

Imports, 1825 and 1826..... 7,776,301

Exports, 1825 and 1826..... 8,752,562*

These statements speak for themselves; they indicate and exemplify, in the clearest possible manner, the injurious effects of the Company's monopoly on the commercial and shipping interests of this country. Be it remembered, that a large proportion of the merchandise, by the barter of which these return cargoes are obtained, is the produce of English industry, manufactured by English looms, shipped at English ports, and burthened with charges in most instances considerably greater than would attend similar adventures

* These statements are taken from the Records of the American Consulate at Canton.

by British merchants. The infancy of this commerce has not been fostered and encouraged by the influence and capital of chartered Companies; it is not carried on by the subjects of an empire famed during centuries for their skill in the arts, the excellence of their machinery, the luxury of their habits, and the profusion of their expenditure, but by a people in all these circumstances our inferiors, and only superior in the valuable blessing of commercial freedom. From the reign of Elizabeth until now, English merchantmen have frequented the Indian seas; all the European nations who have successively, by secret intrigues or force of arms, contested with us this enriching traffic, Sweden, France, Holland, Portugal, have been compelled to acknowledge our supremacy; but the United States, a new nation, from whose ports, fifty years ago, not one vessel had sailed to China, has now engrossed the supply of all America, and the greater part of Europe, with its produce. Her adventurous navigators have neutralised, by their successful competition, all the advantages which were supposed to compensate the loss of blood and treasure by which the humiliation of the flags of these rivals was effected; and without force, or violence, or any of the clumsy expedients of national vanity, have not only deprived us of our mercantile pre-eminence beyond the Cape of Good Hope, but employed the advantages thus acquired to supersede us in the ports of Europe and the Western World.

We have already said that the chief article of American export from Canton was tea, absolutely prohibited to British traders. On the average of the first years of their commerce, down to the year 1800, their annual exportations of this article did not exceed 2,735,000 lbs. On the average of the first three years of their renewed intercourse with China, after their last war with Great Britain, they exported 8,607,173 lbs. yearly. On the average of the years 1824 and 1825, their exports had increased to 13,314,449 lbs. The exports of the Americans from China, it will be seen by this, have increased in twenty-five years, 389 per cent. Those of the East India Company, in the same time, have increased only twenty-three per cent.; indeed for the greater part of the time they have been stationary or retrograding. With a population of 22,700,000, and, after an intercourse of 150 years' standing, our trade is but eight per cent. greater than that of the Americans, with less than half our population, with not one half of our taste for the great staple of Chinese export, and with so comparatively recent a knowledge of the Chinese Trade. But the point which we are particularly desirous to press upon the attention of the merchants, and more especially the shipowners, of Great Britain, is the loss of the carrying trade between the East Indies, Europe, and America, consequent upon the restrictions on our intercourse with China, and the prohibition on the traffic of its chief production—tea. The statements of American exports inserted above, were designed to illustrate this point; and the following extract from the evidence given before the Committee of the House of Commons, in 1821, by Mr. Blanshard, an eminent shipowner,

will elucidate the practical effect of impediments, which, without serving any legitimate object of the Company, defeat the avowed commercial policy of the King's Ministers, and are, to the last degree, injurious to the trade and manufactures of this country :

‘ Would not the remittance of returns for British manufactures, sold in South America, be more profitable to British merchants, if made through India or China, than if remitted directly home ?—Certainly : the principal articles of export from South America consist of copper and silver ; and the prohibitory duty which exists against the importation of foreign copper into this country, renders it necessary to make a large proportion of the remittances, by way of India, China not being open to English merchants.

‘ Is there a considerable demand for copper and silver also, in the Chinese market ?—I have known copper shipped for Bengal, at the time that the quotations from China were known in South America to be considerably higher.

‘ Might not a profitable trade be carried on between China and South America, by means of the funds arising from the sale of British manufactures, if the Chinese trade was thrown open to the British merchant ?—Certainly ; especially in the exportation of dollars to China. Besides, if we had permission to export goods freely from this country, it occasionally might be necessary to bring dollars back from China, as was done to a great extent in the years 1813 and 1814, when the price of bullion was very high in Europe. By the laws of China, specie not being a legal exportation from China at the period I allude to, there was no other way of getting it out of the country than taking it from the American ships at the entrance of the river, on their arrival, who were satisfied to transship it to English vessels, receiving an order on Canton for a similar amount of dollars : had it not been for that expedient, the importation of specie from China, which was then found very advantageous, could not have been carried into effect.

‘ The question was directed more particularly to the trade between China and South America : might not a considerable market be found in South America for nankeens, teas, silks, China ware, spices, and other produce of China, and the other adjacent islands ?—I have understood, that the China silks and nankeens were in great demand in South America, and the other articles would most likely be in request ; but I do not know to what extent.

‘ Your opinion is, that a considerable trade might be carried on between China and South America, if no restrictions existed upon that trade ?—Yes.

‘ Is any trade now carried on by the Americans between China and South America ?—I understand there is a considerable trade, but I have not full information on that subject.

‘ Do you know any particular case where a British vessel might have been profitably employed in trade between China, South America, and Europe, if the present restrictions had not existed ?—

I will mention one case, of a ship called the *Daphne*, of which I was part owner. I had an offer of employment for her to proceed from London to Cadiz, thence to South America and China, and back to Cadiz. I was, on account of the existing laws, unable to accept the offer, which was accordingly taken for an American ship which happened to be in this country. I will lay before the Committee an estimate I made, of what her freight and probable expenses would have been.

[The witness delivered in the following paper, which was read.]

' Estimate of a Voyage proposed to the Witness by a Spanish House, for the employment of the ship Daphne, of 553 tons, on a voyage from London to Cadiz, from thence to the Western Coast of America, thence to China and Manilla, and back to Cadiz ; the voyage calculated to last twenty-two months :

553 tons, at 20s. per ton per month	£12,166	
Primage, 10% per cent.	1,214	
<i>Expenses.</i>		£13,380
Outfit, including repairs and coppering, sails, cordage, ship chandlery, provisions, anchors, &c., all which would have been spent among British mechanics and manufacturers	4,500	
Insurance, at 12 guineas per cent., on 10,000 <i>l.</i> , and stamps	1,300	
Wages and allowance for commander and thirty-four men	2,400	
	8,200	
Tonnage, duties, lights, &c.	150	
One-third of foreign tonnage duties, pilotage, and port charges, (the other two-thirds to be paid by the charterers)	400	
Fresh provisions, and ship disbursements at foreign ports	600	
Brokerage, and guarantee of charter, 7½ per cent.	1,000	
		10,350
		3,030
Expenses and insurance bringing the ship from Cadiz to England		430
Probable gain which would have accrued to the owner of the vessel		£2,600

' It appearing, by the above statement, that a profit might have been expected from the expedition, of 2,600*l.* to the owners of the vessel, but that the gross freight would have amounted to about 13,500*l.*, was not, in fact, the loss sustained to the British interests nearly the whole amount of that gross freight ?—It will appear, by the statement, that the greater part of the amount would have been expended among British manufacturers and mechanics.

' Are you of opinion that many ships might be employed on such expeditions, if the trade with India and China was entirely thrown open, without the limitation as to the tonnage of the vessels ?—I conceive that we should supersede the Americans in a great proportion of their carrying trade.'

Now, supposing the voyage of the *Daphne* to have been projected by an English instead of a Spanish house, the proposal made to a Liverpool shipowner, and the scheme abandoned on the

ground of illegality, the analysis of the loss thus occasioned to the country is interesting and instructive. 1. The shipowner estimates his own loss at 2,600*l*. 2. The builders, manufacturers, and mechanics employed in the outfit, repairs and coppering, in the preparation of sheathing, sails, cordage, anchors, &c., the chandlers, biscuit-bakers, provision-merchants, distillers, slopsellers, &c., who would have supplied clothing, food, spirits and other necessities for the crew, were all losers to the amount of the reasonable remuneration of their industry in their various trades. 3. The manufacturers of the bale-goods, cottons, &c., to be shipped to South America, lost the difference between the cost of production and the sale price of their manufactures; the packers, carriers, brokers, &c., were also losers in their several departments. 4. The ship-brokers, insurance-brokers, underwriters, master, pilot, mariners, &c., whom the British merchant or shipowner would have employed, were all sufferers by the transaction. 5. The merchant lost the profit on the disposal of British goods in the markets of Chili, Brazil, or Peru, on the barter of South American copper, silver, bullion, and dollars at Canton for teas, silks, nankeens, drugs, &c., and on the sale of the China produce at Cadiz, Marseilles, Altona, or Hamburgh. Is it possible to conceive any thing more disgraceful to British legislation than this enumeration? Can the men who instigated the ignorant deluded mariners and the workmen in the dockyards to burn Mr. Huskisson in effigy, read it without pain?

If there be a statesman whose mind is as 'a blank sheet of paper' on questions of commercial policy, let him order the Admiralty barge, and invite the sovereigns of Leadenhall-street to a *déjeuné* below bridge. There the minister may see the '*George Canning* of London,' with a broom at her mast-head, alongside of the '*Washington* of New York,' waiting only for the tide to leave her moorings for China. The contrast cannot fail to attract his notice; and he among the guests on whom the mantle of Mr. Grant may have descended, will no doubt have much pleasure in dilating on the comparative prudence and foresight of the British and American character. He will speak of the extravagant expectations of 1812, and the 'commercial indiscretion' of 1819, the jealousy of the Chinese, the ferocity of the Malays, the reductions at Penang, Malacca, and Singapore, and the 'credit and the character of the Honourable Company.' The minister may learn by further inquiry, that the *George Canning* is the property of the Blanchards, the Maryatts, or the Lyalls; and these gentlemen will no doubt refer him to various memorials in the archives of the Boards of Trade and Control, for the reasons why their ship is dismantled and for sale, and not improbably recommend him to transcribe on the vacant tablets of his memory, 'An Act for continuing the East India Monopoly, by which the American merchant and ship-owner is enriched, while the English merchant and seaman are reduced to bankruptcy and beggary.'

VOYAGE ON THE NILE, FROM CAIRO TO THE CATARACTS.

No. III.

[From that portion of Mr. Buckingham's Unpublished Manuscripts, from which the materials of his Lectures on Egypt were drawn.]

Wonders of the Lake Mæris—Its Pyramids, Labyrinths, Sacred Crocodiles, &c.—Ancient and Modern Authorities.

Province of Faïoum, Nov. 2.

WE had suffered so much detention in places of little interest, that, as the day broke again in calm, I was inclined to profit by our situation, in making an excursion to Medineh Faïoum, with a hope of pleasure from traversing that rich and beautiful province, as well as with an intention to extend our researches as far as the Birket el Keroun, if the calm still continued. Procuring asses, therefore, at Sheikh Eddeir, and taking both our captain and my servant with me, we were mounted before sun-rise, giving orders to the boatmen to make the best of their way to Benesouef, and there await our return.

Traversing the canal between Eshenowhy and Booshe, which is one of several that have been dug to carry off the waters of the Bahr Yusef, when it gives to Faïoum a superfluous supply, we crossed from the former of these villages to the latter on camels, while the asses, being unsaddled, forded after us. From thence to Hillahoun, a distance of from eight to ten miles, we passed several small villages, both on the right and left, whose names are not inserted in the map, and which, from not passing through them, we could not learn. We reached Hillahoun at eight o'clock, when we breakfasted on warm milk and roasted Indian corn, bread not being to be found; and for four persons, including ourselves and the driver, this frugal meal cost us only ten paras, or about three pence sterling.

Here we proposed leaving the animals until our return, and taking others for the remainder of the distance to Faïoum, in the supposition of their incapacity to perform the whole of the journey; but, their keeper insisting on their strength and speed, we suffered ourselves to be prevailed on by his entreaty, and remounted them. With us in Europe, and in England more particularly, the ass, degenerating into a dull and sluggish race, has, with some propriety of application, become the proverbial emblem of sloth and stupidity. Here, however, under the influence of a genial climate, this useful little creature bears a highly different character: docile, tractable, active, and indefatigable, it deservedly ranks among the most valuable beasts of the country. Saddled and bridled, after their own

peculiar manner, it carries its rider with a nimble pace, that never loses its character of an amble, although performed at the rate of half a dozen miles in the hour, and that too with an ease of motion which allows one either to read, smoke, or converse with pleasure ; while the driver, carrying his red slippers under his arm, or in the bosom of his blue shirt, to prevent their being worn out, trots after them barefooted, without inconvenience, and sustains this continued fatigue in a scorching sun, and with scanty sustenance, for days, weeks, and months in succession. The lean figures, sinewy limbs, coarse diet, and constant exposure of these men, enable them to support astonishing exercise ; for, suffering themselves to be dismayed by no obstacles, they continue their unbroken pace over burning sands, slippery mud, or thistly ground ; and when a lake or a canal presents itself, the blue shirt is rolled around the head as a turban, and they are across it before a European could undress. A head or two of scorched dourra, a stalk of sugar-cane, half a dozen dates, and two paras worth of bread, is to them a supply of abundance for the day, while the water of the river is their only drink. If to support privations be advantageous among a people, the Arabs may be named as possessing that qualification in an extraordinary degree ; and this, added to their acknowledged patience and submissive disposition, would render them an instrument easy to be moulded to almost any purpose in the hands of wise leaders.

But to return to our route. From Boeshe to Hillahoun we passed through fields of dourra, rice-grounds, and sugar-plantations, the soil being intersected in every possible direction with branches from the canal by which the interior of this province is watered, and possessing a fertility which seemed to warrant the encomiums of Strabo, who remarked, that in his day the province of Arsinoë surpassed every other in Egypt in beauty, riches, and variety of productions. The village of Hillahoun differs only in size from the surrounding ones : the manner of building is precisely the same.

It is here that the canal of the Bahr Yusef, which waters the district of Behenice, is turned off to discharge itself into the Birket el Keroun by one arm, and carried along westward of the Nile in the direction of its stream as far as the pyramids of Gizel by another. When the inundation has given to the Plain of Faioum sufficient moisture for its cultivation, the branch by which the waters of it are brought thither from the Nile is stopped up. At no very distant period this was effected with great ease and security, by means of a dyke, constructed there for that purpose, which was annually opened and closed as occasion required ; but this salutary work, having now fallen into disuse, from its great want of repair, it has become a laborious, though an indispensable yearly duty of the cultivators, to raise a new dam for the restraining of the waters when the grounds have received the portion necessary for their irrigation ; as, from the level of the soil throughout this province being many feet below the

level of the river's bed, the stream which is drawn off from it into this valley by the Bahr Yusef, would continue otherwise to overflow the grounds until the balance of those levels should be restored, and thus lay the whole of the country so deeply under water, that a whole year would be insufficient for its absorption and evaporation.

Continuing our course still along the canal, we reached the Pyramid of Hillahoun about ten o'clock. It is at this moment such a shattered and shapeless heap, that conjectures relative even to its size are liable to great error. I should not conceive that the square of its original base exceeded two hundred feet; the stones, of which it is partly built, are irregular masses, which, with the mixture of brown earth, or unburnt bricks, that entered also into the materials of its composition, form altogether a very singular and tasteless fabric. Whether the more early age in which it might have been erected, or the poverty of the individual who might have been desirous of rearing this monument, was the cause of its rude construction, cannot now be ascertained; but this is certain, that as a work of art, nothing could be more unfinished than the nature of the workmanship still seen in those fragments of its masonry which yet remain.

It is scarcely possible to describe, in too glowing colours, the riches and fertility of the soil over which we passed in the continuation of our route from Hillahoun to Medineh Faïoum. All around us seemed one wide garden, crossed and intersected with a thousand meandering rivulets, (for such the smallest of their serpentine canals appeared,) and strewed with groves, and fields, and flocks, and hamlets, teeming with abundance and with population. The heart expands on witnessing such delightful scenes; and on recurring to the source of all this indescribable fertility, one no longer wonders at the veneration in which the ancients held the Nile, than whom, says Plutarch, no god was ever more solemnly worshipped; and the grand annual festival in honour of which, says Heliodorus, was the most solemn of all those observed by the Egyptians, who regarded their river as the rival of heaven, since, without clouds or rain, he watered and fertilized the land. Its priests, too, are often expressly spoken of by Herodotus; and in comparing the Borysthenes to the Danube, he says, 'In my opinion, this river is more productive, not only than all the rivers of Scythia, but than every other river in the world, except the Egyptian Nile. The Nile, it must be confessed,' he adds, 'disdains all comparison.' (Melpomene, 53.) On beholding the treasures which its stream disperses, one cannot but forgive, if not admire, a superstition which seems to have originated in excess of gratitude.

'Here, where with seven-fold horns mysterious Nile
Surrounds the skirts of Egypt's fruitful isle,
And where, in pomp, the sun-burnt people ride
On painted barges o'er the teeming tide,
Which, pouring down from Ethiopian lands,
Makes green the soil with slime and black prolific sands.'

VIRGIL.

We reached the town before noon, and, after a moment's repose, passed some time in the examination of its interior. In the time of Abulfeda, according to Savary's translation of that author, this place enjoyed a higher degree of wealth and splendour than it now possesses; for, in the passage which he has transcribed, the Arabic historian has thus represented it: 'Faïoum, capitale de la province de ce nom, possède des bains publics, des marchés et des collèges, qui sont sous la discipline des Chafeites et des Melchites. Le canal du Joseph la divise en deux parties, et elle est environné des jardins.' At this moment, however, neither baths nor colleges are to be seen; and, though there are here some mosques, the only ones, indeed, which we had seen since leaving Cairo, they possess neither beauty nor magnificence; and the whole of the buildings, including even the humblest, within the town, do not exceed from twelve to fifteen hundred, for a population of about ten thousand inhabitants. The chief resource of the people is agriculture, besides which they manufacture straw mats for the market of Cairo, and large quantities of rose-water, from the immense numbers of those flowers which adorn their province, for the use of the wealthy in the metropolis, who are profuse in the consumption of it, both as a perfume for their persons and apparel, and for communicating an agreeable odour to their pastry, sweet meats, and light food. In traversing the town, however, we met with no single object to gratify the heart or the imagination: every where dirty alleys, mud-walled huts, sickly children, and filthy and ragged parents. Yet this town was the centre and capital of a province which yielded not even to the most fertile parts of the Delta in richness and in population, proportioned to its extent. It is indeed the garden of Upper Egypt; and in the hands of any other Government than its present, would be as figuratively as it is literally 'a bed of roses.' At every step which we had taken through its delightful plains, new beauties presented themselves; extensive carpets of verdure stretched themselves on every side as far as the eye could reach, broken only by mingled groups of palm trees, sycamores, bananas, and pomegranates, yielding a delicious fragrance and refreshing shade, which, while they altogether gratified the eye with pictures of abundance, lifted the heart in praise toward that Being from whose beneficent hand such blessings flowed. Sensations of disgust, however, soon succeeded, at the scenes of real misery which blotted all the fairy prospect; but, while my bosom swelled with indignation at the tyranny that could thus wantonly oppress unassuming meekness and industry, I felt my heart expand, when, looking westward, I found I could congratulate myself with all a Roman's pride upon the enviable birth-right of a Briton, and sing with Moore:

'Though sacred the tie that our country entwined,
And dear to the heart her remembrance remains,
Yet dark are the ties where no Liberty shineth,
And sad the remembrance that Slavery stains.

Oh thou ! who wert born in the cot of the peasant,
 But diest of langour in Luxury's dome,
 Our vision when absent, our glory when present,
 Where thou art, O Liberty ! there is my home !'

It was some disappointment to learn that from the still high state of the inundation, a journey to the Birket-el-Keroun; or an examination of its shores, would be impracticable without considerable delay, as its banks continued still to be overflowed by the waters, which it had received through the canal from the Nile, and which were not yet sufficiently subsided even to traverse a great portion of the country in the neighbourhood of the lake ; regarding which, we could receive but very vague information from a people whose surprise was excited even by our inquiries, and who could not comprehend the motive of our desire to be informed on a subject that appeared so uninteresting to themselves. We were obliged to content ourselves, therefore, with such general descriptions as could be obtained from those who had often visited it, and which in general corroborated the statements of former travellers, though they added but little new to our information.

Neither in the course of our journey hither, nor from inquiries prosecuted on the spot, could we see or hear any thing of the canal of Bathen, mentioned by Denon, and inserted in his map, apparently on the authority of D'Anville ; unless he intended to mark by that appellation the Faïoum branch of the Bahr Yusef, for there is really no other canal of any grandeur throughout the whole of that tract : and the force of this traveller's imagination must have been beyond all bounds, to have converted, as he has done, this simple canal of water into the Lake Mœris, and to have conjectured the Pyramid of Hillahoun to have been that of Mendes. Is it possible that this enthusiastic admirer of the stupendous works of the ancients, and, in general, accurate observer of the remains of their labour, could have really given way to such conjectures, while he remembered the united testimonies of antiquity as to its being one of the wonders of human labour ? The simple passage of Strabo which he must have seen in the letters of his countryman, Savary, whose descriptions he alludes to in the very Province of Faïoum itself, would have been sufficient to have prevented such a supposition at once. 'La Province d'Arsinoë,' says that writer in his translation from the early geographer, 'renferme le lac merveilleux de Mœris. Il ressemble à la mer par son étendue, sa couleur, et ses rivages. Aussi profond que vaste, il reçoit, au commencement de l'inondation, les eaux qui couvrieroient les moissons et les habitations des hommes ; un large canal les y conduit. Lorsque le Nil baisse, elles y retournent par deux autres canaux, qui, ainsi que le premier, servent à l'arrosement des campagnes ; tout cela se fait naturellement. On a construit à la tête des canaux des écluses, que l'on ouvre à volonté, soit pour introduire, soit pour faire écouler les eaux.'—Liv. 17.

How could the conjecture of this superb work being to be recognised in the mere canal by which it was filled be at all brought to correspond with the epithets of marvellous, and vast, and profound, as here applied to it? or the idea of the Pyramid of Hillahoun being the remains of that of Mendes, ever entertained, even supposing the details of Herodotus to have been unremembered at the time, while the eloquent general description of one of the most celebrated writers of his own country could be recalled to his memory in the recollections of French literature only?

'L'Egypte,' says the venerable Bossuet, 'estoit en effet le plus beau país de l'Univers, le plus abondant par la nature, le mieux cultivé par l'art, le plus riche, le plus commode, et le plus orné par les soins et la magnificence de ses rois.

'Il n'y avoit rien que de grand dans leurs desseins et dans leurs travaux. Ce qu'ils ont fait du Nil est incroyable. Il pleut rarement en Egypte; mais ce fleuve qui l'arrose toute par ses débordemens réglés, luy apporte les pluies et les neiges des autres país. Pour multiplier un fleuve si bienfaisant, l'Egypte estoit traversée d'une infinité de canaux d'une longueur et d'une largeur incroyable. Le Nil portoit partout la fécondité avec ses eaux salutaires, unissoit les villes entre elles, et la grande mer avec la mer rouge, entretenoit le commerce au dedans et au dehors du royaume, et le fortifioit contre l'ennemi: de sorte qu'il estoit tout ensemble et le nourricier et le défenseur de l'Egypte. On luy abandonnait le campagne; mais les villes rehaussées avec des travaux immenses, et s'élevant comme des Isles au milieu des eaux, regardoient avec joye de cette hauteur toute la plaine inondée, et tout ensemble fertilisée, par le Nil. Lors qu'il s'enfloit outre mesure, des grands lacs creusés par les rois, tendoient leur sein aux eaux répandues. Ils avoient leurs décharges préparées: des grandes écluses les ouvroient, ou les fermoient, selon le besoin; et les eaux, ayant leur retraite, ne séjournoient sur les terres qu'autant qu'il falloit pour les engraisser.

'Tel estoit l'usage de ce grand lac qu'on appelloit le Lac de Myris ou de Mœris; c'estoit le nom du roy qui l'avait fait faire. On est étonné quand on lit, ce qui néanmoins est certain, qu'il avoit de tour environ cent quatre vingt de nos lieues. Pour ne point perdre trop de bonnes terres en le creusant, on l'avoit étendu principalement du costé de la Lybie. La pesche en valoit au prince des sommes immenses, et ainsi quand la terre ne produisoit rien, on en tiroit des trésors en la couvrant d'eaux. Deux Pyramides, dont chacune portoit sur un trône deux statues colossales, l'une de Myris, et l'autre de sa femme, s'élevoient de trois cents pieds au milieu du lac, et occupoient sous les eaux un pareil espace. Ainsi elles faisoient voir qu'on les avoit érigées avant que le creux eust été rempli, et montroient qu'un lac de cette étendue avoit été fait le main d'homme sous un seul prince.*

* Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle. Edition de Paris, 1681. 12mo. pp. 366, 367.

The details of Herodotus, regarding those surprising works, are, however, still more satisfactory, from their being the earliest records we now possess of the labour of those remote ages, and from being the testimony of an eye-witness of those monuments themselves.

‘I shall now,’ says that observant traveller and historian, ‘give some account of the internal history of Egypt; to what I learned from the natives themselves and the information of strangers, I shall add what I myself beheld. At the death of their sovereign, the priest of Vulcan, the Egyptians recovered their freedom; but, as they could not live without kings, they chose twelve, among whom they divided the different districts of Egypt. These princes connected themselves with each other by intermarriage, engaging solemnly to promote their common interest, and never to engage in acts of separate policy. The principal motive of their union was to guard against the declaration of an oracle which had said, that whoever among them should offer in the temple of Vulcan a libation from a brazen vessel, should be sole sovereign of Egypt; and it is to be remembered that they assembled indifferently in every temple.

‘It was the resolution of them all to leave behind them a common monument of their fame. With this view, beyond the lake Mæris, near the City of Crocodiles, they constructed a labyrinth; which exceeds, I can truly say, all that has been said of it. Whoever will take the trouble to compare them, will find all the works of Greece inferior to this both in regard to workmanship and expense. The temples of Ephesus and Samos may justly claim admiration, and the Pyramids may individually be compared to many of the magnificent structures of Greece; but even these are inferior to the Labyrinth. It is composed of twelve Courts, all of which are covered: their entrances are opposite to each other, six to the north, and six to the south; one wall encloses the whole: the apartments are of two kinds; there are fifteen hundred above the surface of the ground, and as many beneath,—in all three thousand. Of the former, I speak from my own knowledge and observation; of the latter, from the information I received. The Egyptians who had the care of the subterraneous apartments, would not suffer me to see them; and the reason they alleged was, that in these were preserved the sacred crocodiles, and the bodies of the kings who constructed the labyrinth. Of these, therefore, I presume not to speak; but the upper apartments I myself examined, and I pronounce them among the greatest efforts of human industry and art. The almost infinite number of winding passages through the different courts excited my warmest admiration: from spacious halls I passed through smaller apartments, and from them again to large and magnificent courts almost without end. The ceilings and walls are all of marble, the latter richly adorned with the finest sculpture: around each court, are pillars of the whitest and most polished marble: at the point where the labyrinth terminates, stands a pyramid one hun-

dred and sixty cubits high, having large figures of animals engraved on its outside; and the entrance to it is by a subterraneous path.*

Diodorus says, that this labyrinth was built as a sepulchre for Mendes. Strabo, that it was near to the sepulchre of the king who built it, which was probably Imaudes. Pomponius Mela speaks of it as built by Psammitichus; but, as Menes or Imandes is mentioned by several, possibly he might be, as Mr. Beloe judiciously observes, one of the twelve kings of greatest influence and authority who had the chief ordering and direction of this great building, and, as a peculiar honour, might have his sepulchre apart from the others. This, however, is certain, that it is said to have been so extraordinary a building, that Dædalus came to Egypt on purpose to see it, and built the celebrated labyrinth in Crete for king Minos, on the model of this.

Dr. Pococke and others are of opinion that the remains of this stupendous work are to be recognised in the ruins found near the town of Caroun, where the long narrow cells found beneath the surface are supposed to be the rest of those receptacles which contained the bodies of the sacred crocodiles; although M. de Pauw seems to be of a different opinion. 'The learned of Europe,' says that author, 'cannot flatter themselves with having formed very accurate notions concerning the labyrinth; for, although many of its ruins still remain, yet travellers in general miss the spot, most probably by directing their researches too far to the westward. Paul Lucas, who could not write, and his compiler, Fourmont, may easily be excused for mistaking the ruins of the castle of Caroun for fragments of that fabric; but it is unpardonable in Father Sicard and Mr. Pococke to fall into the same error. This pretended castle of Caron, according to different plans, seems to have been a chapel of Serapis, scarcely one hundred feet in length, without any appearance either of a pyramid or labyrinth; while Strabo assures us that those persons who visited the terrace of the labyrinth, saw around them a whole country covered with hewn stones; and the view was terminated by an edifice of a pyramidal form.'†

Savary, however, as quoted by Mr. Beloe, asserts that Strabo, Herodotus, and Ptolemy, all agree in placing the labyrinth beyond the city of Arsinoë toward Libya and on the bank of the lake Mœris, which is the precise situation of these ruins. He adds, that, although Strabo's account of this place does not accord exactly with that of Herodotus, yet it confirms it in general. Strabo describes winding and various passages so artfully contrived that it was impossible to enter any one of the palaces, or to leave them when entered without a guide, which corresponds also with the expressions of Pliny regarding the labyrinth; when speaking of the assemblage of the

* Herodotus, Euterpe, 147, 148.

† De Pauw, vol. ii., p. 43.

national representatives there, he says—'Majorum autem in parte transitus est per tenebras.'—Lib. 86, cap. 13.

'Wonderful as the labyrinth is,' continues Herodotus, 'the Lake Mæris, near which it stands, is still more extraordinary: the circumference of this is three thousand six hundred stadia, or sixty schoeni, which is the length of Egypt about the coast. This Lake stretches itself from north to south, and in its deepest parts is two hundred cubits; it is entirely the produce of human industry, which indeed the work itself testifies, for in its centre may be seen two pyramids, each of which is two hundred cubits above, and as many beneath the water; upon the summit of each, is a colossal statue of marble in a sitting attitude. The precise altitude of these pyramids is consequently four hundred cubits; these four hundred cubits, or one hundred orgyie, are adapted to a stadium of six hundred feet; an orgyia is six feet or four cubits, for a foot is four palms, and a cubit six.

'The waters of the lake are not supplied by springs: the ground which it occupies is of itself remarkably dry; but it communicates by a secret channel with the Nile. For six months, the lake empties itself into the Nile; and the remaining six, the Nile supplies the lake. During the six months in which the waters of the lake ebb, the fishery which is here carried on, furnishes the royal treasury with a talent of silver every day; but, as soon as the Nile begins to pour its waters into the lake, it produces no more than twenty minæ.

'Of this lake, the inhabitants affirm that it has a subterraneous passage inclining inland towards the west to the mountains above Memphis, where it discharges itself into the Libyan Sands. I was anxious to know what became of the earth, which must somewhere have necessarily been heaped up in the digging this lake: as my search after it was fruitless. I made inquiries concerning it of those who lived nearer the lake. I was the more willing to believe when they told me whither it was carried, as I had heard of a similar expedient used at Nineveh, an Assyrian city. Some robbers who were solicitous to get possession of the immense treasures of Sardanapalus, King of Nineveh, which were deposited in subterraneous apartments, began from the place where they lived, to dig underground in a direction towards them. Having taken the most accurate measurement, they continued their mine to the palace of the king: as night approached, they regularly emptied the earth into the Tigris which flows near Nineveh, and at length accomplished their purpose. A plan entirely similar was executed in Egypt, except that the work was here carried on not by night but by day; the Egyptians threw the earth into the Nile as they dug it from the trench: thus it was regularly dispersed, and this, as they told me, was the process of the Lake's formation.' *

* Herodotus, Euterpe, 149, *et seq.*

Nothing, therefore, can be more unlike their great originals than this branch of the *Bahr-Yusef*, which seems to be meant by the canal of Bathen, or the rude and contemptible fabric of the Pyramid of Hillahoun, when assumed to be the remains of the Lake Mœris and its superb and colossal monuments. On this early error of the French travellers and geographers, M. de Pauw has some excellent remarks. 'Father Sicard erred egregiously in placing the lake too far to the south, and converting it into a long canal parallel to the bed of the Nile. M. D'Anville has unaccountably adopted the same arrangement, although in opposition to such geographers as Strabo and Ptolemy, as well as historians like Herodotus and Diodorus. The last of these writers says positively, that the Lake Mœris was little distant from the town of Crocodilopolis; (Bibliot. lib. 2;) and this passage, which contributes to determine its real position, must have escaped the attention of M. D'Anville, who wishes to prove in defence of this arrangement, in his "*Memoirs on Ancient and Modern Egypt*," that Herodotus and Diodorus, in speaking of the Lake Mœris, have taken the measure of the surface in the circumference—an error,' says De Pauw, 'which would be inexcusable in a child of ten years old.' Besides, the inhabitants of the country assured Herodotus that this lake communicated with the Syrtis of Africa by a subterraneous conduit, directed towards the west, and passing behind the mountains of Memphis. No other body of water answers the description, except that now seen to the north-west of the Province of Faïoum (called by the natives Birket el Keroun); and, as Ptolemy and Strabo speak with certainty, we may be assured that this is the real Mœris. Thus, D'Anville's Egypt has one false indication, and the error is copied in his great map, because he confided too much in the memoirs of Father Sicard, who was prevented by an untimely death from perusing ancient authors with sufficient attention. In consequence of such improper combinations, D'Anville's map points out two labyrinths, although one only was known to the ancients; and Egypt was certainly not the place to multiply objects without necessity.

'At this day,' continues the same author, 'the Lake Mœris is thirty miles in length and eight in breadth. That space is sufficiently extensive to admit of various conjectures from those who measure it with the eye only at different points of view. From east to west it appears larger than reality, and proportionably smaller when viewed from north to south. As no naturalist has had an opportunity of examining it, we are at a loss to determine whether it should be considered as formed by the water of the Nile which enters there, or, according to Strabo, as merely a vestige of the Mediterranean. Perhaps, indeed, the Egyptians may have laboured to drain the Province of Faïoum, or the *Arsinoite Nome*, which appears to have been anciently a marsh as well as the Delta. Having succeeded in that undertaking, they conducted thither the

fresh water by cutting apparently seven mouths, by which a part of the Nile was discharged into the Lake Mœris, in the same manner as into the sea.

After these explanations, we see why the Egyptians could boast that this lake was produced by their industry. Considering the utility of the work, we willingly pardon their superstition in supposing a connection between the mouths of their canal and the planets, from similarity of numbers. We have no information whatever concerning the subterraneous communication of the Lake Mœris with the Syrtis, mentioned by Herodotus. As that Greek did not understand the Egyptian language, he was perhaps misled by the interpreters, and possibly alluded to what is called the "river without water," which some travellers are persuaded has never been produced by human labour. But the error of Father Sicard was occasioned by the mark of some great canal, or an ancient bed of the Nile, called Bathen in the French maps, and in the German, *Gara!**

The travels of our countryman, Mr. Browne, along the sea-coast of Libya, in his journey to the Temple of Jupiter Ammon, have, however, now removed all idea of its ever having been an inlet of the Mediterranean, as had been suggested; and its subterraneous communication with the Syrtis, or rather the western channel, by which it discharged itself into the Libyan sands, as Herodotus himself expresses, may well be untraceable from being buried and filled up by the very sands themselves.

With regard to the original dimensions of the lake, Mr. Beloe has observed, that Herodotus, Diodorus, and Pomponius Mela, differ but little in opinion concerning its extent: according to the former, it was four hundred and fifty miles in circumference; the latter says, it was five hundred: the former asserts also that in some places it was three hundred feet deep. The design of it, he continues, was probably to hinder the Nile from overflowing the country too much, which was effected by drawing off such a quantity of water, when it was to be apprehended that there might be an inundation sufficient to hurt the land. He says also, but I know not from what authority, that the circumference of the lake is at present about fifty leagues, and Mr. Pococke had observed, that its waters were of a disagreeable muddy taste, and almost as salt as the sea; which quality it probably contracts from the nitre that is in the earth, and the salt which is every year left in the mud.

Diodorus Siculus informs us that in this lake were found twenty-two different sorts of fish, and that so great a quantity were caught that the immense number of hands perpetually employed in salting them were hardly equal to the work: as well as that the silver

* De Pauw, vol. ii. p. 63.

which the fishery of this lake produced was appropriated to ~~and the~~ queen with clothes and perfumes.

From all these united and corroborating authorities, ~~one may~~ surely conclude, without indulging too great a love of the marvellous, that this labyrinth and lake were indeed worthy of being ranked among the most admirable productions of human labour. It has unfortunately been the prevailing fashion of the age to decry the wonders of antiquity, and accuse the recorders of them with wilful exaggeration, although every new discovery tends only to prove how worthy of credit were statements the most warmly disputed, particularly those of the venerable historian of Egypt. It is thus that the very existence of the monuments in question has been doubted by some, and reduced to such a diminutive form by others as to have given rise originally, perhaps, to the errors already noted relative to the canal of Bathen and the Pyramid of Hillahoun. Yet, there can be no greater difficulty in believing the Birket-el-Keroun, to be the Mœris of antiquity, and the formation of human labour as far as regards the hollowing out of its natural valley, and adaptation of it to a grand reservoir for the waters of the Nile, than there is in admitting the mountain-masses of Gizeh to be the work of human hands. The fashioning its bed, and the digging its canal, would be a task of greater ease and less expense, than the erection of the enormous pyramids which still remain as proofs of what their mighty labours could achieve, besides its redounding more to the honour of the projectors of the undertaking from its combining an object of great national utility, with their professed aim of monumental glory.

We should distinguish, as Larcher well observes, betwixt the lake itself, and the canal of communication from the Nile, that the former was in part the work of nature, and the latter, which still remains in the Bahr Yusef, entirely the work of art. There were other canals also, with sluices at their mouths, from the lake to the river, which were alternately shut and opened when the Nile increased or decreased; so that this grand work united every advantage, for while it supplied the deficiencies of a low inundation by retaining water which would have been uselessly expended in the sea, it was still more beneficial when the increase of the Nile was too great, by receiving that superfluity which would have prevented seed-time.

These advantages are now, however, much more limited, from the canals and sluices being every where suffered to fall into decay; although they have not altogether ceased to exist, as we were assured by the most respectable inhabitants of the place that a variety of fish were still caught there by the cultivators of its shores, and that notwithstanding the saltness of its waters, all the western part of the province of Faïoum is still irrigated by them; as well as that the very existence of their lands and their power of producing vegetation,

depended entirely on the supplies of the Nile's inundation, still brought to them by the canal of El Bahr Yusef, whose waters are restrained when necessary by dams raised for the purpose, and then continue to flow northerly towards the Pyramids of Gizeh. Were these canals all cleansed, the ancient mound repaired, and the sluices restored, the lake might again serve all the purposes which it so advantageously effected before, but which there is no hope of under its present possessors, although its benefits would be incalculable.

It is this neglect alone, perhaps, into which works requiring such unremitting attention were suffered to fall, that has so utterly effected the ruin of monuments otherwise likely to have endured almost for ever. The irregularity of the shores of the lake and its reduction in extent, which have been so often urged as objections to the accuracy of the ancient descriptions of it, may owe their changes to this alone; and as to the variation of its different depths, they may have been equally operated upon by the self-same cause. May not the very Pyramids which proudly elevated themselves from the centre of its waters, as well as the sepulchre of Mendes, the chambers of the labyrinth, the cells of the sacred crocodiles, and the wonders of this region now deemed fabulous because no longer seen, have been all destroyed by some overflow of the province from the neglect of the canals, of which we have no records, and to which, from the depth of its level beneath that of the bed of the Nile, it must have been always subject? And may not indeed the irregularity of its depths thus urged, be occasioned by the disjointed fragments of those very monuments so overwhelmed and destroyed? The inquiry would at least be interesting; and, had I not been limited in my command both of time and money, I would most willingly have awaited the abatement of the waters, and devoted a month or two to the prosecution of it in an excursion on the lake itself with pleasure. Imperfect analyses are, however, so often the parents of error, that one might even more safely trust to the deductions of well-supported conjecture than to the presumptuous conclusions too frequently drawn from unfinished undertakings. As I could not, therefore, devote the time absolutely necessary for the satisfactory accomplishment of the task, I endeavoured to indulge a hope that some follower possessed of ampler means and leisure, would one day complete a task which I cannot but confess I felt a regret at being unable to begin.

After being entertained by the Turkish Governor of the district, who, as soon as our arrival was notified to him, sent to invite us to his house, and treated us with great hospitality, we prepared to return to the Nile; the pipe, the coffee, the perfumes, and the sherbet which succeeded our meal, having detained us until two hours after noon. In the interval, our asses had been fed and re-

posed in this officer's stables; and, on remounting them, we found that they had lost none of their strength or activity.

Our return to Hillahout was by the same route, and we did not reach Benesouef until two hours after sunset. As we proceeded immediately to the boat, we saw no more of this place than that it was inferior in size, population, and the number of its mosques, to Medineh Faïoum, and therefore offered nothing to invite our stay. The fort marked in Arrowsmith's map does not exist,—for, independently of our traversing the very spot itself to embark below the town, we made inquiries of some of the oldest inhabitants of the place relative to its position, who assured us that no such work had ever been erected within their remembrance, and that at this moment there was not a cannon in the district. So trifling a circumstance, however, is not mentioned to depreciate the general value of that geographer's labours, as I have myself had a thousand occasions of admiring their accuracy.

The calm of the day was succeeded by an evening breeze; and, importunate as the old Reis was to repose after the fatigues of at least a fifty miles' journey, by detaining the boat here until morning, the former was consented to without making the latter a condition of it,—to prevent the necessity of which, I undertook the direction of the boat myself, while he slept in enviable ease. The breeze continued only until ten o'clock, by which time we had reached Halabieh, where the calm obliged us to moor for the night.

RETIREMENT.

Oh! it is pleasing to the soul to cast
 Aside all earthly thoughts; to leave the world
 And all its petty jarrings and its strife,
 To seek relief within itself: and now,
 When Nature sinks to rest, I fain would snatch
 A tranquil hour like this to meditate.
 In moments such as these the mind is calm,
 Unruffled as the waveless ocean tide,
 When weary of the storm's rude buffeting.
 'Tis pleasing thus to be alone, to feel
 One's self in sweet retirement, where no voice
 Doth break upon the soul's calm solitude
 To interrupt the blissful harmony,
 And call the thoughts to wander forth astray!
 Divine Creator of the human form!
 Almighty framer of the human mind!
 To thee the heart doth turn at such an hour
 When stillness sleeps upon the shadowed earth,
 And in some lone retreat I can repose—

To thee the heart must turn ! there is a spell
 Which binds man to his God, and prompts the prayer :
 There is an unseen Power, and to that Power
 E'en the most resolute must humbly fall
 In prostrate adoration ! There is a God !
 Oh ! let it not be said that human pride
 E'er raised its voice against Omnipotence,
 Or dared to doubt his being ! There is a God !
 This wondrous frame doth testify there is :
 Creation's beauteous mysteries proclaim
 An architect divine ; and at this hour
 I feel thy influence, thou unseen Spirit,
 Pervading the dread silence of the night !

Beloved solitude, thy haunts serene
 Are grateful to the few who learn to think,
 And from their youth have woo'd thee. Thou hast charms,
 Which to the trifler ever will lie hid.
 There is a beauty in thy quietude ;
 There is a grandeur in thy solemn stillness
 Which doth exalt the soul ! In thy retreat,
 The passions all are calmed : we look on life
 In retrospect, as we regard a dream
 Which with delusive sights did terrify
 And please at intervals !—and in thy gloom
 As now I sit in meditation wrapt,
 What pleasing visions flit through fancy's self-
 Created world ! I view the boundless past ;
 And with those mighty spirits who have shed
 A fadeless glory on their race, I live.
 Oh ! happy soul art thou who canst renounce
 The idle pleasures of the idle world ;—
 Thou who canst look upon the pomp, and pride,
 And outward show of life, as thou dost gaze
 Upon the silvery clouds of summer's even,
 Sweeping in shapes fantastic through the blue
 Transparent ether ! Blessed soul art thou,
 If thou canst find within thyself a source
 Of happiness !—Thy life will glide, as glides :
 The pure clear crystal stream through incult tracts,
 Untainted, unpolluted !—Then retire
 Into the sanctuary of solitude :—
 Take virtue with thee, vice doth enter not ;
 And thou wilt find how sweet and unalloyed
 Are all the pleasures which the mind affords.

Neath, April 14, 1829.

S. GARDNER.

* 'Thracio baccante magis sub inter-
 luntia vento.'

HOR. l. i. od. 25.

**EXTRAVAGANCE AND MEANNESS COMBINED: OR, RETRENCHMENT
AND RAISING THE WIND IN INDIA.**

THE effects of the late war with the Burmese, so rashly entered into, and so foolishly and improvidently conducted, are now keenly and severely felt by the Indian Government in the shape of pecuniary difficulties and embarrassments. The accounts of this disastrous contest are not yet, it is said, in a condition to be laid before the House of Commons; but the war is roughly estimated to have cost the nation about fifteen millions sterling, or about five-fold as much as the more important contest, which in 1803 overthrew the whole power of the French and Mahrattas, when the British armies were led by a Wellington and a Lake. We say, in plain terms, which has 'cost the nation,' because it is notorious that the East India Company could not on its own credit raise one shilling; and that sooner or later the country at large will be burdened with every sixpence of the debt that is incurred by them. It is time, indeed, that we should discard the language of deception which has long deluded the people of England into a belief that a corporate body, which of itself has neither the power to borrow nor to pay, can do either except through the national credit; and it is time that the people should understand that the East India Company is in reality but a mere instrument for involving them in debt and difficulty.

Of one object of retrenchment, which the Company has now in view, we heartily approve. This is the abolition of the petty Presidency, established in the Straits of Malacca, consisting at first of one little barren island, and eventually of two other settlements equal to it in sterility, and most incongruously united to it without any apparent object except that of increasing expenditure and augmenting patronage. The whole was an arrant job from the beginning; and a job in all likelihood it would have continued to the end, but for the beggared state of the Indian Treasury, and the lavish expenditure of the local Government of the petty settlement in question. What would the reader think of a Governor with 9000*l.* a year, a Commander-in-Chief, two Civil Councillors, Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries, Accountants-General and Deputy-Accountants-General, a Court of Judicature, and a host of Civil employes besides, with an army equal in numbers, and equal in expense, to the whole military establishment of Scotland, for the government of Heligoland and the Isle of May? Such was the establishment appointed by the East India Company for the administration of the little settlements of Penang, Singapore, and Malacca. The reader may judge, by one or two samples drawn from the public accounts, of the nature and amount of the charge incurred. These accounts include one of the settlements only; namely, Penang. In the official year, ending the first of May, 1826, the

civil, judicial, revenue and marine establishments alone, not including extraordinary disbursements in any of those departments, amounted to the exorbitant sum of 54,059*l*. The principal military charges, or the expense incurred for troops borrowed from the other Presidencies, are carefully excluded from the accounts, as if they formed no part of the public burthen incurred by the settlement; and a trifling local establishment only is included. The total expenditure of the Island amounts to 104,958*l*. The revenue ordinary and extraordinary, the ways and means of the poor little settlement to meet these charges, amount to 49,294*l*., a large sum unquestionably for such a place, and which, under any system of management ordinarily decent and moderate, ought to be ample, and more than ample, for every purpose of good government. Bengal, of course, is drawn upon to cover the deficiency to the amount of 55,664*l*., and hence the lamentations of Bengal and its authorities; hence, in fact, the imposition of stamps; hence subalterns are fleeced of their little allowances, and various other retrenchments are made and making.

No sooner had the other two settlements been united to Penang, than the expenditure knew no bounds. The military establishment was forthwith trebled throughout; the civil establishments, at the very least, doubled; a fleet was fitted out to repel a Siamese invasion never contemplated, and which, if attempted, these feeble barbarians never could have accomplished. The *Blossom* and *Zephyr** were no longer sufficient for the protection of the Island: a train of artillery, with two hundred head of cattle, was brought, at no ordinary expense, from the continent of India, for service, where there are no roads,—and for war, where there was no enemy. Much has been said of the mismanagement of some Colonies of the Crown; but we defy the ingenuity of Lord Bathurst himself to produce any thing so complete and perfect in the way of extravagance as this. Such a proceeding, however, brought matters at length to a crisis; and, as good sometimes comes out of evil, the Burmese war, local prodigality, and certain apprehensions of approaching parliamentary discussions, have effected what four-and-twenty years' experience could not accomplish.

Lord William Bentinck is said to have instituted some inquiries for the purpose of ascertaining the real nature of so kingly an expenditure in our eastern settlements, and in hopes of lessening the drain of the Bengal treasury; but the Court of Directors, or rather, the Board of Controul, has anticipated him, and orders are said to have been sent out to India abolishing the Presidency of Prince of Wales's Island, and reducing the eastern settlements to their primitive, proper, and natural condition of factories depending upon the supreme Government. Under this suitable title, their modest utility will be in no respect impaired, and they

* These two little vessels, of fifty or sixty tons burthen each, are expressly named in the accounts laid before Parliament.

will at least have some chance of being administered with a decent share of economy.

The next retrenchment which has been carried into effect, is of a very different character. This affects not the great and wasteful establishments of the East India Company, civil, judicial, financial, and, above all, commercial; not the army at large; still less the staff of the army, the most extravagant part of it; but a few of the European officers of the army. The pay of all officers in Bengal serving below Allahabad, that is, serving in our ancient provinces, is reduced. An ensign loses 10 per cent. of his pay, a lieutenant 12 per cent., a captain 10 per cent., a major 18 per cent, and a lieutenant-colonel 20 per cent. All this has been done in consequence of express commands from the Court of Directors—commands often repeated, and as often disobeyed by former authorities, on account of their palpable injustice. The operation of this rule is not prospective as it ought to be; and hence there is an obvious breach of contract towards those who entered the service on the faith of the remuneration which existed for them at the time. This is the third sweeping retrenchment which has been made on the same class of persons within the last five-and-twenty years, while even commercial appointments, admitted by the public voice to be either pernicious or useless, have continued untouched for six-and-thirty. This mean and dirty work, which reminds us of the sacrifice of small clerks and the immunity of great ones which took place in this country some years ago when retrenchment was loudly called for, makes but a paltry saving after all, and is calculated to produce infinite discontent and dissatisfaction in by far the most efficient portion of our Indian establishments—in what, indeed, without any unfairness or partiality, may be pronounced the only efficient portion of it. If the reader should be at a loss to understand why the emoluments of one branch of the service remain untouched while those of another are sacrificed, he will easily discover the secret by referring to the first value of a civil and military appointment. When, some years back, both used to be advertised for public sale in the newspapers, the first had an exchangeable value of 4000*l.*; the second of hardly one-tenth part of that sum. The motives for forbearance in the one case are therefore ten times greater than in the other. Sons, brothers, nephews, cousins, grandsons, and great connexions, would be involved in retrenching the allowances for the first description of officers; but no such dear relatives or influential connexions are for the most part involved in the losses of the second; and hence it is deemed just and proper that these alone, although already by far the worst-paid part of the public establishment, should suffer when poverty and necessity on the part of the Company, the result of their own misrule, call for retrenchment. In this manner, the integrity of the 'good thing,' whether in money or influence, is secured, and the Directors of the East India Company are thus entitled to be considered 'wise in

their generation; even if their wisdom should, in the long run, impair the utility of the instrument that conquered India, and maintains the conquest; or prove another, but not a new experiment, to tempt the only danger to which the stability of our Indian empire is exposed.

In the way of raising money, our Indian financiers have, of late, neither proved very expert nor very successful. In fact, they may be more safely described as extortioners. Either through pernicious monopolies, or with jobs, or through a traffic which does not deserve the name of commerce, or through the exclusion of European industry and capital which would enrich the country and multiply its resources and revenue, or through impolitic, burthensome, and mischievous forms of taxation, millions are yearly squandered by them, and lost to the people of India and England; but no attempt whatever is made to abolish nuisances, or to improve the administration on any principle of liberality or rectitude. Imitating the savage who cuts down the tree for the fruit, or the boy in the fable who killed the goose for the golden eggs, they thrust their hands as improvidently as feloniously into the pockets of the people. Twice defeated by the verdicts of juries, in the case of the notorious stamp regulation, we find them now again persevering in the same unpopular measure, and transmitting for the authorities a new law ten times more burthensome and vexatious than the first. All deeds and writings not drawn on stamped paper are declared by this new regulation to be invalid; and in a country where the wages of labour do not exceed twopence a day—where poverty is almost universal—where stamps, or any thing in the shape of stamps, are a novelty—where thirty languages are spoken, and not one of them the language in which the stamp is impressed,—a penalty of 500*l.* sterling is inflicted for the most trifling violation of it! Even in England, where stamp-duties are sufficiently burthensome, we are strangers, at least in practice, to so excessive and so tyrannical an enactment.

When the free trade was partially opened in 1813, the legislature provided protection for it by limiting all imposts to a low and very moderate standard; and this security has been continued without alteration for fourteen years. On all Indian goods exported to Great Britain in English bottoms, no duty is charged. The Company is even compelled to withdraw on such goods its heavy and vexatious transit-duties of 10½, 7½, and 5 per cent. In respect to imports, no duty at all is allowed to be charged on metals, woollens, and naval stores; and on all other articles the fixed duty is but 2½ per cent., while the Company charges, as it did before its last charter, 10, 15, and 20 per cent. upon the corresponding articles imported in foreign bottoms, a charge which would have been inevitably continued on the free trade in British ships, but for the interference of the Legislature. But what security is all this to the free trader, if the East India Company be allowed indirectly to tax its commercial rivals by a heavier and far more vexatious impost

on receipts, powers of attorney, bills of exchange, bills of lading, invoices, and all the necessary instruments of trade.

The singular obstinacy with which the local authorities in India persevere in this unpopular measure, in this unsuitable and unproductive impost, is a striking proof of the stupid and dogged character of the despotism generally. It might be supposed, that though this measure were impolitic and vexatious to the tax-payer, yet that it would be, at least, productive in point of revenue, and cheap in the collection; but, even here, it is wanting, and this to a degree, too, of which there is no example in European, or even Indian, revenue. The total gross produce of the stamp duties for the whole Presidency of Bengal, comprising a population little short of 60,000,000 of people, amounted, for the last year to which the accounts are rendered, only to 2,206,934 sicca rupees, a sum which the reader may convert into pounds sterling by omitting the unit. The charges were no less than 484,769 rupees, so that the net revenue was no more than 172,216*l*. The expense of collection, then, is full 28 per cent., which is no less than 26 per cent. beyond the cost of collecting the same branch of revenue in England. This odious tax, so expensive in the collection, yields to the revenue less than three farthings per head on the whole population. We would put it, therefore, to the Court of Directors, whether an impost which is only equal to a capitation tax of three farthings, is worth such a sacrifice of popularity to themselves, and such a load of vexation to their subjects; or, whether, even if it were doubled, or even trebled, which is not probable, it would be worth all these evils, especially when the period is approaching in which the whole system must be inquired into by the people of England,—a somewhat more formidable enemy than the poor Indians.

We ask, whether the unpopular retrenchments and burthensome modes of taxation to which we have just alluded, can be necessary, while waste the most lavish, and expenditure the most extravagant, are staring us in the face in fifty departments of the Indian Government. Let us, for a moment, enumerate a few of these. There are sixty thousand tons of shipping, at least, engaged in the China monopoly, taken up, the lowest at 2*l*. 11*s*. per ton, and the highest at 27*l*. Now, ships that will bring home tea as safely as these may be had for about one-third part of the average of these charges; and they will perform the voyage in about half the time.* The Company's freights, at 24*l*. per ton, would give employment, if the capital were so disposed of, to 180,000 tons of free shipping, which, under present difficulties, we may presume, would be some small relief to the shipowners. The difference between the Com-

* The present state of freight is moderate in the extreme, even in comparison with some taken up since the return of peace. A few vessels, for example, were taken up at 54*l*. per ton, when, it appears, the Free Trader could not get employment for his shipping at 8*l*.

pany's shipping and the private shipping would make a saving of 960,000*l.* per annum to the public. Here is, then, if we may be permitted the expression; *a net waste to this* prodigious amount. Even this would be sufficient to save the Company from the necessity of filching an Ensign's pay, or vexing and taxing a free merchant's bill of lading. The next item of extravagance to which we shall allude, as affording room for moderate retrenchment, is a certain establishment at Canton, where twelve gentlemen, under the modest title of supercargoes, divide between them 80,000*l.* a year, besides being supplied with house-room and a tolerable table into the bargain. This is within 20 per cent. of the cost of the whole Consulate of Great Britain all over the world, upon a scale so liberal as to be complained of by the nation for its extravagance. A Consul-General of the Crown would think himself liberally paid with 2,000*l.* a year. In this case, the old ladies and the young ladies of England might, in the article of tea, be saved 78,000*l.* per annum; or, if this amount were not better disposed of, the East India Company might take it, instead of a subaltern's pay, to liquidate the interest of the debt incurred by the Burmese war.

The expenses of the East India Company's establishments in England, on account of the tea trade, exclusive of the shipping, interest, insurance, and a share of general establishments, amounts yearly to about 250,000*l.* This was the case in 1824, when the quantity of tea imported by the Company (but not the quantity sold) was 27,478,814 lbs., and its estimated value 3,892,831*l.* 19*s.* 8*d.* Here, then, are charges to the amount of 6½ per cent., not upon the natural, but upon the monopoly price of tea, which is obviously extravagant. We would make the East India Company a liberal allowance for commission, and even for brokerage, say 3½ per cent.; but we would not permit them to charge this upon the amount of a tax imposed by themselves, as well as upon the true cost of the commodity. Allowing them the American export price for the corresponding year, would make their teas not 3,892,831*l.*, but 2,898,995*l.*; showing that the monopoly tax amounted to 793,836*l.*, under the supposition, which is not true, that the average value of American teas is not greater than that of the Company's. The charge of three-and-a-half per cent. upon the Company's teas, thus reduced to their proper valuation, will be 101,464*l.*; and this, deducted from their actual charges, will amount to a saving of 148,536*l.*

The little items of economy which we have now hinted at, and they do not amount to one-tenth part of what we have ample means of exhibiting, come to one million one hundred and eighty-six thousand, five hundred and thirty-six pounds sterling! Now, the interest of the debt, incurred by the Burmese war, amounts, at 5 per cent., only to 750,000*l.* annually; so that even this saving, though but a fraction of what might be saved, is far more than sufficient to cover it, and is, indeed, in every way sufficient to save the subaltern's pittance, and rescue the Free Trade from further imposition.

THE MOSLEM AND THE FRANK.

(From 'The Hungarian Tales'.)

Across the trackless desert ride
 A Moslem and a Frank,
 To spread their evening tents beside
 The well-spring's shaded tank ;—
 Brief rest, though sweet !—long ere the sun
 Glares fiercely forth, again
 Their twilight course perforce they run
 Athwart the sultry plain.

Lo ! as they pass, the rustling reeds
 Quiver, where, gliding soft,
 A snake uncoils its spotted weeds,
 And rears its crest aloft !
 Bismillah ! with an arm of strength,
 The Frank hath aim'd his blow,—
 Flings high in air its mangled length,
 Then dashes it below !

' What hast thou done ? ' the Moslem cries ;
 ' Thy ruthless hand hath slain
 A thing great Allah from the skies
 Breathed on without disdain ;
 It had not harm'd thee,—could not harm
 Thy courser on his speed.—
 Away !—thine act—thy heart—thy arm
 Have shamed thy Christian creed !

' Through the wide world, the reptile race,
 Like man, have harbour given ;
 But who shall dare assign the space,
 Their heritage from heaven ?
 Will not that God thy deed condemn,
 Whose power, intent to bless,
 Fashion'd the wilderness for them,—
 Them for the wilderness ?

' Go !—in the meanest thing that lives,
 Revere its Maker's hand ;
 And reverence the will which gives
 To all a promised land !
 To all his sheltering care ! and know,
 That, through a just decree,
 That mercy which thou lov'st to show,
 Will be vouchsafed to thee !'

RICKARDS ON THE REVENUE SYSTEMS OF INDIA.

We have already submitted to our readers the substance of two essays, forming the first and second parts of a work by Mr. Rickards, entitled, 'India, or Facts, illustrative of the character and condition of the Native inhabitants.' The third part of this very able treatise has just appeared, and we earnestly recommend all those who are interested in the well-being of that unfortunate portion of our fellow-subjects, or whom motives of curiosity or ambition may induce to desire an acquaintance with Indian affairs, to provide themselves with this comprehensive epitomæ of the principal arguments of a question increasing every day in urgency and importance.

Of the third part, to which we now direct the attention of that portion of the public who depend on our pages for information respecting our Eastern territories, we can only say, that no man certainly is better qualified, and we think none so well, as Mr. Rickards, to lead them, without danger of error, through the labyrinth of Indian Finance. Differing from former writers, most of whom have been enabled to discuss but one branch of the complicated interests bound up in the charter of the East India Company, our author possesses an intimate acquaintance with them all. Having filled a high office in the civil service, he is well versed in the general policy of the Company; as collector of an important district, his means of information respecting their financial system have been as unlimited in their extent as in the usefulness of their employment; as the head of an eminent East India house, he has daily opportunities of observing the practical evil of restrictions asserted by the retainers of monopoly to be essential to the stability of our power and influence in Asia; and to all these qualities he adds a generous and affectionate feeling of commiseration for the miserable people to whom he has dedicated his work, as a pledge of his remembrance, esteem, and regard.

When we have enriched the columns of 'The Oriental Herald' with the 'facts' contained in this third part of Mr. Rickards' work, we shall express our opinion of its merits; under a sense certainly of strong deference to him, but yet with that freedom of criticism, the value of which no man can better appreciate than himself. We say this, because the flattering notice which he occasionally takes of a work entitled 'The Law and Constitution of India,' by an author whose views of Indian policy are, at least, as tyrannical as his own are liberal and enlightened, has somewhat mitigated the distrust which we remember to have entertained of that anonymous authority. No two works can be more dissimilar in the manifest tendency of their principles than 'India, or Facts,' and

'The Law and Constitution of India.' Not one step further than the major of a syllogism (as it appears to us) could Mr. Rickards and the writer of that production proceed together. Yet the learning of the latter may be as great as his use of it is perverse; and we shall, therefore, make no difficulty of using his 'Facts,' when corroborated by those of Mr. Rickards: against each and every of his inductions for the present, at least, we utterly protest.

We now confine ourselves to a careful description of the system of Musulman finance which existed previously to the grant of the Dewanny of Bengal. A clear insight into this unparalleled engine of extortion is the only key which can open to us a view of the various settlements, whether Zemindarry, Ryotwar, Mowwar, or Kulwar, which prevail in India. We profess merely to present an analysis of the first three sections of the third part of Mr. Rickards' work. To preserve perspicuity, without encroaching too much on other papers, we have been obliged to disturb the order of the author's investigations, and to take various liberties with the text; in defence of which, we can only plead our anxiety to disseminate as widely as possible the contents of a publication, containing more really valuable and available information on Indian affairs than any that has yet come under our review.

1. The basis of the revenue systems of India within the British territories.

On establishing their dominion in Hindoostan, the Musulmans applied the principles of the Koran, and of their most celebrated law tract, the Hedaya, to the formation of their financial system. They accordingly asserted a proprietary right to all the lands they conquered; and fixed, that one half of the gross produce of the soil should be the tribute, or tax, to be exacted from infidel cultivators, as a merciful compensation for not murdering the male population, and enslaving the women, and children. From the plain import of the laws of Menu, which, among a variety of other confirmatory passages, declare 'cultivated land to be the property of him who cut away the wood, or who first cleared and tilled it,'—from the tenor of deeds of undoubted antiquity for the sale and alienation of estates, to be found in what Colonel Wilkes calls the 'Mackenzie collection,'—and from the traces of individual proprietary right discovered in Canara, Tanjore, and other countries in which the Musulman Governments had not, or only partially, been established, there is every reason to conclude that this right was universal under the ancient Hindoo dynasties. In Travancore, Malabar, and other countries into which the Musulman arms had not penetrated, at least until the days of Hyder and Tippoo Sultaun, a class of landed proprietors, an absolutely titled aristocracy, have existed from time immemorial to the present hour; with rights to the possession of their respective estates as full, as clearly defined, and as well understood, as in any part of the civi-

used world. It is also found, that in countries long subject to the rule of Mohammedan governors, their exertions had actually extinguished the traces of private property in land, by the annihilation or dispersion of those who were its rightful possessors; that in countries (such as Tanjore, Tinnevely, and Canara) in which the Mohammedan rule had been only partial or temporary, this right was in progress of actual extinction, and approached nearer and nearer to its term, in proportion to the duration of Musulman tyranny; the proprietors, from fear of Musulman exactions and severities, gradually deserting or disowning their estates, and leaving them to be managed by their tenants and Ryots.* In Malabar, under the Government of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sultan, most of the Hindoo landed proprietors were compelled to seek refuge in Travancore. 'I was personally acquainted' (says Mr. Rickards) 'with some who, from the same causes, had deserted their estates, and retired for safety into Coimbatore.' We have thus a collection of facts of indisputable authority, to prove that wherever the Musulman dominion was established, and had long prevailed in India, the complete degradation of one of the most important classes of society, the landed proprietors, was the consequence. These were either reduced to the state of cultivators of their own patrimony, for such a share only of its produce as barely preserved them and their families from starvation, or driven as fugitives from their own lands, to seek a subsistence by service, intrigue, force of arms, or common robbery and plunder, in other countries. Although the Hindoo rulers of ancient India were never at a loss for expedients to ease their loving subjects of the burden of superfluous wealth, still private property in land seems to have been recognised by them as a sacred right, which even the hand of despotism would rarely violate; at all events, not till the Hindoos had repossessed themselves of the Musulman provinces in Hindoostan and the Deccan; after which, even Hindoo rulers—such is the force of evil example—had no scruple, as late events have proved, to tread in the steps of their unrighteous predecessors. When the British power supplanted that of the Mohammedans in Bengal, we did not, it is true, adopt the sanguinary part of their creed; but, from the impure fountain of their financial system, did we, to our shame, claim the inheritance of a right to seize upon half the gross produce of the land as tax; and, wherever our arms have since triumphed, we have invariably proclaimed this savage right; coupling it at the same time with the senseless doctrine of the proprietary right to those lands being vested in the sovereign, in virtue of the right of conquest. This doctrine, it is true, accords with the precepts of the Koran; but is diametrically opposed to the plain

* The term Ryot is commonly used to express an actual cultivator of the soil, but it means properly a tenant of land paying rent, and a trader or artificer paying taxes.

import and letter of the laws of Menu. Neither the authority, however, of the 'Divine Legislator,' nor the absurdity and injustice of the principle itself, nor the evidence and proof of existing proprietary rights, could deter the British Government from preferring the more rigorous and destructive system of the Mussulmans.

It will be known to persons who have had any thing to do with the productions of land, that, in any considerable tract of country, varying in soil, situation, and climate, half the gross produce is by no means sufficient for the maintenance of the cultivator and his family, and the requisite expenses of husbandry. In India, as in other countries, there are interspersed, here and there, fertile and well-watered valleys, whose annual produce is so great as to be able to afford that the half, and, in some places, that more than the half, should be paid as rent, or free revenue, with a sufficient reserve for the Ryot's maintenance and expenses; but, in the generality of lands, six, seven, eight, and nine-tenths of the produce are indispensable for the latter purpose. It is, therefore, obvious that a tax of half the produce, even if it could be fairly assessed, can never be universally levied from the inhabitants of the country. It is also obvious that there are insurmountable difficulties in the way of valuing, with any degree of accuracy, the produce of extensive countries, varying with the difference of seasons, weather, the means of irrigation, the various articles of cultivation, the degrees of industry employed, the distance or proximity of markets, the means of sale, the frequent fluctuations of prices; liable also to accidents, such as inundations, tempests, droughts, blights, &c., neither to be foreseen nor obviated. The attempt to make such a valuation has, in every instance, proved its impracticability. Yet the Native assessors employed on this duty, fearing that the avowal of the truth would be thought, by their European superiors, a disqualification for office, have invariably produced specious accounts of the measurement, culture, and produce of the lands of their respective villages, on which the revenue is nominally collected; but which the author, as well as the highest Indian authorities, have, on examination, always found to be fabrications. The fact is, that the Native assessor, aware of the impossibility of executing the task imposed on him, but feeling, at the same time, the necessity of presenting some plausible indication of its performance, assembles the most influential personages in the villages; and this concave agree among themselves to write against the name of each cultivator the portion of produce or the sum of money he is required to pay. This is not only an arbitrary proceeding, full of error, but liable to all the abuses in favour of men of influence, and to the detriment of more helpless inhabitants, which may be expected from persons whose propensities to corrupt dealing are not to be controlled. So little pretension, indeed, have these accounts to accuracy, that some have been found to contain items of cultivated lands, with a tax an-

nexed equal to, and often greatly exceeding, the value of the gross produce. In other instances, tracts of cultivated lands have been wholly omitted; and in others, a minute specification given of produce from spots never known to be anything but waste or jungle. The Native assessor, however, is aware that the higher he raises the revenue of the villages within his survey, the more he will recommend himself to the favour of his European superior; and the collector himself also knows that the constant increase, misnamed improvement, of the revenue, will always be his strongest claim on the Revenue Board, and Government at the Presidency, to praise and promotion. In consequence, each collectorship has been taxed to the utmost farthing which it was possible to extort from helpless Ryots; with the reserve only of what was necessary for the private embezzlement of the Native officers.

But a short review of the proceedings of the revenue department previously to 1789 will best exemplify the state of the country, and how far it was prepared for the important change then introduced; and, as the Mogul or Musulman system was thus the foundation of our own, it is right we should first understand how the archetype itself was constructed.

Musulman Administration.

From the author of the 'Law and Constitution of India,' we learn that a Musulman conqueror is authorised by law to carry into captivity and reduce to slavery the infidel inhabitants of a conquered country like India; that every right and interest which the conquered inhabitants before possessed ceases and determines by the very act of conquest; that the former inhabitants may consequently be removed, and another people placed in their room at the will of the conqueror, but that the old inhabitants may be suffered to remain 'under the conditions required by law,' which are the payment of khurauj, or land-tax, and the jusyeh, or capitation-tax; for the discharge of which, or at least the former, the land is held answerable; and the actual property of the soil vested or established in its actual cultivators. The sources of Musulman revenue are thus stated to be,—

1. The Khurauj, *i. e.* half the gross produce of land; in some instances, less. The best description, however, of this impost is given by the great lawyer Shumsul Aymah Surukhsee, who says, 'There shall be left for every one who cultivates his land as much as he requires for his own support and that of his family, till the next crop be reaped, and for seed.' This much (miserable pittance!) shall be left to him: what remains is khurauj, and shall go to the public treasury.

2. The Jusyeh, or capitation tax, payable by non-Moslem or infidel subjects, as 'an equivalent for sparing their lives.'

3. Tribute from dependent or conquered States.*

4. *Ooshur-ut-tujairut*, customs or tithe on merchandise, levied at the rate of 2½ per cent. on a Moslem, 5 per cent. on a Zimmes, (infidel subject,) and 10 per cent. on a Hurbee, or subject of a foreign state.

5. *Zukaut*, or tax on brood cattle, camels, kine, horses, sheep, and goats, payable only by Musulmans.

6. *Zukaut*, a tax of 2½ per cent. on gold and silver bullion, ornaments, plate made of the precious metals; also on merchandise not in transit, stock in trade: every thing, in short, yielding a profit or increase, was liable to this tax.

7. *Sudukut al Fetz*, alms at the Eed (festival) of Fetz.

8. *Khooms*, a fifth part of prize or plunder taken in war, of the produce of metal mines, of treasure trove, and wrecks; which fifth was always required to be sent to the imperial Exchequer.

9. *Escheats*, property without legal heirs escheated to the crown.

10. War tax, which might be made, and no doubt was made, a fruitful source of exaction in India, as the occasion for such exaction could seldom be wanting.†

These are stated to be the legitimate objects of revenue under a Moslem Government. But, besides those, there were numerous other taxes called *Abwab Soubahdarry*, or viceregal imposts, which went to enrich the viceroys and other subordinate officers of the state, at whose mercy and discretion they were left to be collected.

The *Tumar Jumma*, or, as it is sometimes called, *Assul Jumma*, is often referred to in official records as a standard of high authority. It professed to be an actual and correct admeasurement of all the lands of the empire, cultivated and uncultivated; and of the quantity, as well as money-value, of the produce of every separate field or beegah. It may, therefore, be considered as an attempt on the part of Akbar and his ministers to methodize the *Khurauj*, (land revenue,) or to reduce the collection of it to fixed principles; and as the same mode of assessing lands has been adopted, or professed to be adopted, in our revenue settlements in India, the reader should be informed of the principles on which this celebrated standard was framed.

We read in the '*Ayeen Akbery, or Institutes of Akbar*,' that the lands of the empire were formerly measured and divided into beegahs of 3,600 *Hahee* square guz. Before the reign of Akbar, many different kinds of guz had been in use; and, to obviate the confusion arising from a multiplicity of measures, the Emperor established this *Hahee guz*, which appears to have been equal to twenty-four inches,

* Settled by convention, always arbitrary.

† Observations on the Law and Constitution of India, p. 117.

and, at this rate, a beegah would be about a third of an English acre.* Akbar then divided the lands into four different classes :

1. Poolej, land cultivated for every harvest, being *never* allowed to lie fallow.

2. Perowty, land kept out of cultivation for a short time, that the soil may recover its strength.

3. Checher, which had lain fallowed for three or four years.

4. Bunjer, land which had not been cultivated for five years and upwards.

The Poolej and Perowty lands were subdivided into three sorts; best, middling, and worst; and, according to the 'Ayeen Akbery,'† the rule of assessment was to add together the produce of a beegah of each sort, and the third of that aggregate sum was the medium produce of one beegah of poolej and perowty lands; one-third part of which was the revenue settled by the Emperor. It appears from a regulation of 1805,‡ that the same terms were then in use to express the divisions and subdivisions of land in the upper provinces of Bengal. Instead, however, of one-third of the medium produce, as in Akbar's time, modern rulers have found it more convenient to take to themselves the produce of poolej lands, leaving only three-eighths to the Ryot.

In the 'Ayeen Akbery,' two tables are annexed, one to show the produce per beegah of eleven different articles cultivated in the poolej and perowty lands for the spring harvest, and the other for the autumn harvest.

The following extracts will explain the practical operation of this mode of admeasurement :

Spring Crop. Wheat.		Maunds.
Produce of a beegah of best poolej land.....		18 0
Do. do. do. of middling do.		12 0
Do. do. do. of worst do.		8 35
Aggregate produce		38 35
One-third being medium produce		12 38½
One-third of medium produce, being the amount of land revenue		4 12½
Autumn Crop. Cotton.		Maunds.
Produce of a beegah of best poolej		10 0
Do. do. do. middling do.		7 20
Do. do. do. worst do.		5 0
Aggregate produce of three beegahs of different sorts		22 20

* See Rickards, in notes, p. 299.

† Ayeen Akbery, p. 306. Rickards, p. 300.

‡ Vide Sec. 12, Reg. 9, of 1805.

Autumn Crop. Cotton	Majmda.
One-third of preceding being medium produce of a beegah	7 20
One-third of medium produce in amount of land revenue	2 20

Similar tables are inserted for the bunjer and checher lands ; and the husbandman had his choice to pay the revenue in ready money, (to ascertain the amount of which, persons were appointed to learn and report the current prices of every province in the empire,) or by kunkoot or by bhawely ; the former being an inspection of the crop while standing, the latter a division of it after it is gathered.

The money rates at which the revenue of a beegah of poolej land was fixed are next particularised in tables of nineteen years' collection,* commencing at the sixth year of Akbar's reign, (A. D. 1561,) and concluding with the twenty-fourth, (A. D. 1579.) These tables are said to have been constructed after the most diligent investigation ; and, as the former system of annual variation was found to be productive of much inconvenience, oppression, and complaint, Akbar ordered a settlement to be concluded for ten years ; by which resolution, says Abul Farez, giving ease to the people, he procured for himself their daily blessings.

The mode adopted was as follows :

In each purgunnah, or district, there was a Canongoe, and in each village a Putwary ; these were public accountants, whose business it was to keep regular accounts or registers of cultivation. On the occasion of framing the Tumar Jumma, these officers were assembled at the Royal Exchequer ; and ten principal Canongoes, with Rajah Tudar Mull and Mozeffer Khan, Akbar's ministers of finance, at their head, were appointed to collect the accounts of the provincial officers. Then, having taken the tukseem mulk, or divisions of the empire, they estimated the produce of the lands, and formed a new Jumma.

The Tumar Jumma, therefore, was nothing more than a decennial statement, formed by an estimate of the collections of the ten preceding years, the average receipt of which was fixed as the annual rate for ten years to come. It appears, however, from the history of the twelve soubahs, or viceroalties, of Hindoostan, in the second volume of the 'Ayeen Akbery,' in which a detail is given of the tukseem jumma, (that is, the precise portion of revenue attaching to each village or subdivision of the different provinces,) that it continued in force after the ten years had expired.

The following is an extract from the 'Ayeen Akbery,' of the tables of nineteen years' rates of the province of Allahabad, on which the jumma of that district is founded :

* Nineteen years is a cycle of the moon, during which period the seasons are supposed to undergo a complete alteration.

[Table of Nineteen Years' Rates of Revenue, collected,

THE SPRING HARVEST OF THE S

[illegible]

THE AUTUMN HARVEST OF THE SO

[illegible]

LLAHABAD—NINETEEN YEARS' RATES.

9th Year.	17th Year.	18th Year.	19th Year.	20th Year.	21st Year.	22nd Year.	23rd Year.	24th Year.
to 100	42 to 100	48 to 70	40 to 70	42 to 62	48 to 86	62 to 86	40 to 62	40 to 75
50	50	50	50	33 to 50	—	36 to 75	26 to 75	40 to 63
to 40	32 to 45	20 to 45	20 to 45	30 to 74	43 to 57	33 to 50	22 to 44	24 to 43
to 100	50 to 100	40 to 100	40 to 100	40 to 100	44 to 60	46 to 60	43 to 60	37 to 60
to 70	32 to 50	30 to 50	21 to 50	22 to 50	22 to 47	45 to 83	38 to 56	24 to 56
to 130	100 to 130	100 to 130	100 to 130	100 to 130	100 to 130	100 to 130	100 to 130	100 to 130
to 70	60 to 70	52 to 70	50 to 70	43 to 70	56 to 70	56 to 70	56 to 70	55 to 70
to 64	30 to 64	18 to 64	20 to 64	22 to 31	23 to 28	20 to 27	18 to 22	18 to 24
to 44	26 to 44	22 to 44	24 to 44	25 to 43	26 to 46	28 to 36	22 to 30	22 to 44
to 40	24 to 40	15 to 40	15 to 40	18 to 43	24 to 36	21 to 35	25 to 28	17 to 38
to 36	14 to 36	16 to 36	16 to 23	14 to 23	16 to 23	14 to 23	14 to 23	14 to 30
to 40	14 to 40	15 to 40	17 to 34	17 to 44	18 to 44	18 to 44	17 to 28	18 to 41
to 160	120 to 160	80 to 160	66 to 160	43 to 160	86 to 120	86 to 120	86 to 120	86 to 120
to 16	12 to 16	8 to 16	9 to 16	12 to 42	12 to 16	12 to 16	12 to 16	12 to 16
to 48	40 to 48	36 to 46	38 to 46	22 to 42	36 to 42	32 to 42	40 to 42	40 to 50
to 100	70 to 80	60 to 100	52 to 100	52 to 70	52 to 73	70 to 73	52 to 73	52 to 73
to 100	70 to 100	70 to 100	70 to 100	70 to 76	62 to 76	72 to 76	72 to 76	70 to 95
to 70	36 to 70	36 to 70	36 to 70	50 to 73	52 to 82	52 to 72	28 to 80	40 to 80
to 30	24 to 34	23 to 40	20 to 40	20 to 39	20 to 26	20 to 25	14 to 25	16 to 24
24	24	24	25	25	25	25	16	25

LLAHABAD—NINETEEN YEARS' RATES.

9th Year.	17th Year.	18th Year.	19th Year.	20th Year.	21st Year.	22nd Year.	23rd Year.	24th Year.
00	200	200	170 to 200	160 to 200	180 to 200	180 to 200	180 to 200	180 to 200
to 144	86 to 110	100 to 120	100 to 130	86 to 134	86 to 165	86 to 170	76 to 170	76 to 126
to 76	56 to 76	56 to 76	50 to 76	54 to 78	49 to 77	49 to 77	56 to 76	36 to 76
to 50	36 to 58	34 to 58	37 to 57	37 to 58	42 to 59	40 to 50	36 to 44	30 to 61
48	48	48	48	60	44	65	65	65
to 120	70 to 120	70 to 120	70 to 120	70 to 120	70 to 123	80 to 102	70 to 102	50 to 70
to 100	60 to 100	50 to 100	50 to 100	60 to 94	60 to 94	60 to 94	60 to 86	60 to 99
to 50	39 to 40	28 to 40	28 to 40	26 to 38	22 to 32	24 to 32	24 to 52	24 to 46
to 46	22 to 46	20 to 46	18 to 46	13 to 30	22 to 28	16 to 20	16 to 27	16 to 38
to 42	28 to 42	22 to 42	25 to 42	27 to 44	21 to 44	21 to 40	24 to 45	24 to 45
to 46	32 to 46	30 to 46	38 to 46	32 to 48	28 to 56	34 to 56	30 to 50	26 to 56
46	26	26 to 28	22 to 26	29 to 46	22 to 54	30 to 54	32 to 40	24 to 44
40	20	20 to 22	16 to 40	20 to 48	20 to 48	20 to 48	24 to 40	23 to 61
to 33	20 to 44	20 to 22	16 to 36	21 to 38	26 to 48	31 to 48	22 to 30	21 to 39
40	10	10	7 to 22	7 to 14	7 to 14	7 to 14	10	7 to 14
to 20	10 to 40	10 to 22	10 to 22	7 to 22	8 to 22	7 to 14	10 to 18	7 to 17
to 24	13 to 24	10 to 24	8 to 24	10 to 21	11 to 23	15 to 23	14 to 24	12 to 22
to 36	20 to 36	20 to 36	18 to 36	20 to 38	14 to 28	14 to 28	14 to 28	14 to 30
to 29	22 to 29	17 to 29	13 to 29	19 to 39	25 to 32	25 to 32	22 to 28	18 to 28
to 160	120 to 180	130 to 160	130 to 180	132 to 140	132 to 140	132 to 140	132 to 140	132 to 160
to 80	70 to 80	76 to 80	76 to 80	60 to 88	60 to 90	80	80	80
to 44	32 to 44	24 to 44	24 to 44	32 to 40	26 to 40	26 to 40	26 to 40	26 to 40
to 70	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
to 60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
to 36	36	36	36	24	24	24	18	29
to 58	58	58	58	60 to 80	60 to 80	60 to 80	60 to 80	60 to 80
to 12	10 to 12	10 to 12	12 to 19	10 to 14	10 to 15	10 to 14	10 to 14	10 to 14
to 180	180	180	180	180	200	200	240	240
to 100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
—	—	—	—	20	20	20	20	20

This being the basis of the calculation on which the original Tumar Jumma was framed, the reader will find a close inspection of the principles on which it is founded very useful in all inquiries into the various revenue systems of India.

1. It must be observed, that these rates are the result of dividing poolej and perowty lands into middling, better, and worst, as before-mentioned, and classifying and assessing them accordingly. On reference to the tables, it will appear that, for the first nine years, the rates are mostly a fixed sum on each article. Sugar-cane, for instance, is rated 180 dams per beegah throughout the province. Now, unless the poolej and perowty of Allababad can be equally divided into best, middling, and worst, which is evidently impossible, this mode of assessment must have been most unequal in its bearings on the various qualities and situations of land.

Supposing, for instance, that a Ryot had three beegahs, of which the value was as follows :

Best poolej . . .	720 Dams
Middling . . .	540
Worst . . .	360

Total produce	1620
One-third of medium produce	540
One-third of medium produce for revenue . . .	180

But, in so large an extent of country, (270 miles long, by 120 broad,) numerous Ryots might, for example, have none but middling, or even worst poolej land ; and their assessment would be as high as their neighbour's, who had a share of the best. For example, the less fortunate cultivator might have one beegah of middling poolej, and two beegahs of worst. If the valuation were equal, his assessment, instead of 180 dams, would amount only to 140. Thus :

Produce of one beegah of middling poolej . .	540 Dams.
Do. two do. worst	720

Total produce	1260
Of which, one-third for medium produce . . .	420
And one-third medium produce for revenue . .	140

Other varieties of soil would give much wider results ; whence it is clear that a uniform rate per beegah would fall most unequally on different Ryots ; and an assessment, moderate in relation to the circumstances of one, might be most oppressive to another.

2. These rates, having been levied on gross produce, had no reference to the cost of production, which must always vary with the comparative richness or poverty of the soil. The expense of raising 540 dams' worth of produce on land equally divided into best, middling, and worst, might be 200 dams ; while that of raising 420 dams' worth on land composed of one beegah middling, and two beegahs worst, might be 250 dams ; from which it is obvious, that a

uniform tax of 180 dams would, for this reason only, be most arbitrary and unjust.

3. The preceding tables contain fifty different articles of produce, all differing in value, and consequently assessed at rates varying from seven to two hundred and forty dams per beegah. Now, Ryots might desire to abandon old spots, take waste lands into tillage, or change the cultivation of one product for another; in which cases, either the Canongoe's table must cease to be correct, or be remodelled, or the convenience of the Ryot be thwarted. As innumerable alterations of this description can hardly fail to have taken place, it is clear that imposition must often have been practised either on the Canongoe and Putwary by the Ryot, or by those officers on their superiors; and every description of fraud, collusion, and extortion, must have been the inevitable consequence.

4. There is every reason to believe that the fifty products of these tables were classed, in the first instance, as favour, influence, fear, or bribery, might direct. The provincial Canongoes were no doubt accessible to temptation, and easily induced to set down 7, 20, 50, or 60 dams in account where products of 100, 150, or 200 dams, were actually cultivated. The accounts of Canongoes have always been found, on examination, either conjectural estimates or fabrications. This fact is universally admitted.

Such was the original Tumar Jamma, or Standard Assessment, of Akbar. We learn from Major Stewart's 'History of Bengal,' that the attempts of that prince to establish it were opposed by a formidable insurrection. A revolt of the Jaghiredars of that province and of Behar threatened the safety of the Imperial throne; and Mozeffer Khan, the Governor of Bengal, who had attempted to suppress it, was besieged in the fort of Tondah, overpowered and murdered. Indeed, whatever may have been the case with the Tukseem, (or local divisions of the Tumar Jumma,) it is at least doubtful if Akbar ever succeeded in carrying this oppressive and unequal system of general admeasurement into full effect.

In the 5th Report* of the Select Committee of the House of Commons of July 1812 and its Appendix, it is stated that the Tumar Jumma of Bengal, i. e., as we have already explained, the standard assessment of the khurauj, or land revenue, settled on that province in Akbar's time, (1582,) amounted to 10,693,152 rupees.

In 1668, some few lands were added, and the revenue was raised by Sultan Suja, to 13,115,907 rupees.

In 1722, by Jaffier Khan, to 14,547,043 rupees.

In 1728, by Sujar Khan, to 16,418,513 rupees.

* Vide Mr. Shore's Minute of June 1789, Appendix, p. 176; and the Statement, No. 1, p. 221.—Rickards, 295.

In 1755, by Ali Verdi Khan, to 18,644,067 rupees.

In 1763, by Cossim Ali Khan, to 25,624,223 rupees.

In 1768—4, this exorbitant assessment was reduced by Meer Jaffer to a gross settlement of 17,704,766 rupees.

The method adopted by these successive sovereigns for raising the assessment, and the mode by which they justified it to themselves, furnish curious exemplifications of the pervading principles of Musulman finance.

We have already remarked that, besides the Khurauj, Jusyeh, and other taxes, stated to be legitimate objects of revenue, there were certain Abwab Soubahdarry or vice-regal imposts collected under various pretences, for the benefit, and at the caprice, of the great officers of state. Such were the Wojuhaut Khasnoveesy, Nuzzerana Moccurrery, Zer Mathoot, Mathoot Feelkaneh, Foujdary Abwab, Chout Marhatta, Ahuk and Kist Gour, Nuzzerana Munsoor Gange, Keffayet, Serf Sicca, Keffayet Foujdaran, Towfeer Jaghiredaran, &c., for an explanation of which we must refer the reader to Mr. Rickards.* It would seem that, at the commencement of every new reign, the Nazim, concluding from the mere existence of these imposts, that the standard assessment of his predecessor was too low, and being of opinion that the taxes exacted by the Zemindars for their own use, were of right the dues of the Imperial Khalsa, made a point of raising the Tumar Jumma to the amount at which, in his view, it ought originally to have been fixed; and his officers were forthwith compensated for the loss by the enactment of new Abwab Soubahdarry to be again confiscated on the demise of their superior. Thus we find the Tumar Jumma gradually increasing, until, in the reign of Cossim Ali Khan, it amounted to a sum which it was utterly impossible to realise.

We have been thus minute in our analysis of the Musulman system of finance, because we are informed by Mr. Rickards, and his testimony is confirmed by the author of the 'Law and Constitution of India,' the minutes of evidence taken before Parliament in 1812, and by other sources of unquestionable authority, that this system of revenue administration was continued without alteration by the British Government, on their succeeding to the possession of territory in India.

In opposition to the opinion of Mr. Shore, (Lord Teignmouth,) Mr. Rickards contends, that the Tumar Jumma was not founded on any real knowledge or ascertainment of the existing resources of the country; and that, in countries of the extent of Hindoostan and the Deccan, such ascertainment was altogether impossible.

The principle of the Tumar Jumma is defended by Mr. Shore, on the ground 'that it is calculated to give the sovereign a portion of the advantages arising from extended cultivation and increased

population. All the eminent collectors of India have considered this principle not only equitable in itself, but perfectly consistent with the best theories of taxation. With the exception, therefore, of Lord Cornwallis's settlement, and others arising out of it, this principle will be found to pervade all our revenue settlements; the object being that the Company's revenue should either annually, or at longer intervals, increase in quantity and value, like tithes in England, with every improvement in the cultivation or produce of land. Nothing, however, can be more obvious than that the principle, when carried into effect in a country like India, where the Government portion of the produce is always the lion's share, where the power of men in office is discretionary, and the system itself highly complicated, must necessarily be a source of incalculable oppression, imposition, and error.

But, even admitting that increasing revenue could always be unobjectionably drawn from extended cultivation over fresh lands, it is still of importance to remark, that the Abwabs were of a totally different character. These were real additions to exciting burthens, being levied on the fixed rate of the Tumar Jumma, in certain proportions to its amount. These additions are said to have equalled 50 per cent. of the Assul in 1658, and to have more than doubled that amount by Cossim Ali Khan's Settlement in 1763. *And it is the aggregate sum thus realised from the country, viz., the Tumar Jumma and the Abwabs united, which constituted the standard we adopted for our own collections on succeeding to the Musulman possessions.*

Whatever, therefore, may be thought of the Tumar Jumma, no difference of opinion exists as to the additions made to it by successive Nazims, under the denomination of Abwabs. Mr. Shore speaks of them as unconstitutional, and liable to the greatest abuses. Of the addition imposed by Jaffier Khan, he observes—'That it was obtained by measures of the greatest severity; the Zemindars, with few, if any exceptions, were dispossessed of all management in the collections; and Jaffier Khan's own officers were employed to scrutinize the lands and their produce. The severities inflicted on renters in arrear, and upon the Zemindars, to compel them to a discovery of their resources, were disgraceful to humanity; and, as if personal indignities and torture were not sufficient, the grossest insults were offered to the religion of the people. Pits filled with ordure, and all impurities, were used as prisons for the Zemindars, and these were dignified by the appellation of Bykont, the Hindoo paradise. Jaffier Khan is also said to have compelled defaulting Zemindars, with their wives and children, to turn Mohammedans. Such was the man whom Mohammedan annalists have praised for justice and wisdom; such were the acts of an Administration, which, in the

language of Mr. Grant, opened a new and illustrious era of finance.* Down to the time of Sujah Khan, or till 1728, the Abwabs had been consolidated with the Original, or Tumar Jumma. What the Zemindars had levied under former Nazims, a succeeding Nazim would perpetuate, so that a new standard was thus assumed for every successive imposition. General information, or merely the supposition of existing profits, was adopted as the grounds for these impositions; a presumption derived from the payment of one tax, was sufficient to authorise the demand for another.

The severity of Cossim Ali's assessment was quite intolerable. Mr. Shore calls it mere pillage and rack-rent; and, so far from admitting it to be any proof of the capacity of the country, he unreservedly condemns it as downright violence and exaction, which rendered subsequent decay inevitable. Cossim Ali, in fact, attempted to realise all that the Ryots paid; to abolish every gradation of subjects between the Government, its rapacious tax-gatherers, and over-awing military on the one hand, and the miserable cultivators on the other; and even, in some instances, to deprive the latter of the portion allotted for their subsistence.

It is a remarkable feature of these Musulman settlements, and no small proof of their grievous pressure, that of the Jummas of Cossim Ali, Nuncomar, and Mohammed Reza Khan, or from 1762-3 to 1765-6, and amounting in the aggregate to 75,550,367 rupees, only 36,955,013 rupees were collected, leaving a balance uncollected of 38,595,354 rupees. Such, then, was the state of the revenue administration of the Bengal provinces when they came into the possession of the British Government. After the grant of the Dewanny until the time of Lord Cornwallis, various attempts were made by the Court of Directors to protect the Ryots against the exactions and oppressions of the Native collectors; but, as none of these schemes contemplated a reduction of tax, and as they were framed more on conjectural estimates than accurate surveys, their only effect was to increase the confusion, and by invading vested rights, and destroying ancient franchises, to accumulate difficulties in the way of any enlarged measure of permanent reform. To understand the nature of these successive projects, and of the systems of revenue at this moment existing in various parts of India, a clear conception of the principles of Musulman finance is absolutely essential; and those of our readers who will take the trouble of digesting the matters of this preliminary review, will have no difficulty in following Mr. Rickards through details, which would be otherwise quite incomprehensible.

This subject will be continued in our next Number by a delineation of the revenue system of the East India Company, from the acquisition of the Dewanny until the present time.

* Mr. Shore's Minute Appendix, Fifth Report, p. 17; Rickards's, 329.

COMPARATIVE ESTIMATES OF THE SURFACE AND POPULATION OF
THE VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE GLOBE.

No. II.

*Of densely-peopled Countries, and their means of maintaining a
still higher rate of Population.*

THE following table, No. 2, exhibits those countries and portions of the globe which are particularly remarkable for the density of their population. The fifth column, by showing the number of persons comprised in each square mile of land, gives the comparative estimate of the area with the number of inhabitants; whilst the sixth determines the number of acres for each individual. These two columns are decidedly the most important in the table, and worthy of very particular attention. Though they exhibit merely bare and simple facts, yet the results they lead to are not only exceedingly curious but of a description most conclusive. The circumstance most striking in them is, to find so great an abundance of inhabitants in countries naturally of inferior fertility, and some of which are even absolutely sterile, or placed under the influence of climates little favourable to the vegetation of the cereal plants, a *sine qua non* as regards the propagation of agriculturists. But, on examining the table, we observe that, in these places, human labour had so far succeeded in mitigating the rigour of the climate, and in changing its temperature, that soils naturally ungrateful and meagrely endowed had become by art amazingly improved, or even completely regenerated by the perseverance of the inhabitants.

It will be found, moreover, that the productiveness of a country depends more on fertility produced by artificial than by natural means; and that, whilst the application of industry converts barren and savage wastes into fertile and populous fields, countries by nature highly productive become, when labour is withdrawn, comfortless solitudes. The fact is, the bounties of nature are only of real utility to man in proportion as he renders them his own by exertion and ingenuity; and that, in general, he possesses, more or less, the most valuable qualities of social life according as population is more or less dispersed. Where men are thinly scattered over the soil, they are usually but little disposed to labour; and the incentives to exertion are less effectual where the earth is naturally fertile than where it is sterile. It is not until the inhabitants of a country become numerous, and the necessity of diligent industry compels them to proportion the means of subsistence to the increase of population, or until they satisfy excitements only to be allayed when the means of comfortable subsistence are found, that every species of land is forced into a state of productive cultivation.

Countries and Districts.	Number of Acres.	Square Miles.	Population.	Persons to sq. mile.	Acres to each person.	By Nature.	By Art.
Netherlands	15,016,800	24,870	5,500,000	226	3	Flat, swampy, and woody; one-half unfavourable to veget.	One of the most fertile, industrious, & flourishing countries, exporting the products of its soil and manufactures.
Ireland	19,436,800	30,370	7,000,000	231	2 3-4	A most stony soil, covered with bogs, marshes, moors, &c.	Excellent pastures; productive fields yielding exports for 6,000,000 in provisions; as much in manufac. articles.
Lands in cultivation	13,000,000	20,313	7,000,000	345	2	One-third of its surface composed of waste land.	The desertion of tillage for the rearing of black cattle, is hostile to the growth of population.
England, with its wastes	32,332,400	50,363	12,000,000	238	2 3-4	Light, chalky soil, covered with downs, forests, and marshes	The classic land of industry, producing 60,000,000 of exports, among which are many articles of provisions.
Without the uncultivated lands	24,100,000	33,125	12,000,000	316	2 1-60	7,932,400 acres of uncultivated land still in England alone.	14,200,000 acres of excellent pasture, and 10,200,000 acres of the best cultivated arable lands.
United Provinces, a. 1785	6,400,000	10,000	2,758,632	275	2 1-6	A continuity of putrid marshes and bogs lower than the sea.	Lands in pasture and in tillage, conquered from the sea, and rendered fertile and flourishing by industry.
Duchy of Lucca	268,800	420	138,000	329	2	A swampy and stony ground, very favourable to vegetation.	Changed into a continuity of well cultivated and most delightful gardens, producing many articles for exports.
York, West Riding	1,568,000	2,450	800,000	330	2	Woody, marshy, or grassy lands, exposed to frequent rains.	Most productive land, in very high cultivation, and crowded with rich manufactures, fine cities, &c.
Lands in cultivation	1,050,000	1,641	800,000	488	1 1-4	Still one third of waste or uncultivated lands.	700,000 acres in state of pasture, 350,000 acres in state of tillage, and an immense quantity of exports.
County of Monaghan	325,760	510	174,679	342	1 3-4	One of the poorest & most unfruitful soils in the kingdom.	One of the best cultivated and most flourishing parts of Ireland, exporting articles of provisions & manufactures.
County of Down	558,289	872	325,410	373	1 2-3	Mountainous, woody & stony soil, 58,000 acres still waste.	Excellent lands for tillage, in a very high state of cultivation, yielding grain, provisions, &c., for exportation.
County of Louth	210,560	330	124,129	376	1 2-3	Low & marshy soil, cold and loamy, but of great vegetat. quality.	Almost all arable, extremely fruitful, and yielding a good deal of corn and provisions for exportation.
Anct. Egypt, the habitable part	12,800,000	20,000	8,000,000	400	1 2	A valley and delta covered with a black fat, and rank mud.	The most fertile country, producing yearly 3 or 4 crops, and considered as the granary of the ancient world.
French Department of the North	1,367,040	2,186	904,500	425	1 1-3	Swampy or woody lands, of a cold, clayey and compact quality.	One of the best cultivated and most productive departments of France, exporting much of its manufactures.
County of Armagh	290,736	454	197,427	436	1 1-3	Lands covered with rocks and lakes, with wastes and forests.	Lands indifferent for pasture or tillage, but parcelled out in small divisions, and very productive in fax.
County of Renfrew	153,600	210	112,175	468	1 1-4	Mountainous, woody and mossy; subject to great moisture & rain.	Still two-thirds in pasture, but a county of great importance for its minerals, commerce, & manufactures.
County Dublin, without the City	142,030	221	110,437	500	1 1-5	Swampy soil, composed of cold clay and a great deal of turf.	The best cultivated and most fruitful arable lands in the kingdom, rendered flourishing by 79 towns and villages.
Island of Malta	76,800	120	60,000	500	1 1-5	A bare white rock, without veget. earth; climate very hot.	A thin surface of earth, rendered amazingly fertile and productive.
County of Surrey	485,120	758	398,668	526	1 1-6	Chalky downs and forests; a sterile soil; still 5120 acres waste.	Rich and luxuriant country, fruitful by labour. 400,000 acres in excellent pastures, and 80,000 do. of cultiv. fields.
East Flanders	128,000	200	112,000	560	1 1-8	Marshy, heathy, or woody land, exposed to fogs, frosts, & rains.	A fertile province, the barren parts of which have been rendered the most productive.
County of Lancaster	1,171,840	1,831	1,074,000	586	1 1-12	Moorlands & forests, very barren; great moisture and fogs.	Very fertile fields, excellent pasture, populous and opulent towns, and most valuable manufactures.
Without its wastes	800,000	1,250	1,074,000	860	0 3-4	371,840 acres still waste or uncultivated.	350,000 acres in state of pasture, 450,000 ditto of tillage; goods equal to the consumption of all Europe.
Israelitish Kingd. under King David	5,128,000	8,000	3,200,000	640	1	Rocky, sandy, and parched up country, in many parts barren.	Fine fertile land, flowing with milk and honey, exporting yearly quantities of corn, barley, oil, wine, &c.
Barbadoes, a. 1676	104,840	164	150,000	915	0 2-3	Asavage & wretched island, with a scorching & sickly climate.	One of the most fruitful and populous spots on earth, employing 400 sail ships to export the products of its soil.
Ancient Egypt, in exporting to only 50,000,000 bushels of corn, yielded support for a populat. of				24,000,000	1200	0 1-2	

By these reiterated exertions of agricultural industry, a comparatively small number of husbandmen are enabled to provide food for the far larger population who are manufacturers and merchants. Artisans, in their turn, by inventing implements and machinery, and tradesmen, by establishing division of labour, and providing channels of outlet for commodities, facilitate and encourage the efforts of the agriculturist. When, in this manner, agriculture has furnished abundantly the necessities of life, and other wants and desires than those of food are created,—when capitalists and labourers have divided themselves into the great classes of agriculturists, manufacturers, and merchants,—the first supplying the raw material, the second working it into such shapes as convenience has brought into demand, and the third effecting the mutual exchange required, (a raw equivalent of one species of industry for the manufactured produce of another,)—a vivifying influence is diffused over the whole frame of society, its prosperity promoted, its civilisation advanced, and the population of all classes augmented and encouraged. Thus, then, an abundant population is a means of developing industry; and, as industry augments the number of inhabitants in a country, the one can neither advance nor recede without the other. By their mutual agency, all the wants of a community are supplied, and a surplus created which augments with the increment of its creative power.

Plain and precise facts may be satisfactorily adduced to show that countries which to all appearance are overloaded with population, are in reality those which are best able to support their inhabitants; for, taking a surplus population over that required for cultivation of the soil as an example, if the number of persons of which a nation consists exceeds that which is demanded for agricultural employment, the supernumerary population find the means of subsistence by providing such articles as will tempt the agricultural class to give in exchange the surplus of their produce. Hence it has been said, that there is no country known to have existed, where the population was checked in its progress, or kept in debasement, for want of the means of subsistence. This assertion, though at variance with what experience teaches as well of the pastoral as of the savage state, is, however, perfectly true when applied to the agricultural condition of society, where, instead of being checked, population is constantly extended by the increasing multiplication of such means as are calculated to support its extension; the means administering to the growth of a community being effectually obtained by the increase of a population, in defiance of the good or bad quality of the soil which that community occupies. If the opposite opinion, advanced by the advocates of celibacy and of monastic life, were true, the anti-social results which they anticipate ought to be produced in those countries that are highly peopled; but we shall find, as we proceed, that this doctrine is

quite untenable, being disavowed by experience, and explicitly contradicted by facts.

There is another position hazarded by the same school of political economists who force on us the dilemma of celibacy: it is, that food increases only in an *arithmetical*, whilst population augments in a *geometrical*, ratio. On the contrary, however, we find that mankind increase by addition, in the manner of figures placed one under the other, whilst the products of social industry accumulate by multiplication, or as figures disposed horizontally, or side by side; and, finally, a very satisfactory conclusion may be drawn from some unquestionable facts, which go to prove that the scourge of famine most ordinarily afflicts those countries which have not arrived at that point in which a mutual accommodation is diffused over the whole community, proportioned to the augmented subsistence required for the increasing wants of increasing numbers; but that this scourge is sufficiently guarded against by that provident condition of society which includes contrivances and expedients immediately resulting from the necessities of a dense population.

Commencing our statistical researches with the Netherlands, we shall find that this portion of ancient Belgium was represented by the Roman historians as cold and foggy, and in great part covered with low unhealthy swamps. Towards the east, the dense forest of Ardennes, stretching from the Treviri to the Nervii on the Scheld, extended 250 miles in length by 100 in breadth. It was ranged by wild oxen and horses, herds of elks, and especially by multitudes of rein-deer, animals which frequent only the colder regions, thus affording testimony of the great severity of the climate that then prevailed there. The western part exhibited a long continuity of noisome and putrid marshes, intermixed with narrow slips of land, in no respect favourable to vegetation. This region of swamps and marshes, being lower than the tides of the ocean and the floods of the neighbouring rivers, seemed incapable of drainage, and impervious to any efforts of human industry. A commercial spirit, however, and the disposable capital, as well as the disposable population of the middle ages, brought with them a combination of circumstances, which rendered the practical wisdom of human art superior to the obstacles of nature, and redeemed from inundation a large and fertile country. It was during the seventeenth century, that the people, throwing off the yoke of a sanguinary and bigoted tyrant, and conquering for themselves a noble independence, raised their country into a condition at once more industrious and better peopled than any spot of similar extent in the world. Notwithstanding that in the Netherlands there are still districts covered with heath, or interspersed with lakes and extensive marshes and forests, the population is yet extremely numerous—226 inhabitants being found in the square mile, or in the proportion of three acres for each individual. Their

agriculture exhibits what may be done by industry, economy, and perseverance. The proportion of those who draw their means of subsistence from the capital and labour of the community, is much larger than in any other division of the European commonwealth. Continually animated by a spirit of activity, uncultivated heaths presented objects of enterprise to an industrious people; and it is not less remarkable than astonishing, that some of the most barren portions of the country have been rendered the most profitable by the abundant crops of flax and other exportable produce, which are there reared in great perfection. Their manufacturing industry is highly flourishing; in some articles it is deemed unrivalled. Their commerce, at one time exceeding that of any country of the world, though latterly diminished by the successful competition of other nations, promotes their manufactures and agriculture. By the combined powers of skill and industry creating a superabundance of marketable produce, they carry on an export trade to a vast extent. As part of the produce which the cultivator himself does not consume finds other consumers in the wants of other countries, the inhabitants are still capable of increasing and multiplying. A higher rate of population gives them the means of augmenting the surplus produce of their own industry; and those inferior soils to be found in the least favoured or most unfruitful parts of the kingdom, draw to them a continued succession of cultivators.

This latter statement is a fact confirmed by the present condition of the United Provinces. About the year 1789, 275 inhabitants were to be found in the square mile, averaging two-and-a-half acres of land to each individual. Now, as the United Provinces are that portion of the Low Countries immediately snatched from the inundations of the sea and the inland floods by the persevering industry already adverted to, and as they are preserved by stupendous dykes which the inhabitants have raised, and still support with incredible expense of labour and superintendence,—this accumulation of inhabitants may be considered most astonishing. The effect which ensued was, indeed, not less striking than the means used to accomplish it. Swamps and marshes being drained and converted into excellent meadows,—and the gross and foggy atmosphere purified and attenuated, the land became fitted for tillage, and was made to yield its harvest to the hand of the cultivator, while innumerable flocks and herds of the very largest breed in Europe were raised and fattened upon plains where lately stagnant waters alone spread themselves as haunts for aquatic birds. The inhabitants who had effected this happy transformation, becoming proprietors of dairies, manufactured prodigious quantities of the best butter and cheese in the world; and all the produce of their agricultural industry, when the calls for home consumption had been supplied, were found yielding a disposable surplus for the demands of

a large export trade. Thus a country, once a mere miry waste apparently the most impracticable and unpromising, when reclaimed by the steady application of human labour, was made to furnish as great abundance of the commodities of life, and upon as easy terms, as they are to be met with in the best countries of Europe.

But the flourishing state of the Dutch manufacturing and commercial industry may be considered still more remarkable; for manufactures of all sorts were carried on with great perfection of execution, and some with a superiority which set competition at defiance. At length there was hardly a spot upon the earth, into which the trade of Holland had not penetrated, or from which this industrious and enterprising people had not gleaned certain profits to enrich their native land. The advantages effected by persevering labour were remarkably exhibited in the number of its splendid towns, computed at 150,—its villages at 1500,—an amount extraordinary for the narrow confines of the country. A general increase of the population was every where excited and developed. This accumulation of numbers brought into requisition every species of industry, which was assisted again by the cheapness of labour. Thus a country which owed its very existence among the states of Europe to a series of artificial expedients, stood as an evidence of what the creative powers of a community could effect, acting with unity and firmness, and excited by one common principle. It was an extraordinary product of human industry, and yet it presents results still more interesting and curious when we reflect that a population so dense, and at that time the greatest of any country in the world, has yet been able to support a continued augmentation of numbers.

In the neighbouring province of Flanders, these advantages were obtained in a still higher degree. French Flanders, or the Department du Nord, is the most populous or best inhabited part of France. With a soil far less fertile, and a climate far less favourable than what are possessed by many other departments, it has by the ingenious application of well-directed labour raised its population to the high rate of 425 persons to the square mile, being one acre and three-fourths for each inhabitant; and this proportion, already so great, increases rapidly. East Flanders gives a still higher statistical return, since 560 inhabitants are to be found in the square mile, offering only one acre and one-eighth for each individual. During the period that this accumulation of inhabitants was going on, productive cultivation was advancing in a ratio still more rapid than the wants of the community, since there was always such an unappropriated surplus of subsistence that Flanders was often reckoned the granary of France and Germany, and not unfrequently of England. This province was regarded, in short, as one of the pleasantest, as well as one of the richest and most fruitful, spots in Europe. To these advantages of well-regulated cultivation, if we add those obtained

by the flourishing state of its manufactures, its great exports and extensive commerce, it will be seen that no country is better able to increase and multiply its inhabitants, and more easily to bear such increase; for it proves that the plenty secured by the surplus of industry, provides abundantly for the growth of population, how crowded soever it may be, and possesses means for warding off the affliction of scarcity, or the visitation of famine.

If from the Continent we proceed to the survey of Ireland, we find that nature had bestowed here a soil so universally rocky that it predominated every where; and a climate so moist, and seasons so generally wet and foggy, that the lower plains were, for the most part, converted into morasses, fens, and peat-mosses, while extensive districts were covered with lakes and forests. The moisture which these combined to produce was one of the most inconvenient circumstances of the climate; the air becoming impregnated with noxious exhalations, its inhabitants were placed in a country where scarcely any advantage was to be obtained, except from the labours of industry. They soon availed themselves of art to aid the capability of the soil, and by the destruction of the forests obtained the finest pastures in the world, where cattle might be bred and herds reared innumerable; but lands, in every respect suitable for tillage, have not been rendered as productive as they might have been. The inhabitants, whom ancient authors have represented as existing in the odious and disgusting condition of savage life, increased very slowly, till the end of the sixteenth century, when Sir Walter Raleigh introduced into the island the potatoe. After the culture of this American vegetable and its adoption as food became general, the population multiplied rapidly, doubling itself in half a century, or rather quadrupling itself in less time than the population of Britain took to double its numbers. At the present period, it has attained a ratio of 231 inhabitants to the square mile, being $2\frac{3}{4}$ acres to each person.* As there are only two-thirds of the surface

* The first authentic account of the population of Ireland is given by Sir William Petty, in his tract entitled 'The Political Anatomy of Ireland.' Sir William had been employed by Government to superintend the survey and valuation of the forfeited estates, instituted during the Protectorate; and so well did he execute his task that this survey still continues after the lapse of two centuries to be the standard of reference in Courts of Law, as to all points of property. At this time, when Parliamentary discussion has a paramount and peculiar reference to this portion of the empire, the statistical facts of Sir William Petty become highly valuable. In illustration of the foregoing remarks, these are his words:

'The number of people now in Ireland (1672) is about 1,100,000, viz. 300,000 English, Scotch, and Welch Protestants, and 800,000 Papists; whereof one-fourth are children unfit for labour, and about 75,000 of the remainder are, by reason of their quality and estates, above the neces-

of the island in a state of culture, the real proportion will be 345 persons to a square mile, leaving only two acres for each individual. This number is certainly very considerable, especially if we reflect that all the fields in a state of tillage are far from being well cultivated, and that the peculiar adaptation of the land for pasturage occasions the desertion of tillage for the rearing of cattle and sheep, to the consequent injury of the growth of population, and to the manifest discouragement of industry. Notwithstanding these evident disadvantages, the country not only supplies food for its numerous inhabitants, but produces a surplus for annual exportation amounting, on an average, to six millions of pounds sterling in provisions alone, and nearly as much in Irish manufactures. But what is more to be remarked, the population at home, and the overplus of provisions for export, increase together with equal rapidity, and show that there is, in effect, a mutual operation, one being the consequence of the other. It is true, that, like the ancient Egyptians, who lived upon pulse, and sold their corn, the mere Irish feed almost wholly upon potatoes, and export their best provisions; if, however, the peasantry of Ireland do not live well, the fault is ascribable not to the country, whose natural fertility pours forth such abundance, but to those evils which are the result of moral and political causes. With better institutions, a more enlightened policy, and a system of agriculture as skilful as that of England, the island could support, very easily, a population at least four times as numerous as the present, since the lands now in culture, at twenty bushels of wheat per acre, could be made to yield sixty-five millions of quarters, whilst at present the six millions sterling in exported provisions represent only three hundred and seventy-five thousand quarters of corn, that is, subsistence for a million more of inhabitants; and nearly as much might be obtained in addition from its export of manufactured commodities.

By this computation, we perceive the great advantage of arable lands over pasture, and the importance of converting meadows into

sity of corporal labour; so as there remain 750,000 labouring men and women, 500,000 whereof do perform the present work of the nation.

The said 1,100,000 people do live in about 200,000 families or houses, whereof there are about 16,000 which have more than one chimney in each, and about 24,000 which have but one; all the other houses, being 160,000, are wretched nasty cabins, without chimney, window, or door-shut, even worse than those of the savage Americans, and wholly unfit for the making merchantable butter, cheese, or the manufactures of woollen, linen, or leather.

By comparing the extent of the territory with the number of people, it appears that Ireland is much under-peopled; forasmuch as there are about ten acres of good land to every head in Ireland; whereas in England and France there are but four, and in Holland scarce one.—Pp. 114 and 118, ed. 1719.

corn fields, in the very many instances in Ireland in which the ground promises well for the culture of grain. This is not the bold speculation of a theorist; its effects have been shown by experience, and beneficially practised in many parts of this very island, and, what is remarkable, not in the most fertile counties, as Limerick, Tipperary, or Meath, but in those naturally the poorest in soil; and the result of such persevering labour and well-directed industry has been to render the districts in which such experiments have been tried at once the best cultivated and peopled, as well as the most productive and flourishing, of any spots in the kingdom. In this manner the county of Monaghan, from being poor and ill-peopled, has become rich and populous, so as to have risen to the rate of 342 inhabitants to the square mile, being one acre and three-quarters for each individual; besides carrying on an export trade in provisions and manufactured articles. The county of Down is still more thriving; its arable lands, being in a high state of cultivation, yield a large surplus of grain and other provisions, so that its number of inhabitants has been raised to the rate of 373 to the square mile, or one acre and three-quarters for each individual. The county of Lowth is almost all arable; its lands, having been thus rendered fertile, produce a great quantity of corn and other articles for exportation, notwithstanding its population is not less than 376 persons to the square mile, or one acre and two-thirds for each inhabitant. The county of Armagh, with a soil naturally unyielding and rocky, has been much improved in consequence of proprietors of estates having distributed their lands into small allotments: the ground has thus made good returns to the labourer, especially when hemp and flax have been cultivated for the linen-manufacture. These have produced their effects on the growth of population, raising the number of persons on a square mile to 436; that is, one acre and one-third for each individual. In regard to the county of Dublin, the neighbourhood of the capital has rendered its fields the best cultivated and most fertile of the kingdom. Eighty towns or large villages being situated in the country around, the whole district has become so rich and populous, that the census of the people, without including the metropolis, averages at the rate of 500 inhabitants to the square mile, being only one and one-fifth of an acre for each.

Thus facts and experience, pointing out the means by which the poorest parts of Ireland have become the most flourishing and best peopled, sufficiently show how those countries which possess a better soil may easily improve their condition and increase their population. As to that spirit of enterprise which carries so many of the labouring Irish into all parts, it is not so prejudicial to agriculture by diminishing the working classes at home as might at first seem, because the population increases with a rapidity more than equal to the wants of the land brought under cultivation. If we call to mind that the provinces of Spain which furnished the

greatest number of emigrants, were constantly the most populous in the kingdom, we may be led to draw this inference, that an excitement to emigration is a continual incitement to the propagative powers of human society. Be that as it may, never was there a country which, losing so many of its community without supplying such loss by fresh immigration, replenished so speedily the number of its labouring classes. Notwithstanding that a long series of unhappy moral and political circumstances have vitiated its whole public economy, and retarded that better destiny which might have awaited the physical capabilities of its people, its value and importance as a component part of the British empire are not over-rated in esteeming it one of the brightest jewels in the crown of Britain.

When the Romans invaded Britain, the country exhibited no very promising appearance. It was overspread by immense forests, extensive heaths, chalky downs, rank meadowlands, and numerous fens and marshes. Its inhabitants, who used no sort of grain, but chiefly subsisted on animal food and milk, were a population few in number and spread widely apart. The Romans, in introducing the arts of civilised life, and establishing that relationship of conjugal affection unknown to the matrimonial institutions of Britain, which admitted a community of wives, changed at once the wild features of the country, as well as those of society. Forests were cleared, marshes drained, towns built, and an impulse given to the increase of the people, which rendered this island the nursery of the Roman army. After the Romans withdrew, this progress was retarded, and for a time stopped in its advance by the successive invasions of the Picts, the Saxons, the Danes, and the Normans. These ravages and devastations being further aggravated by convulsions at home and contentions abroad, which desolated the country from one end to the other, it was not until the Protestant Reformation, in the 16th century, breaking in upon the monastic institutions, and conferring a new, though, for a time, a slow impulse upon population, that it doubled itself in something more than a century;—and in these later times, when the principal sources of public industry are better understood, and produce a simultaneous action in the progress of social life, its numbers have been increased two-fold in something less than a century. The population of England, without adding that of Wales, is, at this time, rated at 238 persons to the square mile, being to each person a proportion of 2 2-3ds acres; but, as there is still a fourth part of the surface composed of waste lands, the ratio, in fact, would rise to 315 inhabitants to the square mile, exhibiting an average of 2 1-60th acres to each person.

• This dense population, the highest of all the great states now existing on the earth, is powerfully quickened by the best practical agriculture, by manufactures the most numerous and ingenious, by commercial intercourse prosecuted with an industry and success

unexampled in any country, and by a system of profitable labour, assisted by an inland communication by means of canals and roads so admirably constructed as to give it advantages that do not exist in any other country whatever. It is scarcely possible to limit the extent to which population may be kept increasing when such powerful agents, the result of progressive skill and ingenuity, are applied to stimulate, by reciprocal action, its advancement and that of its industry. Of the 24 millions of acres now in cultivation, there are about 14 millions in a state of pasture. Ten millions only are in tillage,—a disproportion which would seem little adapted for an increasing population. This greater proportion of pasture allows a greater consumption of animal food than what is known in any other country. By bringing into requisition a million and a half of labourers, the arable land might produce at the rate of twenty bushels of wheat to the acre yearly,—an additional support that would maintain a community five-fold the number of that existing at present, calculating at the average rate of four bushels per inhabitant. A large portion of valuable soil would still be withdrawn from the cultivation of human food for purposes of taste and luxury, whilst yet uncounted benefits might be made to result to manufactures and commerce, by about two millions of additional artisans and tradesmen, who, by their labour would furnish, the one the chief articles of exportable trade, and the other the means of profitable barter. At present, among the annual exports are to be found bacon and hams, beef and pork, beer and ale, bread and biscuits, corn and flour, butter and cheese, hops and seeds, and other articles to the amount of two millions sterling. These exports altogether have exceeded fifty millions in value, a sum that represents one hundred millions of bushels of corn, or more than the average annual consumption of wheat in Great Britain and Ireland. With the powerful means of effecting an almost exhaustless production here shown, England can support an immense increase in its population, even supposing industry should remain stationary,—a circumstance not to be expected, because experience proves that the products of industry are multiplied in a greater ratio than the increase of population. This will be seen by the following statement.

England.

Years.	Population.	Increase of Population.	Exportations of British Produce & Manufactures	Increase of Exports.
1781	7,473,000		£8,000,000	.
1791	8,175,000	702,000	16,810,019	£8,810,019
1801	8,331,000	156,000	25,719,980	8,909,961
1811	9,538,827	1,207,827	34,940,550	9,220,570
1821	11,261,437	1,722,610	43,558,490	8,617,940
1824	12,218,500	957,063	53,341,700	9,783,210

This result must appear conclusive ; since it proves, that, whilst population was increasing by thousands, the surplus proceeds of industry which were exported, were increased by millions. Thus, the calculations of some economists, who advance a doctrine very opposite to this, are contradicted by facts ; and the fallacy of a geometrical ratio to be ascribed to population, whilst an arithmetical one was to be applied to the growth of food, is exposed by details showing the reality to be just the reverse. The complex multiplication of the produce over the simple increase of the producer, is the result of that knowledge and ingenuity in man, which arms him with the force of all the elements, in order to ease the toil, and abridge the number, of labourers. Every mechanical improvement and invention, therefore, whatever may be its immediate tendency in temporarily displacing a number of the working class, brings with it benefits, not confined to the capitalist, but extending to all classes of the community. We must admit this, or, if we reject the use of machinery, reflect on the fallacy in which we must be involved, when an appeal is made to that dense population of the world, who could not otherwise draw sustenance from the earth for their numbers but by the assistance of the plough and other useful instruments of production. Those who argue otherwise, dispensing with the aid of the mill and the waggon, and condemning men to effect all their ends by mere animal strength, would increase, indeed, opportunities of industry for a labouring people, but would diminish the comforts of civilisation ; for it is to render the quantity of commodities produced greater in proportion to the quantity of labour set in motion, that the faculty of invention becomes excited : and the power acquired by mechanical help is then but a more judicious employment of labour, which gives to the inhabitants of a country, as we see in the case of England, a superiority in all the practical purposes of life, that at once accelerates the means of increase, and adds to the support of a growing population.

Temporary occurrences do not invalidate these principles : the results having been confirmed by the experience of many countries, they stand upon unexceptionable authority. If we take the West Riding of Yorkshire, we find there a district but little favoured by nature, indebted to the art and industry of its inhabitants for lands the best cultivated, and the most productive, crowded with fine cities, besides large villages and towns, and opulent manufactures. Though the third of its surface be still waste, there are three hundred and thirty persons to the square mile, being about two acres to each inhabitant ; but, if we exclude the waste lands from our reckoning, the rate of population would rise to four hundred and eighty-eight persons to the square mile, or one and a quarter acre to each individual ; 1,050,000 acres of land are in culture, but of these 700,000 being pasture, only 350,000 are in tillage,—a disproportion, though manifestly injurious to the growth of population alleviated by the flourishing state of trade and manufactures

whilst its lands, in addition to the food derived from its pastures, at the rate of twenty bushels of wheat per acre, would yield supplies for double its existing number of inhabitants.

The county of Surrey is a still better example of the creating genius of man, by his indefatigable industry. This county, though naturally one of the poorest and most sterile in the kingdom, has been converted into one of the richest and most luxuriant. Though five parts of the surface are chalky downs in a state of pasture, the population has attained the high rate of 526 persons to the square mile, being one and one-sixth of an acre to each individual,—a surprising density for such a soil, but still yearly increasing.

The prolific influence of manufactures on the growth of population has no where been seen to such advantage as in Lancashire. Occupied formerly by the fierce and wild Brigantes, who, scattered among its moorlands, its forests, and wastes, wandered with their flocks under a foggy sky and a wet climate, it at present exhibits high lands and low lands, that form the most luxuriant prospects : corn and meadow grounds, with the intermixture of enclosures and plantations, cheerful villages and populous towns, convey an idea of the opulence effected by trade, by manufactures, and industry.

The manufactures in this district, by the crowded societies they create, would seem to towns what towns are to the country. From the collision of this mass, one with the other, there results an improvement of the mind, with an impairing of the physical powers, like the precious gems that, while by mutual friction they round their asperities and develop their brilliancy, diminish also their bulk and injure their frame. Still there are moral qualities in manufacturing communities, which, producing their effects on the arts, create excitements which directly and indirectly thrust forward the bulk of society, till they fill new functions, or acquire stations hitherto unoccupied, as fluids, when impelled, overflow and spread themselves into low and empty places. It is by such indirect means that the county of Lancaster has been rendered so very densely peopled. The proportion of the acre to the population is at this time as 586 inhabitants to the square mile, or as one and a half acre to each person ; but, as one-third of the surface still lies waste, the positive ratio is 860 persons to the square mile, or three-fourths of an acre to each individual. This surprising ratio is continually increasing ; and, though facts prove much better than arguments its power of affording subsistence to such a population, we will investigate whether this is done by effective means within the county. The question may be at once solved by this computation : 450 thousand acres of arable land, at twenty bushels of wheat per acre, could supply food for a number of persons amounting to double that of the present population. Then there are the products of 350 thousand acres of pasturage, beside extensive commons, and, above all,

the advantages derived from a prodigious quantity of manufactured goods, equal to the consumption of all Europe. As every kind of industry, by the strength of the motives to save, and to employ savings in production, and in the replacing by fresh accumulations the large masses necessarily abstracted from the national capital by public exigencies, creates a surplus, the enlightened and industrious population of this county has within itself the means of adding to its strength,—so that the amazing proportion of 860 inhabitants to the square mile is under-rating the maximum of its capability; and yet, if England was peopled in this ratio to its present cultivable surface, it would possess a population of fifty millions of souls.

In the next Number we shall proceed to illustrate the same principles, by an examination of the circumstances as to population of some of the most distinguished countries and nations of antiquity.

G. G.

HYMN TO NATURE.

By Edward Quillinan, Esq.

GODDESS of the green retreats,
Thee my boundless worship greets!
Every hill and every dell
Has for me a Druid cell;
Every leafy fane of thine
Holds for me a holy shrine.

Where the river flows and flaunts
Wide astray from human haunts;
Where the ruin's lonely mass
Clouds its waters as they pass;
Where the light and frolic fawn
Bounds along the dews of dawn;
Where at noon, by pool or brook,
Crowds the herd in wild-wood nook;
Where at eve, from toil released,
Rests the meek disburthen'd beast;
Wheresoe'er my footsteps roam,
Nature, still I find a home;
And in every bower of thine
Still my worship finds a shrine.

LA MARTINIERE.

THOSE who by personal observation, or the relation of others, are aware of the immense variety of interests, the conflicting influence of which renders our Government in India feeble and insecure, will readily acknowledge, that if there exist in European society an element of discord, yet a stranger to our Eastern territories, no exertion should be spared to prevent its introduction. That some great change must soon take place in the character of our connection with India, by which a closer and more intimate intercourse between the superior and dependent state may be secured, we trust there is no good reason to doubt. Free settlement and colonization will, ere long, produce a mighty revolution in the condition of India; an identity of interest will knit together all classes of the community; and if no acescent ingredient be permitted to curdle the union thus formed for mutual advantage, happiness, content, and prosperity will speedily be found among its fruits. The various systems of fiscal extortion under which the people are now condemned to live, have, unfortunately, rendered the necessary means of subsistence so precarious and uncertain, that all their energies are directed to the provision for their animal wants. They have no heart to listen to instruction, no taste for lessons of moral virtue, no desire to fashion their habits and modes of thought on the model of their more civilized rulers. Doomed to a servitude of which there appears no limit in severity or duration, the prospect of improving their condition never enters into their contemplation; the sole object of their life is to save from the rapacity of the tax-gatherer their miserable pittance of rice; and they turn with loathing and indifference from the moral maxims and religious novelties of the governors by whom they are plundered and oppressed.

The time, however, cannot now be distant when some attempt will be made to reconcile the interests of England with the well-being of the people of India. In every department of our administration, innumerable signals indicate an approaching change. The wise recognition of long disputed claims at home, has given leisure to legislative attention; the restless activity of ambition will soon seek new objects of employment; and to a mind really anxious to promote the honour of his country and the happiness of mankind at large, none presents itself in such bold and prominent relief as the emancipation of our Indian subjects. A very slight investigation will suffice to demonstrate the utter inability of India to defray the charges of its present Government. The treasures of Madras and Bombay have long ago been drained. The revenues of Bengal barely suffice for its own mean and parsimonious establishments: not one rupee remains to civilise or improve, to conquer

the abhorrence of the Natives to our manners and institutions, to diffuse the blessings of education, to stimulate industry, to reward merit, or even to tempt a deliberate comparison between their own degrading superstitions and the enlightened ordinances of revealed religion. Clear enough it must be to every one who has candidly considered the subject, that the system of extorting from the miserable ryots the last anna of their hard-earned gains, cannot be permitted to continue; and that on whomsoever the burthen may fall, the peasantry must at all events be relieved.

When this measure of justice and humanity shall be accomplished, and free settlement shall have introduced to the Natives of India a body of Europeans not actuated by motives of unprincipled gain, it may be rationally hoped that their prejudices and superstitions will gradually wear away, and that some disposition will be manifested to learn from their new friends and associates the secret of their moral and intellectual superiority. But before any such effects can be expected to arise in the remote portions of our dominions, the groundwork must be laid at the seats of Government. From the three Presidencies, and principally from Calcutta, the stream of every comprehensive system of improvement must flow. Of the institutions of the metropolis, the features will be reflected throughout the provinces, and the opinions expressed by those in immediate contiguity with the parent establishment will, of necessity, regulate the influence and efficiency of its ramifications in the departments. If the people of India discover that a spirit of jealousy and exclusion, of distrust and hatred, divides and disgraces the professors of that Christianity which is represented to them as a mild, merciful, and charitable dispensation,—and that though united in a generic name, the preachers of the new doctrines are separated into an infinite variety of sects and parties, mutually hating and injuring each other,—we may rest assured that they will not lightly relinquish a system under which they at least enjoy religious peace, merely to embrace a creed replete with theoretical contradictions, and practically injurious to society, by embittering with spiritual and theological antipathies the ordinary occupations of life.

We have been led to these reflections by the constructions put by the Supreme Court at Calcutta on the provisions of the will of the late General Martin. It is in all probability known to many of our readers that the General left a considerable sum (350,000 sicca rupees) to the town of Calcutta to found and endow a charity-school. The will contained a direction by which the means of carrying this intention into effect after his decease were left in the discretion of Government or of the Supreme Court. The matter was referred by their Lordships to the Master to report as to the best mode of giving effect to the intentions of the testator; and the apparent and constructive discrepancies between the will itself and the scheme

approved of, have been the subject of much discussion in the Calcutta papers.

The following is an extract from the will of General Martin :

‘ I give and bequeath the sum of two hundred thousand sicca rupees to the town of Calcutta, to be put at interest in Government paper, or in the most secure mode possible ; and this principal and interest to be put under the protection of Government or the Supreme Court, that they may devise an institution, the most necessary for the public good of the town of Calcutta, or establishing a school to educate a certain number of children of any sex to a certain age, and to have them put apprentice to some profession when at the conclusion of their school, and to have them married when of age ; and I also wish that every year a premium of a few rupees or other things, and a medal, be given to the most deserving or virtuous girl or boy, or to both, to such that have come out of that school, or that are still in it, and this to be done on the same day of the month I died : that day, those that are to be married are to be married, and to have a sermon preached at the church to the boys and girls of the school ; afterwards a public dinner for the whole, and a toast to be drunk in memorandum of the founder. This institution is to bear the title of ‘ La Martinière,’ and to have an inscription either on stone or marble in large character, to be fixed in any part of the school, on it wrote : “ Instituted by Major-General Martin, born the — of January, 1735, at Lyons, who died the day, month, and year, (mentioning the day, month, and year,) and buried at —, (mentioning the place ;) and as I am little able to make any arrangement for such an institution, I am in hope Government or the Supreme Court will devise the best institution for the public good, and to have it, as I said above, mentioned in the name of the institutor. After every article of my or this will and testament is or are fully settled, and every article provided and paid for the several pensions, or other gifts, donations, institution, and other, any sum remaining may be made to serve, first to buy or build a house for the institution, as that it may be made permanent and perpetual by securing the interest by Government paper either in India or Europe, that the interest annually may support the institution. For this reason, give and bequeath one hundred and fifty thousand sicca rupees more, according to the proportion that may remain after every article of this testament is fulfilled, then this to be added for the permanency of that institution, making the sum of three hundred and fifty thousand sicca rupees.’

Alterations of the Scheme for a School, contained in the Master's Report, in the Case of Edward Streettell at the relation of Wickens v. John Palmer and Others.

‘ Art. I.—That a School be established within the limits of the town of Calcutta, and for the benefit of the said town, upon a plan which

shall be, as nearly as possible, in conformity with the directions of the will of General Claude Martin, deceased.

'Art. II.—That out of the funds, now standing to the credit of this cause in the name of the Accountant-General, 80,000 sicca rupees be appropriated and applied to the purpose of erecting, furnishing, and completing a building in Hastings-place, upon the ground already purchased under an order of the Supreme Court made in this suit, and that such building shall be of plain and simple appearance, but of solid and substantial structure, and shall consist of a school-room sufficient for at least one hundred scholars, and of a dining-hall for the same number, and a library of sufficient size on the ground floor, and that, over these, there shall be convenient apartments for a schoolmaster and schoolmistress and ten girls. That the building shall front north and south, and have a broad verandah on each side for the use of the scholars when they are not in school; and that on one of the fronts there shall be a marble tablet, containing an inscription in these words: 'This school, named "*La Martinière*," was established and is supported by means of property bequeathed for that purpose by Claude Martin, a native of France, and a Major-General in the service of the Honourable East India Company. He was born at the City of Lyons, in the month of January, of the year of our Lord, 1735, and died at Lucknow, in the kingdom of Oude, on the day of in the year of our Lord, 18 . That building was completed in the year of our Lord, 182 , and that sufficient and convenient offices and out-houses be also built for the accommodation of the school-master and school-mistress, and ten girls, who may be constantly resident upon the premises, and for preparing the daily breakfast and dinner of one hundred boys as day-boarders; and that the whole of the ground shall be surrounded by a wall and gates, and be laid out in the manner best adapted for securing a free ventilation of the buildings, and for affording the means of recreation and exercise to the scholars at proper hours of the day; and that the trustee or receiver appointed by the Supreme Court in this suit be authorised and required to contract for, direct, superintend, and complete the said building according to the foregoing directions; and that after the completion, furnishing, fitting up, and duly ordering of the said buildings and grounds, and the purchase of a library as hereinafter directed, the residue of the whole sum now standing to the credit of this cause, be invested in Bengal Government securities in the name of the Charity of *La Martinière* for the maintenance, support, and carrying on of the said school; and that the interest of the said principal sum be received by the Deputy-Visitor, to be appointed as hereinafter directed, who shall be answerable for the same, and who shall have authority to make all payments thereout, which may be allowed by the decree of the Court; and after the payment of all such sums for the maintenance, support, and carrying on of the said school accord-

ing to the decree of the Court, he shall be bound at the end of each year to invest the residue of the said interest, if there should be any, in Bengal Government securities, in the name of the Charity of La Martinière, as an increase and addition to the principal sum originally invested for the support of the school.

‘Art. III.—That a useful library of books in the English language only, be purchased, under the directions of the Deputy-Visitor to be appointed, as hereinafter directed, for the use of scholars, as hereafter directed, and that none of the books be allowed to be taken away from the premises and ground belonging to the school.

‘Art. IV.—That the Governor-General for the time being, or the Vice-President, or other person acting as Governor-General, shall be visitor of the school, if on or before the day of

which shall be in the year of our Lord 182 , the assent thereto of the Governor-General in Council shall be obtained.

‘Art. V.—That a Deputy-Visitor of the school shall from time to time be appointed by the Supreme Court of Judicature, subject to the approbation of the Governor-General in Council, and that such appointment shall be communicated to the Governor-General in Council as soon as it is made; and unless within fourteen days after such communication the disapprobation of the Governor-General in Council shall be duly signified to the Supreme Court, the said appointment shall be valid and effectual: provided always, that for serious misconduct or great neglect the Supreme Court may at any time, with the approbation of the Governor-General in Council, revoke such appointment and remove such Deputy-Visitor from all care and superintendence of the said school, and from all interference therewith; and that it shall be the duty of the said Deputy-Visitor to receive and dispose, in the manner hereinbefore directed, of the interest accruing upon the principal sums invested for the support of the school, and visit, inspect, examine, and inquire into the affairs, management, and conduct of the said school; and once in every quarter of a year to lay before the Governor-General in Council and the Supreme Court of Judicature, a report of the accounts and of the state and proceedings of the said school; and once a year, upon the anniversary of the death of the founder, to preach, or if the said Deputy-Visitor shall not be in holy orders, then to procure a clergyman of the Church of England to preach, an appropriate sermon to the boys and girls of the said school, who for that purpose shall be assembled by the master and mistress at some church in Calcutta; and, from time to time, to appoint such convenient vacations and holidays for the said school as he may deem expedient, and to do all other things which may be directed by the decree of the Court; and that out of the interest of the principal sum to be invested as before directed for the support of the said school, the Deputy-Visitor do annually appropriate and set apart,

and apply, as a salary or remuneration for himself, the said Deputy-Visitor, the sum of 4,200 sicca rupees.

‘Art. VI.—That the appointment of a school-master and school-mistress shall from time to time be made by the Deputy-Visitor, subject to the approbation of the Governor-General in Council, and the Supreme Court of Judicature, to whom such appointment shall be communicated immediately on its being made; and unless either the said Governor-General in Council, or the said Supreme Court shall signify their disapprobation to the Deputy-Visitor within fourteen days after the appointment shall have been communicated to them, the said appointment shall be valid and effectual: provided always, that for any misconduct or neglect the Deputy-Visitor may, with the approbation of the Governor-General in Council, and of the Supreme Court of Judicature, revoke such appointment, and dismiss and remove from the said school, the said school-master and school-mistress; and that, from the interest accruing on the principal sum invested as before directed for the maintenance and support of the school, the Deputy-Visitor do annually set apart, and appropriate, and pay over the sum of 7,200 sicca rupees as the salary of the school-master, and 3,600 sicca rupees as the salary of the school-mistress of the said school; and that if the said school-master or school-mistress should require assistants, that they do pay their assistants out of their respective salaries.

‘Art. VII.—That the Deputy-Visitor shall from time to time select from amongst the children of the Christian inhabitants of Calcutta, a sufficient number of girls of an age not less than four years, nor more than twelve, so that there may always be the number of ten girls resident at the school, except during any holidays to be appointed as hereinbefore directed; and that such girls shall be entirely supported out of the funds belonging to the said school, and that they shall live within the building, and be instructed by the school-mistress in reading and writing, in English, Bengalee, and Hindoostanee, and in arithmetic, and in needle-work and embroidery, and such other useful skill and knowledge as may qualify them to be teachers themselves, or otherwise enable them to obtain an honest livelihood after their departure from the school; and that no girl shall be permitted to remain at the said school after she is seventeen years of age, unless she be employed as a servant or assistant teacher therein; but according to the state of the funds, moderate sums may from time to time be advanced, at the discretion and by the direction of the Deputy-Visitor, for the purpose of enabling any girl, upon her departure from the school, to obtain any honest employment or means of livelihood, or as a marriage portion for such girls.

‘Art. VIII.—That the Deputy-Visitor shall from time to time select from amongst the children of the Christian inhabitants of Calcutta, a sufficient number of boys of an age not less than five years,

nor more than ten, so as that there may always be the number of thirty boys attendant upon the said school, and supported there as day-boarders, and that no boy shall be permitted to remain at the said school after he is seventeen years of age, unless he be employed as a servant or assistant teacher therein; but that according to the state of the funds, moderate sums may from time to time be advanced at the discretion and by the direction of the Deputy-Visitor, for the purpose of putting out any boy as an apprentice, or for enabling him to obtain any other honest employment or means of livelihood upon his departure from the school; and in case any boy shall appear to be gifted with unusual talents, and to be otherwise of good disposition, and if the state of the funds will permit it, then, that the Deputy-Visitor may at his discretion appropriate and apply a reasonable sum for his further education, either at Bishop's College, or any other establishment for education, which by the Deputy-Visitor may be deemed preferable: provided always, that in case the interest accruing upon the principal sum invested for the support of the school, should at any time be found to be insufficient to maintain the same upon the scale and according to the directions here laid down, it shall be the duty of the Deputy-Visitor to report the same to the Governor-General in Council and the Supreme Court of Judicature, and to propose that some reduction shall be made in the number of the girls or boys belonging to the school, and to point out the best means of making and giving effect to such reduction; and provided such report and proposal of the Deputy-Visitor shall receive the approbation of the Governor-General in Council and the Supreme Court of Judicature, such reduction shall be made and continue until other directions and orders shall be made by the Governor-General in Council and the Supreme Court upon the further recommendation of the Deputy-Visitor.

‘ Art. IX.—That the gates of the school ground shall be opened at half an hour before sun-rise, and closed at half an hour after sun-set; and that no boy be admitted into the ground or premises before the time of opening the gates, nor be permitted to remain there after the time of closing them; and that wholesome, good, cleanly, and comfortable breakfast and dinner shall be supplied daily, for the whole of the boys and girls, at such times as they shall be attendant upon the said school, or resident thereat, and such additional meals for the girls as the Deputy-Visitor may deem to be necessary and proper.

‘ Art. X.—That the boys be instructed by the master in reading and writing, in English, Bengalee, and Hindoostanee, and in arithmetic and the elements of mathematics, and be supplied, under proper regulations, with the necessary school-books; and that the master also shall divide the boys into classes, according to their age and talents, and permit the said classes to read and study, at convenient hours, in the library, such books as the master, by and with the advice, instruction, and assistance of the Deputy-Visitor,

shall point out to each class ; and that he do, from time to time, converse with and examine the said classes as to their knowledge and understanding of such books ; and that he do assist them in their said studies, and report their progress in the same to the Deputy-Visitor.

‘ Art. XI.—That the Deputy-Visitor be at liberty to admit any other boys, being the children of Christian inhabitants of Calcutta, to attend and board at the said school, upon condition of their paying a reasonable and sufficient sum for their board, so that they be not in any way a charge upon the school funds, and upon condition also of their paying such reasonable compensation to the master as the Deputy-Visitor shall direct ; and that all such boys shall, in every respect, be educated and treated in like manner as the other boys who shall be supported out of the school funds, provided always that the Deputy-Visitor shall not admit any greater number of boys than the premises will conveniently and comfortably hold and accommodate ; provided also that the Deputy-Visitor shall have full power and authority, upon complaint being made by the school-master or school-mistress of the misconduct of any boy or girl, and upon such misconduct being proved to the satisfaction of the Deputy-Visitor, to dismiss and remove from the school the boy or girl against whom the complaint shall have been made, whether such boy be supported out of the school funds, or pay for his board and education as hereinbefore mentioned.

‘ Art. XII.—That once a-year, upon the anniversary of the death of General Claude Martin, the boys and girls of the school shall attend, as hereinbefore directed, at some Church in Calcutta, where a sermon shall be preached by the Deputy-Visitor, or by some proper person to be by him procured and appointed for that purpose, and that such anniversary shall be a holiday at the school, and that a dinner of better than the ordinary fare shall afterwards be provided at the school-house for all the boys and girls ; and any other respectable persons shall be admitted to the school-room, and in their presence the Deputy-Visitor shall distribute, to the most deserving of the boys and girls, such medals or other rewards as he, in his discretion, may think fit, and the state of the funds may permit.’

The details of the scheme of this charitable institution seem to us of the highest interest and importance. It is not the amount of the bequest, though that be considerable, nor the intentions of the testator, to which implicit deference should be paid, that strike us to be the prominent object of consideration in these arrangements of the Supreme Court. It has long been the reproach of our Government in India, that its functionaries, civil and military, regard it as a temporary exile endured merely for the sake of accumulating wealth to be afterwards hoarded or dissipated in England. ‘ Our conquest there,’ says Burke, ‘ after twenty years, is as crude as it was the first day. The Natives scarcely know what it is to see the grey head of an Englishman. Young men, almost boys, govern there without society and without sympathy with the Natives : they

have no more social habits with the people than if they still resided in England ; nor, indeed, any species of intercourse but that which is necessary to making a sudden fortune with a view to a remote settlement. Animated with all the avarice of age, and all the impetuosity of youth, they roll in one after the other, wave after wave, and there is nothing before the eyes of the Natives but an endless, hopeless prospect of new flights of birds of prey and passage, with appetites continually renewing for a food that is continually wasting. Every rupee of profit made by an Englishman is lost for ever to India. With us are no retributory superstitions, by which a foundation of charity compensates through ages to the poor for the rapine and injustice of a day. With us, no pride erects stately monuments which repair the mischiefs which pride had produced, and which adorn a country out of its own spoils. England has erected no churches, no hospitals, no palaces, no schools.' The picture here drawn by Burke, as far as individual Englishmen are concerned, is still strictly correct : and the paltry ten thousand pounds, which the 53 Geo. III. compels the Company to employ in the education of the people, merely serves as an index to the disgraceful parsimony of their government. It is humiliating to reflect that almost the first instance of charity and benevolence is to be found in a native of France. The name of General Martin will be held in honour at Calcutta, among the few Europeans who have devoted the riches which they had acquired in India to the improvement of its wretched inhabitants. Let us hope his example will be followed. Sordid avarice, the lust of gain, the recklessness of rapacity, are not justly imputable to the English character ; it is the system, the cruel, heartless policy of exclusion, rendering permanent residence in India odious and intolerable, which infects early life with the avarice of age, and adds the vices of premature senility to the faults of youthful ardour and inexperience. But when that system shall be changed, private bounty and public munificence will, no doubt, make amends for the misrule of former times, and *La Martinière* may, perhaps, be the model of innumerable institutions for the diffusion of moral and intellectual instruction.

The regulations, therefore, of the first foundation for charitable education deserve to be duly and maturely considered. At home, it is a melancholy fact, that institutions of a similar description have failed in their object, on account of the sectarian character of their statutes. England, and Ireland more especially, are full of establishments from which a large proportion of the population are systematically excluded. The same may be said of the Canadas, Nova Scotia, and the West Indies, in all of which, the division of the inhabitants into sects and parties, for the purposes of instruction, has been productive of misunderstandings and animosities which are inimical to the spread of knowledge, and tend to introduce weakness and disorder into every part of our colonial administration. If it be possible, let this dreadful scourge of sectarian hatred be prevented from intruding into India. The Christian in-

habitants of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, are, comparatively speaking, too insignificant in point of numbers to be able to sustain the inevitable effects of religious dissensions. Whatever little power or influence they might be able to exhibit, should a period of difficulty or danger call for its display, it can only be expected from them in their collective capacity. If to the impolitic distinctions of country-born and European, of Britons and Indo-Britons, an additional variance be established between the rights of Presbyterians and Episcopalians, Church of England men and Roman Catholics, or English Christians and Portuguese Christians, the consequence must be interminable discord, controversy, and discussion, impeding in its origin every scheme of beneficent improvement, and disgusting the Natives with the scandal of all uncharitableness among those who pretend that their religion is the harbinger of peace and good-will to men.

Assuredly we are not the encomiasts of that religious indifference which induces some persons to advocate the simultaneous extension of legislative assistance to contradictory forms of worship and dogmata of belief. We certainly are not prepared to say that it would be becoming in Government to foster with equal encouragement the various doctrines of sects mutually opposed to each other ; and we think that religion could not fail to be brought into contempt, if those who have the care of the rising generation were empowered to select, for variety, by rotation or caprice, the churches or conventicles in which their pupils should worship. As there exists a church establishment in England, and as a branch of it is established in Calcutta, it does not appear to us unreasonable that it should receive as much honour from the constituted authorities as is consistent with perfect toleration and protection of the dissenting communities ; but we do complain that an institution founded for general benefit should be limited by the spirit of its regulations to a particular sect, which, however respectable, is numerically insignificant, and that a large proportion of the population should thus be excluded from the advantages contemplated by its benevolent founder. It is well known to those who have resided at Calcutta, that the mass of the lower orders of Christian inhabitants are either Indo-Britons or of Portuguese descent. Such of these as profess any religion at all, are of the Roman Catholic persuasion, and, if our memory serves us right, there are in that city two places of religious worship in communion with the Church of Rome. General Martin was himself a Catholic ; and in the absence of positive directions on the subject, it may reasonably be presumed that he intended the advantages of *La Martinière* to be enjoyed by Roman Catholics, at least on equal terms with their Protestant fellow Christians. The Supreme Court, no doubt, acting on the conviction of the superior purity of its doctrines, have, by the 4th and 5th articles of the regulations, established in *La Martinière* a Church of England monopoly. Roman Catholics and Protestant Dissenters are not, it is true, by name excluded, but the virtual effect of compelling attendance in

the churches of the Establishment, and of choosing the efficient superintendent from the ranks of its clergy, will, without suitable provisos, infallibly defeat the intentions of the testator, and convert into an engine of proselytism an institution founded for the purposes of general instruction.

As we have already said, we do not object to the religion of the state (if there must be a state religion) enjoying a suitable portion of honorary distinction, but we contend that it ought to be merely honorary; we cannot understand why the principles of useful knowledge should not be imbibed in community by all classes of Christians, and religious doctrines inculcated by separate teachers. There surely would be no great mischief in permitting the children of Roman Catholics and Dissenters to frequent their own places of worship, and mingle in class with their fellow-students. If inconvenience result from such an arrangement, at least it is not comparable to the inconvenience resulting from the opposite course. Suppressed at home by the light of philosophy and information, the weeds of religious dissension would, no doubt, again luxuriate if transplanted to India; but surely we have had enough of their baneful effects in the sister kingdom, to induce us to prevent, as far is possible, their growth abroad. Intolerance is a noxious poisonous herb, destructive of all social peace, of all true religion. Better leave the Hindoos as they are, ignorant and superstitious, than set before them the example of Christians violating in every action, public or private, the rule of charity, which is the foundation of their common faith, of which the laws of civilised states are but the commentary and exposition, and without which no astuteness of government, no sagacity of legislation, can provide for the happiness of individuals or the order of society.

THE WILLOW OF BABYLON.

'On the top of the mound, formed by the ruins of the hanging gardens of Semiramis, stands an aged willow, of a species entirely different from any found on the banks of the Euphrates, near Babylon. When the wind passes through the decayed branches of the tree, it produces sounds much resembling the tones of an Æolian harp.'—*Buckingham's Lecture on Mesopotamia.*

WHEN Judah's smitten children, afar by strangers borne,
Sat down by Babel's waters o'er Salem's fall to mourn,
Their harps upon the willows the weeping captives hung—
Harps once to songs of gladness and sweet thanksgiving strung.
How could they wake those numbers to please the victor's will,
Which David's voice had hallow'd on high Moriah's hill?
How by the heathen rivers attune the sacred string,
When those who spoiled and wasted, commanded them to sing?
No! they remembered Zion, remembered her, and wept;—
The besom of destruction her palaces had swept:
Sad by Euphrates' borders, forsaken and forlorn,
Silent they sat, enduring the proud oppressor's scorn.

For it was then, O Willow ! where thou art lonely now,
That he, who smote the nations, upraised his haughty brow ;
When, wand'ring over temples and towers on Shinar's plain,
His eye beheld, exulting, the splendours of his reign.

Pride fill'd the monarch's bosom : while gazing far and wide
O'er Babylon's vast wonders, his thoughts were big with pride :
Built by his might, he deem'd her his majesty to crown,
The palace of his kingdom, the city of renown.

Yes ! she was then the glorious, the pow'rful, and the great,
The Queen on many waters, the arbitress of Fate ;
Princes were all her merchants, her daughters too gave birth
To counsellors, and captains, and nobles of the earth.

But now she lies deserted, her walls and towers o'erthrown ;
All desolate her temples, her pleasant places lone,
The fearful haunt of dragons, where horror ever broods ;
And owls and doleful creatures possess her solitudes !

Once in her lofty gardens, in rich luxuriance grew
All trees of rarest beauty, and flowers of every hue ;
But now a heap behold them, where hissing serpents dwell,
And thou alone, O Willow ! their tale of woe to tell !

Oft when across thy branches the desert breezes sigh,
And with a hollow moaning their hoary stems reply,
Sounds of unearthly music, and melancholy strains,
Are heard at evening floating o'er those forsaken plains.

What spirit round thee lingers, in scenes so wild and drear,
Thus breathing forth its sorrows, where none are by to hear ?
What voice so soft and plaintive, amidst thy withered leaves,
Thus lonely and unheeded, in solemn accents grieves ?

Thou know'st not ! but if haply some denizen it be
Of that far world of spirits which mortals may not see,
Whose memory still recalls him to haunt this fearful spot,
And sigh for pomp departed, and power that now is not—

Oh ! he must mourn for ever ! for Babylon no more
Shall rise, O broad Euphrates ! on thy deserted shore ;
No more shall tower or temple beside thy waters frown,
Nor cloud-encircled Babel on palaces look down.

Within her gloomy borders no shepherd e'er shall tread ;
His tents around her ruins th' Arabian shall not spread ;
But safe amidst her horrors the spotted pard shall lie,
And satyrs to their fellows from secret caverns cry !

Mourn on, thou lonely Spirit ! o'er Ashur's dread decay ;
Fall'n is Chaldea's glory—for ever passed away !
Boast of all tongues and kindreds, her time shall ne'er return ;
Bewail for her, thou Desert Voice ! and thou, lone Willow, mourn !

*Fishpond House,
Bristol.*

W. L.

SISMONDI ON THE PRESENT RUSSIAN WAR WITH TURKEY.

[In the 'Revue Encyclopédique' for January last, M. Sismondi, the distinguished French Historian, has published an article in which he endeavours to estimate what is to be hoped or feared for civilisation from the issue of the present war in the east of Europe. Without expressing our unqualified assent to all the views developed in this article, we willingly give it a place in 'The Oriental Herald,' not only on account of our high respect for the author, and the consideration due to his opinions as a political writer, but also on the ground of the great intrinsic interest of the subject discussed,—an interest which the renewal of this sanguinary and momentous conflict cannot fail to render every day more intense throughout the civilised world. The conclusion will be given in our next Number]

AMONG the great events that have signalised the year just elapsed, the war which has broken out between the Russians and Turks has certainly most deeply engaged the attention of Europe, and still holds all minds in a state of suspense. Every one is sensible of the extreme importance of the influence which this contest may exercise upon the destinies of the human race. Every one feels that it is connected with the future progress of all civilised nations; and that upon it depends the development of knowledge, laws, happiness, and religion in a central portion of the world, rich in natural gifts, and so situated as to have an influence on all others. The issue, however, of the first campaign has deceived every calculation, and mocked the general expectation; inasmuch as it has created uncertainty and doubt in men's minds as to the probable results of the war, has utterly shaken preconceived opinions, and given birth to hopes and fears, in regard to the future fate of civilisation, which appear to be connected with systems of policy the most opposite and irreconcilable.

In other political questions one may generally predict with some certainty, from the general tenour of a person's opinions, which side he will support. In all controversies upon the administration of a nation, or in popular struggles, we can calculate beforehand what party any one will desire to see victorious, according as his own principles are *servile* or *liberal*; but, with regard to the war in the East, both parties are divided by the most conflicting wishes and predilections. The advocates of improvement, and those who cling inveterately to old institutions, discover with surprise that they here occasionally agree; and the liberal press has sometimes censured with acrimony the very course it had formerly advised. Struck with this incongruity, we shall endeavour to place the question before our readers in all its bearings, in order to discover what wishes we ought to entertain, if, faithful to liberal sentiments, we truly desire that our own regions, where man has been so slowly raised to intelligence, morality, and liberty, should begin to shed their fruits upon the rest of the world, and accelerate the wished for period when we may hope to see all nations zealously advancing towards perfection, wisdom, and happiness. With this view, we shall first examine the

causes that have impeded the success of the Russians, which all Europe supposed certain, and then consider what results may be expected from the present struggle, and what wishes we ought, as friends of freedom and humanity, to form.

At the opening of the war in the East, on one side was seen arrayed an empire which it was announced had, for several years, maintained in time of peace 800,000 men under arms ; on the other, an empire which had just destroyed its soldiery, whose provinces had for many years been devastated by frequent insurrections, and which was not believed to possess the power, amidst its convulsions and dangers, of assembling at the most a force of more than 200,000 men. On the one side were seen well-appointed arsenals, generals, and engineers skilfully trained, brave, obedient, and well-disciplined soldiers,—a nation rapidly advancing in prosperity, with finances systematically organized, and credit yet unbroken : on the other was beheld a country whose military resources had for ages been wasted by tyranny and anarchy, whose arsenals were for the most part empty or annihilated, where industry, which produces the materiel of war, was in a most languishing condition, and the nation itself apparently falling to decay ;—where the despot, in exterminating his own army, had paralysed the military spirit, and provoked against himself the fanaticism which he had the most urgent need to propitiate ; where the same despot had ruined and decimated those who assisted his predecessors in the administration of finance,—the Greeks, Jews, and Armenians : so that disorder reigned throughout, the national resources seemed destroyed, and credit out of the question.

Under such disadvantages, the politicians of Europe looked for the almost instantaneous overthrow of the Turkish empire. The hopes of some and the fears of others concurred in the same anticipations. The event, however, has belied them. The period of political convulsion that has recently passed had accustomed us, indeed, to the sight of what might be effected by a powerful genius wielding the immense resources of a great empire ; but, at the same time, as the envy of our contemporaries had directed its whole exertions to underrate the influence of that mighty genius, and had attempted to explain all events by the forces which it directed, forgetting the head that moved them, people had been led to calculate the effects of the Russian resources as if in the hands of a Buonaparte. It was rashly imagined that numerous battalions, ample equipments, good discipline, expert engineers, and skilful generals, were sufficient of themselves to effect the object proposed. But the events of this contest will, perhaps, serve to give us a more correct idea of the immeasurable distance between a great master of the art of war and the ordinary race of military leaders.

Unacquainted as we are with military science, it is not our province to point out the faults by which the Russians threw away

their advantages. Some general characteristics have, however, struck the most cursory observer, and Europe has observed with astonishment how the tardiness and indecision of the leaders of this great army suffered the season of action to escape,—the crisis, before the Turks could have assembled their forces, excited the fanaticism of their population, and fortified their mountain passes with artillery. Again, it has been remarked that the Russian commanders evinced a want of skill in operating on a large scale, never knowing how to move their forces with sufficient rapidity or combination, so as to be able to act on important points of attack with a number of troops greatly superior to the enemy. A great general, with an inferiority in numbers, knows how to present at the point of attack more soldiers than his adversary; but these commanders were even at a loss how to set forth on the field of battle the superior force which they actually possessed. They were, in numbers, five against one at the beginning of the war; but, on nearly every occasion, they were but as one against four at the point where it was of consequence they should fight! In conducting sieges they proved still less skilful. It is true that the Turks, with the shelter of the most indifferent entrenchments, display an obstinacy and a bravery not perhaps to be found amongst more skilful soldiers, who would be more alive to the weakness of position; and this courage of the Turks might render the assaults more sanguinary: but why were not the breaches sooner opened? The art of sieges is now regulated by such strict scientific calculation, that the number of days, nay, of hours, at the expiration of which the breach should be practicable, may generally be fixed with precision; yet it was not by hours and days, but by weeks and months, that the Russians exceeded that number.

The Russians, however, have to ascribe the reverses of this first campaign much more to moral than to military errors. It is but just to point out their faults, for with justice they have been punished for them. Humanity will be the gainer if they learn to profit by their dearly bought experience.

The war which the Russians carried into the Turkish empire, commenced in provinces not at all Turkish nor even Musulman; but the Christian inhabitants of which had, in addition to the tie of religion, a right to their protection by treaties, and a claim to the compassion of all mankind on account of an oppression alike intolerable and unjust. At the sound of the first Russian trumpet, the Greeks were not the only people whose hearts leaped with joy in the belief that they beheld their protectors. The Moldavians, the Wallachians, the Bulgarians, the Macedonians and Thessalians, Servians and Montenegroans, even the Arnauts and Bosnians, although the latter passed for Musulmans, participated in this feeling. The Russian Government, however, by a pretended deference to the principle of legitimacy, (calumniated by being confounded with the

most abominable tyranny,) or rather by an imbecile policy unexampled in history, began by declaring to the inhabitants of the invaded provinces, that, far from encouraging insurrection, it did not wish for their assistance, because that would have been a revolt against their Sultan. The Russians thus announced to the oppressed Turkish subjects that they were come to live among them at their expense, to empty their granaries, consume their flocks, occupy their houses, and burn their towns and villages; but that they promised them nothing, that they would do nothing for them, that their present heavy sacrifices would meet with no future recompense. This absurd contempt for the rights and happiness of the people, compared with the pretended rights of the Eastern tyrant, produced the results that might readily have been foreseen. The unfortunate people amongst whom the war had been carried, particularly the Bulgarians, instantly took flight to the mountains, concealed their flocks and crops, and hid themselves with their wives and children, in order to escape the brutality and rapacity of the soldiers, and the exaction and drudgery imposed by the officers. The Russians were thus deprived of their information as well as their assistance. The insurrectionary ferment existing in Servia and among the Montenegrins was calmed; the civil war which had already broken out in Bosnia was, for a time at least, appeased; the Arnauts repaired to the Turkish armies, where they were promised pay and booty. The Greeks of Macedonia and Thessaly, disarmed and struck with terror, remained so indifferent to a quarrel from which nothing was left them to hope, that the Turks residing among them hastened in crowds, without dread for their homes, to the defence of the Balkan, and to join the Turks of Thrace, who were the most warlike of all.

The Russians, resolving that the war should support itself, marched forward almost without any convoy to the rich valley of the Danube. It was their own fault if they found there only famine for themselves and their horses. Throughout the vast expanse of country watered by the Russian rivers which discharge themselves into the Black Sea, industry has but one object, namely, the growth of corn for the markets of Southern Europe; and long grass is almost the only production which has, throughout the steppes, occupied the place of forest. In the midst of this abundance, immediately after the harvest, and in the course of one short campaign, men and horses perished with hunger, in an open and level country possessing large navigable rivers and sea-ports, and with so limited a line of operations, that the most advanced post of the army never extended above twenty leagues from either the Danube or the sea, or twenty-five leagues from Bucharest, obviously the chief depot for provisions. The unfortunate inhabitants of the seat of war were ruined for a whole generation; the élite of the Russian army was destroyed; the cavalry and artillery horses perished from want. May the

Russian generals at least learn from these disasters this important lesson, that the interests of humanity are quite compatible with those of military renown, and that the army which calculates upon pillage for subsistence, ought to renounce the hopes of conquest !

The Russians, moreover, not content with disgusting their natural allies and ruining the country in which the war was carried on, ruined also their own army by the severity of the discipline they adopted. There is no race of men, perhaps, more inured to fatigue, more accustomed to the rigours of the seasons, and more patient in endurance, than the Russians. But still these soldiers are not made of iron ; and their officers, without either necessity or compunction, treated them as if their frames were really of iron and not of flesh. They placed them for six or eight successive hours under the weight of their baggage, either on guard or in line, exposed to the burning heat of a foreign sun, to incessant torrents of rain, and to the frosts of a premature winter. The Russian officers gloried in showing that their men feared neither heat, nor cold, want of clothing nor fatigue ; that, in the midst of privations, they never departed from the most minute etiquette, obedience, and regularity, or from the restraint of the camp or parade ; and, when nature gave way, they endeavoured to bring back their men to this arbitrary rule by cruel punishments. The French soldier would, perhaps, have supported all the privations, fatigues, and inclemencies to which the Russian army was exposed ; but then a certain liberty of action which he is allowed, the freedom of the camp which he knows how to combine with discipline, that cheerfulness, in short, which belongs to soldier-men, and not to soldier-machines, would have borne him up under these trials. The Russians, on the contrary, to console them amidst their sufferings of heat, and fatigue, and famine, found only wearisome formalities and the fear of punishment. The moral, rather than the physical, energies were speedily subdued ; and, destitute of mental support, multitudes of men were mown down by frightful epidemics.

The Russians were thus the authors of their own reverses : by their cruel and foolish policy they repulsed the allies who awaited them in the enemy's country ; by their negligence, their avarice, and their rapacity, they consigned their troops to famine ; by their harshness, and the intolerable rigours of their discipline, they introduced plague or fever into their camp. Military faults they did commit ; but their moral faults were much more culpable and more severely punished. Perhaps, in a second campaign, they may not be more skilful ; but, with more humanity, generosity, and justice, they may, without an increase of talent or genius, anticipate better success.

We believe, in fact, that there will be another and even several more campaigns ; and, to speak candidly, we wish with all our

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hearts it may be so. War comprises, doubtless, in itself a combination of all the most frightful miseries that afflict humanity; but war is also, in most cases, the necessary path to a happier condition. We cannot conceive that Russia will, after this campaign, submit to the humiliation of defeat; that, after having held all Europe in a state of alarm, she will consent to apprise it that she has not even sufficient power to cope with the Turks. We cannot conceive that the Sultan will now make those concessions which he refused before the commencement of hostilities. We cannot conceive that Europe will with complacency see him reap the fruits of his victory, and put up with his increased arrogance; or that the world can possibly allow itself to witness the atrocities by which he would visit upon whole nations the alarm he suffered while expecting their rebellion. Should the fortune of war change in a second campaign, we do not apprehend that reverses will bring the Turks to submission; for ignorant people do not at all comprehend remote checks. The provinces not hitherto engaged preserve an unbroken feeling of their own power. Constantinople may be taken, but the Turks of Asia would feel at that event less of fear than resentment; and if the Sultan should then wish to make peace, he would not succeed in engaging the Musulmans to accede to all the consequences of their defeats. Negotiation would be impossible after aggravated mutual injuries had been inflicted, and had driven the two nations like two wild bulls against each other with uncontrollable fury.

A very lively interest has been excited in generous minds by the unexpected valour displayed by the Turks in repelling an unequal attack; by that devotedness to their honour, to their religion, and their institutions, which has made them hasten from the most distant parts of the empire, generally armed and accoutred at their own expense, and supporting with magnanimity the private sufferings and dangers of so cruel a contest. We are also led to admire in the Sultan that unbending pertinacity of character which no negotiation nor menace has affected; that invincible pride which would retract no decision once taken, nor abandon any thing inherited from his ancestors; in short, that self-control which made him suspend his vengeance, and observe for a time, when excited by the most violent indignation, the law of nations towards Ambassadors, prisoners of war, and foreign merchants. We are not insensible to greatness of character, however displayed, and are willing to applaud the patriotism of the Turks in defending their country. But this interest does not blind us to the rights and sufferings of the numerous nations whom the Turks hold in bondage, and whose yoke becomes daily more intolerable,—to the ill-understood rights of the Turks themselves, or to those of the generations to come, whose chains are rivetted by this very valour and patriotism. In spite of the virtues which they now display, we do not waver in our

prayers, that the ultimate result of this contest may be the complete subversion of the Musulman empire.

The firmness or obstinacy of the Sultan, the courage or fanaticism of the Turks during the campaign, however admirable, have changed neither the organisation, nature, nor character of their Government. We must still recollect that it is a Government which sports with human life with an unequalled ferocity; which proscribes, *en masse*, whole nations and classes of men; which, in order to effect a reform in its army, massacred its Janissaries, or committed them to the flames; which, to check the too active spirit of the Greeks, ordered the extermination of the whole people; which, to change the system of finance, despoiled, proscribed, and drove into exile the whole Armenian population; which, to ensure the low price of bread and meat in the capital, nailed the bakers by their ears to their tables, and the butchers to their stalls. We are anxious to see the annihilation of a despotism which has so stupefying and barbarous an effect upon those subjected to it, that the Turkish population diminishes an eighth part in each generation; that the products of human industry which might spread happiness over one of the finest countries in the world, decrease still more rapidly; that in the towns no one dare build, in the country no one dare plant, because, all security being destroyed, no one looks forward to the distance of a few years, much less to future generations. This despotism has debased with the most shameful vices the character of every people subjected to its sway; they owe to it their ferocity, fraud, hypocrisy, and lasciviousness. It has so entirely checked among them the progress of the human mind, that all travellers in Turkey are struck with the inferiority of the men compared with the youth. In the young Turk is still perceived the sparkling of intelligence, integrity, and generosity; but, as his years increase, these qualities vanish: acquainted with the world, he becomes satisfied that further study or reflection would only lead him to greater suffering, that his honesty would make him a dupe, and his generosity be extended to unworthy objects; he therefore seeks only the enjoyments of the senses, and smokes, eats opium, and sleeps.

This despotism has condemned the higher ranks of society to ignorance, to continual apprehension, and to absurd prejudices; the lower classes to misery; the women to depravity; and foreigners to slavery. In Europe, it extends over thirty-three thousand square leagues; in Africa, over thirty-six thousand; and, in Asia, over sixty-seven thousand. It overwhelms those countries of the ancient world which were earliest peopled and longest under the quickening influence of high civilisation; and throughout this immense space, and among twenty-five millions of people, it has for many ages prevented the birth of one single man capable of adding a step to

the progress of humanity in any art, or science, or moral improvement.

The English papers have often insisted, that too slight a difference exists between the despotism of Russia and Turkey to interest the wishes of the friends of humanity for one in preference to the other. By exaggerations such as these, the judgment is, in the first instance, warped, and every moral principle in consequence abandoned. The Russian despotism is unquestionably not a desirable government either for Russia or Turkey. The slavery of the majority, and the want of political rights in the rest, the venality of the tribunals and public offices, the injustice and rigour of sentences which have lately startled Europe, are defects which ought to be deplored the more deeply that they press upon a great nation. But to compare the condition of the two empires, is nevertheless sufficiently absurd: the horrible oppression to which the Turkish subject is exposed is immeasurably beyond that which threatens the Russian. A single fact will illustrate this: the Turkish population decreases rapidly, and wealth still more so, while in Russia the population increases more rapidly than in any other European state, and riches more rapidly still, insomuch that every individual of a nation whose population is constantly augmenting, is every succeeding year more abundantly supplied with the necessities of life than during the last.

Russia is, besides, in every respect progressive. However deplorable the slavery of the peasantry may be, it is less oppressive than in former generations: the laws protect them more effectually; the manners of the higher ranks are softened towards them; and the Government never loses sight of their gradual enfranchisement. There is no fear, for the future, that Russia will reduce conquered nations to a state of slavery; this has not been done in any of her recent conquests. Moreover, the Crown peasants are becoming a body in the state; the citizens are acquiring independence; and the nobles talk of their rights. The whole nation, in fact, is acquiring ideas, and raising itself to the same level of civilisation as the rest of Europe. The Government does more in Russia to promote education, than in any other country of the world; and, in short, whilst the superior classes attain by education all the higher mental enjoyments, poetry, philosophy, &c., the mass of the people learn to read, to think, and to understand. It will hereafter be impossible to lower them to the state in which they were even fifty years ago.

The Russian Government is, besides, the most liberal in Europe towards conquered nations. It allows them perfect liberty of conscience, full participation in all the rights of its own subjects, and the retention of their own laws. It superintends their education without destroying their nationality. It has, by these means, re-

conciled to their yoke the Tartars, the most independent of the Musulman races, the inhabitants of Caucasus, the Calmucks, and the Cossacks; in a short time it incorporates them with its empire, and barbarians soon prefer obedience joined with civilisation to their ancient independence without it.

In regard to the future, which may be influenced by so many extraneous events, it is difficult and hazardous to make predictions; but, judging from existing circumstances, it may be anticipated, that, a century hence, the Russians of Europe will be as far advanced in civilisation, and, consequently, in liberty, not, perhaps, as the English or French, but as the Germans or Swedes. Another century will bring the Asiatic Russian to the same level. Are there many Governments which exercise an equally beneficial influence upon their subjects? Have the Austrians thus improved the Hungarians and Poles? Have the Spaniards and Portuguese thus civilised their immense possessions in America? Or, have the English advanced India, or even Ireland, with equal rapidity? Pride of race, and jealousy of distinctions, have operated more effectually to retard the human species in these countries, than superior intelligence to advance it. However deplorable may be their system of government in other respects, the Russians owe to it the advantage of being free from aristocratic prejudices.

But although it may be predicted that the destruction of the Turkish empire, supposing it to result from the present war, will put an end to the misery, oppression, and moral degradation of twenty-five millions of human beings; that in the course of time these regions will be raised again to that degree of population and comfort, and their inhabitants attain, at least, the same moral eminence, intelligence, civilization, and liberty, as were enjoyed in the ancient world; may it not be also apprehended, that in the event of the entire conquest of Turkey by Russia, the latter may, with such an immense accession of power, endanger the independence of the rest of Europe,—and thus, in exposing countries, now civilised, to the loss of their liberty, cause them to relapse into barbarism at the very moment when affording these provinces a chance of escape from it? This risk to the morality, knowledge, and liberty of the most improved portion of the human race, is, indeed, the only consideration which can be placed in the scale against the hope of increasing the morality, knowledge, and liberty of twenty-five millions of human beings; and this important point, as well as others embraced by the subject before us, will be discussed in the sequel of this article.

APPEAL TO BRITAIN ON THE BURNING OF HINDOO WIDOWS.*

[We apprised our readers in a recent Number of 'The Oriental Herald,' that a society had been organised at Coventry for promoting the Abolition of Human Sacrifices in India; and we now very cordially devote a portion of our publication to forward this most meritorious purpose, by inserting the substance of one of this society's useful publications, abridged from a larger work by the Rev. Mr. Peggs, entitled 'The Suttee's Cry to Britain.' To this latter publication, we solicit the attention of such readers as desire to make themselves acquainted with the farther details of this important question.]

SEC. I. *Origin, Nature, Number, and Atrocity of Suttees.*

SUTTEE is the name given in India to a woman who immolates herself on the funeral pile of her husband, and denotes that the female is considered true or faithful to him, even unto death: the term is also applied to the horrid rite itself. The origin of the practice is very obscure. Diodorus Siculus refers to it before Christ 327 years, and conjectures that it originated in the unfaithfulness of the Hindoo women to their husbands, and destroying their lives by mixing deadly plants with their food; on which account, he says, 'a law was passed that wives should be burned with their deceased husbands, except such as were pregnant and had children: and that any individual who refused to comply with this law, should be compelled to remain a widow, and be for ever excluded from all rights and privileges as guilty of impiety.' Strabo is of the same opinion. 'The origin of the custom,' observes Mr. W. Ewer, (Acting Superintendent of Police, Calcutta, Jan., 1819,) 'will most probably be found in the voluntary sacrifice of a widow inconsolable for the loss of her husband, and who resolved to accompany him on the funeral pile; not with any idea that such an act could be acceptable to the gods, or any way beneficial to herself in a future existence; but solely because her affection for the deceased made her regard life as a burden no longer to be borne. Menu, and the most ancient and respectable writers, do not notice Suttee; it was therefore, in their time, either unknown or not approved. If the former, how comes it to be recommended in the more modern shasters, if the custom was not of the nature supposed? For no modern lawgiver would have ventured to praise an act not mentioned by his predecessors, if an example had not occurred, and been received with universal praise, though a novelty and an innovation. If known, but not mentioned, because not approved by Menu, the authority of the modern shaster is not sufficient to give any merit to the sacrifice.' It is a painful circumstance, that this practice, which existed prior to the Christian era, should not before this period have

* A Voice from India —An Appeal to Britain recommending the abolition of the practice of Burning Hindoo Widows. By the Rev. J. Peggs, late Missionary in Orissa. Published by the Coventry Society for the Abolition of Human Sacrifices in India. 1829.

been annihilated by the progress of civilisation, and especially the diffusion of the salutary influence of Christianity in the East.

The following facts illustrate the nature of this barbarous custom :

‘Gopenaut, a Brahmin employed in the Serampore printing office in 1799, saw twenty-two females burnt alive with the remains of Ununtu, a Brahmin of Bagnapore, near Nudaya. This kooleen Brahmin had more than a hundred wives. At the first kindling of the fire, only three of these wives had arrived. The fire was kept kindled three days. On the first day three were burnt; on the second and third days, nineteen more. Some of these women were as much as forty years old, and others as young as sixteen. The first three had lived with the Brahmin; the others had seldom seen him. He married in one house four sisters; two of these were burnt.

‘A kooleen Brahmin died, in 1812, at Chunakuli, not far from Calcutta, who had married twenty-five women, thirteen of whom died during his life; the remaining twelve perished with him on the funeral pile, leaving thirty children to deplore the effects of this horrid system.

‘Some years ago, a kooleen Brahmin, of considerably property, did at Sookachura, near Serampore. He had married more than forty women, eighteen of whom survived him. On this occasion a fire, extending ten or twelve yards; was prepared, into which they all threw themselves, leaving more than forty children.’—Buch. *Apology for Christianity in India*, p. 14. 16.

The following account is detailed in a letter from a lady who resided in India, dated Salisbury, Dec: 3, 1827 :—

‘At a Ghaut near Serampore I witnessed the burning of a respectable woman about thirty years of age, whom I found with five children, the eldest a fine boy about thirteen. As soon as she saw me, she asked me if I were come to deliver her. I told her I had no power to deliver her, but came to persuade her not to burn. She shook her head and said, “I will burn! How can I go back? However, the servant is gone to the English Magistrate, at his return my fate will be decided.” Two hours elapsed before he returned, the greater part of which I spent in conversation with her. She often turned to her children, and with affection pressed her hand upon the face of her youngest child, who could just lisp, Ma! ma! At length the servant returned with permission for her to burn. As soon as she saw him, her countenance changed, her eyes sunk into her head, the furrows deepened in her face; and, when she heard her fate, resolution failed, and nature took possession of her breast. When the eldest son saw that his mother was so timid, he said he would not set fire to her head. But her brother-in-law said, “Now she must burn, for the boro Sahib (the great Gentleman) has sent her permission to burn.” He then began to anoint her, and put

a little oil into her hand to pour over her children as her blessing. The eldest son refused oil, and persisted that he could not set fire to her. But neither the tears nor the screams of the boy, nor the agonising fear of the mother, prevented her being bound to the dead body of her husband, and pressed down with two bamboos ! If I had had any authority merely to have said, " You are not to burn," all this would have been prevented. I am sure both the people and the Brahmins would have dispersed without a murmuring word. Many call it a bad custom, and are quite tired of it.'

The extent of these evils is very appalling. The number of Suttees in the Bengal Presidency, from 1815 to 1826, was as follows :

1815	378	1821	654
1816	442	1822	583
1817	707	1823	575
1818	839	1824	572
1819	650	1825	639
1820	597	1826	580

Total in twelve years, 7,216 widows buried or burnt alive.

In the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, the official statements for nearly ten years, 635. Grand total, 7,851.

Early marriages are very common in India ; in consequence of which, many young females fall a sacrifice to this custom. In the annual list of Suttees, in the years 1815 to 1820 inclusive, it appears that sixty-two widows were burnt, most of whom were mere children, some being only sixteen, fourteen, twelve, and even eight years of age.

The levity, atrocity, and brutality which characterise these dreadful immolations, demonstrate that the practice is any thing rather than a religious rite, as appears by the following extract from a Calcutta paper in 1826 :

' I reached the spot only in time to see the fire lighted ; for the moment my boat was seen veering to the shore, the cowardly instigators hurried the woman away to the pile. In the act, however, of leading her to the place, I saw, from the boat, that she was hardly able to walk ; two persons supported her by the arms ; but before I got on shore she was laid by the side of her husband, and the fire had been applied. When she began to feel the flames, I saw her attempting with her hands to throw off the wood they had piled over her, but this seemed to be a signal with the inhuman wretches that surrounded her, to heap more fuel upon her, and they shouted so loud, crying, " Hurree bol !" as to drown any shriek, however loud, she might have had strength to make. I was too much shocked to stay ; but, before I had receded ten paces, I was told the unfortunate victim had escaped. I returned to the scene and beheld a sight which made me shudder, and the recollection of which sends a thrill of horror through me. The unfortunate woman had succeeded in extricating herself from the wood, and rolling down

the pile, for the struggle and the heat had nearly deprived her of life; she lay gasping for breath; her face and body exhibiting the most revolting spectacle imaginable. The respite, however, was of short duration; she was almost immediately shoved back by bamboos, and logs upon logs were heaped upon her. The ruffians that did this, I could have swept away into the fire in the place of the woman. Hard-hearted wretches, that could thus stand and see the most helpless of the human race roasted to death! It well accords with the dastardly spirit of the Bengalees. Could I command the means, I would certainly try a prosecution against those who assisted, either in helping to destroy the unfortunate victim, or in preventing her escape.

SECT. II. *The rite of Suttee not enjoined by the most authoritative of the Hindoo Legislators.—Force forbidden by the Shasters, yet frequently employed.*

The learned native Ram Mohun Roy, well known by his luminous examination of the Hindoo Theology and Philosophy, in 1818 printed and widely circulated a tract in the Bengalee language, the object of which is to dissuade his countrymen from the practice of this horrid rite; he likewise published a translation of the tract in English. It is in the form of a dialogue between an advocate and an opponent of the system. The advocate cites various passages which enjoin or applaud the practice of self-immolation. Against these passages the opponent produces an extract from Menu, the great Hindoo legislator, of whom the Veda itself says, that 'Whatever Menu has said is wholesome;' which Vrihaspate corroborates by adding, 'Whatever is contrary to the law of Menu is not commendable.' The extract is as follows:—'Let a widow emaciate her body, by living voluntarily on pure flowers, roots, and fruits, but let her not, when her lord is deceased, even pronounce the name of another man. Let her *continue till death*, forgiving all injuries, performing harsh duties, avoiding every sensual pleasure, and cheerfully practising the incomparable rules of virtue, which have been followed by such women as were devoted to one husband.'

To this publication by Ram Mohun Roy, a reply was drawn up by some pundits in Calcutta, in which every authority supposed to countenance the inhuman custom, and every scrap of Sanscrit found on its side among Hindoo writers, are given. The highest countenance given to the practice by their own writers, (and these appear but four, Ungeera, Purasura, Hareeta, and Vyas,) amounts only to a recommendation of it from certain advantages the widow is deduced with a hope of obtaining; that is, the enjoyment of happiness with her husband—by no means to eternity, but for as many years as there are hairs on the human body; after which she must descend to the earth again, and undergo all the vicissitudes of birth, which, in the opinion of the Hindoos, constitutes future punishment!

In some parts of Hindoostan, however voluntary the widow may have been in her determination, force is employed in the act of immolation. 'It is a notorious fact, that, especially in Bengal, in opposition to the express ordinance of the shasters, which forbids every restraint whatever upon the widow, to prevent her escape from the funeral pile, and provide for her being lifted off, in the event of her being terrified, she is often bound down with cords to the pile, with the body of her deceased husband, or fastened by bamboos placed over her, so that she cannot possibly escape, notwithstanding a change of resolution.'—J. H. Harrington's Minute on the Suttee, June 28, 1823. Parliament. Papers, vol. iv. p. 14.

The chief pundit in the College of Fort William and the Supreme Court, at the request of the Chief Judge, ascertained the precise point of law relative to the burning of widows according to those who recommend the practice. The following is the clear result of the authorities compared and quoted by this able pundit and jurist :

As a *command*, it has not the least foundation in the Hindoo system ; as a *recommendation*, it has not been supported by one-fifth of the Hindoo writers on ethics or jurisprudence, nor practically regarded by a thousandth part of those who profess Hindooism. It is in *direct opposition* to the command of the great Hindoo lawgiver ; and it is grounded on principles completely subversive of the Hindoo system, and opposed to that course which the Hindoos believe to be the only path to final happiness. Yet this practice, thus opposed to their great legislator's command, to the very nature of their religious system, and to all their best ideas of virtue, is kept alive in the metropolis and its vicinity by acts of unfeeling coercion ; while, in the provinces of Hindoostan, which is held to have been the chief seat of every important transaction detailed in their mythology, the practice has nearly expired beneath the feelings of common humanity.

When it is considered that this practice causes the death of a greater number of persons in one year than are publicly executed for their crimes throughout the whole of India in the course of twenty years, it cannot be wrong to call to this momentous subject the attention of every friend to his country. How would Britain feel, if, within herself, a hundred innocent persons suffered death by some mistake of law in the course of a year ? How, then, ought she to feel when, in her dominions in the East, seven or eight hundred innocent widows are every year burnt to death ? Were this inhuman persecution, which, in the number of its annual victims, exceeds all that Papal superstition ever brought to the stake in Britain in the course of a century, directed by the supporters of this practice against any particular sect or class of men, they would long ago have appealed to their rulers for redress, or they would have left the spot where they were treated with such cruelty. But, how can mothers and sisters make an appeal against their own relatives ?

How can a wife, a mother, withdraw from her own family? They may endure continual agony, under the apprehension of the dreadful doom which they know awaits them—they may feel their anguish renewed at the sight of every female neighbour they behold led forth to the flames—they may tremble at every touch of disease that affects their husbands, and weep at every recollection of their hapless children; but, can they leave the scene of suffering? can they make known their sorrows? dare they betray the anguish which preys on their vitals? They lie bound as sheep for the slaughter; and thus they must remain, suffering in silence, till British sympathy shall duly relieve their hitherto unknown, unpitied misery.

SECT. III. *The present partial interference of the British Government promotes the Increase, Celebrity, and supposed Legality of Suttees.*

The maxim, that 'Tis but lame kindness that does its work by halves,' applies with peculiar force to the regulations enacted in British India relative to the burning of widows. This will appear by the following extracts from the six volumes of Parliamentary Papers relating to Hindoo widows; printed July, 1821; June, 1823; June, 1824; July, 1825; May, 1827; and July, 1828:

'The interference of the police may, in some cases, have induced compliance with the rules of the shasters; but the official attendance of the darogah stamps every regular Suttee with the sanction of Government; and I must humbly submit, that authorising a practice is not the way to effect its gradual abolition.'* (W. Ewer, Esq., Act. Sup. of Police, Lower Provinces, Calcutta, Nov. 1818.)

'I should not deem it improbable that the interference of the police-officers, under the orders of Government, may have tended to increase the practice, by acting as a stimulus, in the same manner that the interference of European Governments with the religious tenets of any sect, has always tended to increase the zeal, and confirm the prejudices, of the sectaries.'† (J. Ewing, Esq., Magistrate, Sylhet.)

'Our Government, by modifying the thing, and issuing orders about it,—orders which even the Government and the Sudder Judges themselves do not appear clearly to comprehend, have thrown the ideas of the Hindoos upon the subject into a complete state of confusion. They know not what is allowed and what is interdicted; but, upon the whole, they have a persuasion that our Government, whom they most erroneously suppose to be indifferent about the lives of the Natives, is rather favourable to Suttees than otherwise. They will then believe that we abhor the usage, when we prohibit it, *in toto*, by an absolute and peremptory law. They

* Par. Papers, Vol. i. p. 229.

† P. 232.

have no idea that we might not do so without the most perfect safety. They conceive our power and our will to be commensurate.* (C. Smith, Esq., Second Judge, Calcutta, Aug. 1821.)

Mr. Jackson, in his Speech at the discussion respecting Suttees in the India House, (March, 1827,) thus decidedly shows his views of the obligations of the Hon. Company and the nation to suppress this horrid rite :

‘ If such practices were continued longer under the authority of the Company, there was not a man in the Court who did not become accessory to the crime of murder ! He that refrained from doing all in his power to prevent it, on his head be the guilt of the sanction he gave.’ †

‘ The Governor-General in Council is reluctantly led to express his apprehension, that the greater confidence with which the people perform this rite under the sanction of Government, as implied or avowed in the circular orders already in force, combined with the excitement of religious bigotry by the continual agitation of the question, may have tended to augment, rather than diminish, the frequency of these sacrifices.’ ‡—(Calcutta, December, 1819.)

The increase here referred to was evident from the returns of Suttees in the several districts subordinate to the Presidency of Fort William, viz., in the year

1815	378	|	1817	707
1816	442	|	1818	839||

The Court of Directors of the East India Company, in a letter to the Governor-General in Council, under date, London, June, 1823, thus express their opinion upon the subject of partial interference :

‘ To us it appears very doubtful, (and we are confirmed in this doubt by respectable authority,) whether the measures which have been already taken have not tended rather to increase than to diminish the frequency of the practice. Such a tendency is, at least, not unnaturally ascribed to a regulation which, prohibiting a practice only in certain cases, appears to sanction it in all others. It is to be apprehended, that where the people have not previously a very enthusiastic attachment to the custom, a law which shall explain to them the cases in which it ought not to be followed may be taken as a direction for adopting it in all others. It is, moreover, with much reluctance that we can consent to make the British Government, by a specific permission of the Suttee, an ostensible party to the sacrifice ; we are averse, also, to the practice of making British Courts expounders and vindicators of the Hindoo religion, when it leads to acts which, not less as Legislators than as Christians, we abominate.’ §

* Par. Papers, vol. ii. p. 67.

† Speech of R. Jackson, Esq., (Parburv, Leadenhall-street,) p. 9.

‡ Par. Papers, vol. i. 242. || P. 241. § Vol. iii. p. 45.

From these observations it is presumed that partial interference with the burning of Hindoo widows has not been attended, with the desired end—the discountenance and decrease of Suttees; but that rather the appalling evil has increased in enormity, celebrity, and supposed legality. Humanity and justice dictate ‘a more excellent way,’ enjoining the ancient precept of the Almighty to Noah and his sons—‘Whoso sheddeth man’s blood, by man shall his blood be shed.’ (Gen. ix. 6.) May Britain ‘awake to righteousness,’ nor fear to spread her shield over the heads of these deluded and oppressed widows who are ‘drawn unto death, and ready to be slain!’

SECT. IV. *Authorities to confirm the propriety, safety, facility, and success of efforts for the suppression of Suttees.*

The papers relating to the burning of Hindoo widows, printed by order of the House of Commons, contain numerous authorities for the immediate suppression of this dreadful rite.

‘From what I have heard of several very respectable Brahmins, I am almost satisfied that the exercise of a very trifling degree of authority would put a stop to this perversion of reason and humanity.* (H. Pottinger, Esq., Collector, to the Hon. M. Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, Oct. 1818.)

‘The letter from the Magistrate of Chinsurah deserves the serious attention of the Nizamut Adawlut and the Government. It appears that this abhorrent, and often utterly illegal practice, was forbidden by the foreign Governments of those settlements; and that the prohibition was obeyed without a murmur.† (E. Watson, Esq., Allypore, April, 1816.)

‘If the British, in imitation of the Mogul Government, were to lay an immediate and positive inhibition upon it, and would declare the parties aiding in the ceremony as indictable for murder, and proceed against them accordingly, it must totally die away; but if tolerated, under whatever restrictions, I do not hesitate to pronounce that it will, in a short time, become nearly as prevalent as it now is in Bengal.’‡ (W. Wright, Esq., Mag. Furruckabad, April, 1819.)

Mr. Forbes, First Judge of the Calcutta Court of Circuit, says,

‘I am happy in being able to adduce an instance of effectual interference in the suppression of this barbarous custom under British authority. In the territory of Delhi, the late Resident, Mr. Metcalfe, never (when apprised of the intention) permitted the burning of a widow to take place, and was prepared to prevent the practice, whenever necessary, by forcible interference, but which was requisite only on one occasion that came under his immediate observa-

* Par. Papers, vol. i. p. 65. † P. 99, 100. ‡ P. 212.

tion. I have been induced to mention the instance of successful interference by the Resident of Delhi, as affording an example which I believe nearly every Magistrate in the country would, if authorised, be most happy to follow; and in order to show that there appears no insurmountable obstacle to a measure, with regard to the expediency of which, if shown to be practicable, there can be but one sentiment."*

Mr. Warden, one of the Members of Council in Bombay, thus declares his opinion:

'I am convinced of the practicability of abolishing, not only this, but also every other sanguinary practice of the Hindoos, and without endangering either the popularity or the security of our supremacy.'†

Mr. Todd, one of the Judges under the Madras Presidency, July, 1819, observes,

'Application was once made to the criminal Judge, when he held the office of Magistrate, by the relations of a widow, for his permission to burn herself with the dead body of her husband. He informed them that the British Government made it a rule never to interfere with the religious prejudices or customs of the Natives, and that therefore he would not give any order whatever to the woman herself, who might act as she should think became her; but he assured them that he would immediately commit, as accomplices in the murder, all persons who should in any way assist her to destroy herself: and the consequence was, that the woman did not burn, but is alive and well at this day. This measure did not cause the least dissatisfaction; on the contrary, the relations of the woman appeared pleased at her having obtained a decent pretext for avoiding the horrid ceremony.'‡

The efforts to discountenance the perpetration of Suttees under the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay have been attended with great encouragement, and show the facility of entirely suppressing this unnatural and murderous rite.

'We are confident that the continuance of the practice stands on the doctrine of expediency alone. This is its only prop; of which could it once be deprived, it would fall beneath the weight of justice and humanity. And if it should appear that we have not been arrested in our career of justice by the prejudices of the Natives, that, on the contrary, the Hindoos have already gone hand in hand with us, without discovering any hostility to our authority, there can be no reason to apprehend that, in the abolition of female immolation, we shall experience the least interruption. To prove this we will adduce three examples:

'In the province of Guzerat the deluded parents had been for a

* Par. Papers, p. 243.

† P. 261.

‡ Vol. ii. p. 85.

series of years in the habit of destroying their female infants as soon as they were born. Whether the custom was sanctioned by the shasters or not, is irrelevant; it is enough that it was deeply rooted in the practice and prejudices of the Natives. These unnatural murders at length attracted the attention of Government, and they were abolished by an order of the Supreme Power.* Did Government immediately lose the confidence and attachment of the Natives? Not one symptom of dissatisfaction has been manifested by the Natives on this account.

‘From time immemorial it was the custom of mothers to sacrifice their children to the Ganges at the annual festival held at Gunga Saugur. The British Government regarded the practice with those feelings of horror which unnatural murders are calculated to inspire: as persuasion would have been unavailing with those who had parted with every parental feeling, the practice was prohibited by a public regulation, and the prohibition enforced by public authority. This order was promulgated in the presence of thousands assembled at a public festival, in the highest excitement of superstitious frenzy. What was the consequence? Not one instance of resistance was attempted by that immense crowd—the mischief vanished from the earth, and no one bewailed it? The mothers who had brought their children to this funeral sacrifice, were constrained to carry them back unhurt; and many, perhaps, to whom the heinousness of the crime had never appeared were, by this interposition, awakened to a sense of its enormity.

‘The Hindoo laws absolutely prohibit the execution of a Brahmin; they forbid the magistrate even to imagine evil against him. Thus fenced by the laws, and extolled by their sacred books, they are still more powerfully guarded by the respect and veneration of the people. When our Government commenced in the East, did we lay the laws of justice at the feet of the sacred tribe? Did we abrogate our code of jurisprudence, and adopt the Vedas for our guide? Did we deprive the country of our protection, because the Hindoo shasters forbid the punishment of the aggressors, if they happen to be Brahmins? We did not hesitate a single moment, but boldly stepped forward in vindication of the rights of society; and, in spite of a formidable phalanx of Hindoo juris-consults, and of the strongest prejudices, caused these delinquents to pay the forfeit of their lives to the laws of offended justice. Have the Natives complained of this outrage on the sanctity of their priesthood, or considered it as an infringement of our toleration? Have they, in any one instance, petitioned us to disregard their welfare, and exempt their spiritual guides from death? or have they not, on the contrary,

* It is painful to add, that, notwithstanding all that has been done by Colonel Walker's exertions, the practice of infanticide has again revived in consequence of the apathy and indifference of his successors.

tacitly sanctioned every act of punishment, and applauded the inflexible tenour of our proceedings? Let any man read the account of Nunckomar's execution in Calcutta, forty years ago, and he will be convinced that Hindoos are not men to complain of the execution of justice, even though it happen to infringe their laws and prejudices.*

Let the rulers of India, who hold its destinies in their hands, hear the appeal of a writer in that country :

' Let us freely look at the practicability of its abolition, and number both its friends and its foes. We may calculate on the support of all the humane, the wise, and the good, throughout India. We may depend on the great majority of the people who have prevented every village in India from being lighted up monthly with these infernal fires. Those who used all their influence to liberate their country from the stigma of this guilt, by preventing their mothers and sisters from ascending the funeral pile, will undoubtedly support us in discountenancing the practice. We shall enlist on our side all those tender feelings which, though now dormant, will then be roused into new vigour ; but, above all, we shall surround ourselves with the protection of that Almighty Power whose command is, " Thou shalt do no murder ;" who defends the weak and succours the injured ; who, when the cries of oppressed India had pierced His throne, selected us of all other nations to break its chains and restore it to happiness.†

SECT. V. Testimonies of Natives to the position that the Suttee is not absolutely enjoined by the Hindoo Shasters, and hence should be suppressed—Methods proposed for its Abolition—Concluding Appeal.

' I feel emboldened, in the cause of humanity, to state, that the practice (of Suttee) is neither prescribed by the shaster, nor encouraged by persons of education or influence. I can speak, from positive authority, that his Highness the Rajah of Tanjore has ever discouraged it ; and I feel assured that, with the exception of a few Brahmins who derive a nefarious reward for presiding at this infernal rite, the prohibition of the practice would give universal satisfaction."‡ (C. M. Lushington, Esq., Mag. at Combaconum, Sept. 1813.)

' I look upon this inhuman practice as one tolerated to the disgrace of the British Government ; it is even abominated by the better sort of Natives themselves, and no where is it enjoined by Hindoo law.'|| (C. M. Lushington, Esq., Mag. Trichinopoly, Oct. 1819.)

* Par. Papers, vol. ii. p. 22—24.

† Vol. i. p. 270.

‡ Vol. iv. p. 26.

|| Vol. ii. p. 103.

The Judge of the Southern Concan, V. Hale, Esq., (Oct. 1819,) says,

‘ We find, during the reign of Kem Sawunt, a positive prohibition against the practice, which existed for ten or twelve years, and that too without creating any disturbance or any outward marks of discontent, affording (if the tradition be not greatly exaggerated) a most favourable instance of what might be done, and to what the people would submit without considering their religious prejudices too much shocked.’*

‘ Several self-devoted victims have, through the Rajah of Tanjore, been rescued from a cruel death, and are now supported by his bounty. Both the Tanjore Rajah and the Tondiman have made it known that they support and protect every woman who allows herself to be dissuaded from burning with the body of her husband.’†

The late Rev. W. Ward, in a letter to the present Earl of Clarendon, relates the following remarkable fact :

‘ In 1817, I was riding near Serampore, where there had been a Suttee : after making inquiries respecting the family and rank of the widow, I addressed a few individuals on the crime in which they had been assisting. One of these men answered, “ Sir, whatever the act now committed may be, we have nothing to fear. You (the English Government) must see to that ; for the Police Magistrate has been here and given the order, and according to that order the woman has been burnt.” ‡

The Judge of Chittoor, (Madras Presidency,) under date April, 1823, declares ‘ The best informed and most respectable part of the Natives would themselves have often prevented this ceremony, if they had had the power.’§

In the close of 1819, a petition was presented to the late Marquis of Hastings, from the Hindoo Inhabitants of Calcutta, praying for the abolition of Suttees. An extract only is given :

‘ Your petitioners beg leave to submit to the benevolent attention of your Lordship’s Government, that, in the opinion of many of the most learned Brahmins, founded upon the shasters, all kinds of voluntary death are prohibited ; that Menu, whose authority is admitted to be equal to that of the Vedas, positively enjoins widows to lead a life of virtue and abstinence from sensual gratifications ; that the Vedant, which contains the essence of the Vedas as well as the Geeta, forbid all acts done with the view of future temporary reward ; and that, amongst the inferior authorities, while some, as the Smritee shasters, actually prohibit all violent death, others, Mitakshura, declare the leading of virtuous life preferable to dying

* Par. Papers, vol. v. p. 23.

† Poynder’s Speech, p. 65.

Oriental Herald, Vol. 21.

‡ P. 131, 132.

§ P. 216.

X

on the pile of the husband; and a few only insist on the superior merit of con cremation.*

The Rev. H. Townley, in his 'Answer to the Abbé Dubois,' observes,

'I have heard of the reply being repeatedly given to the expostulations of Europeans, "If there be any blame in our proceedings, it belongs to yourselves, for we are acting under British sanction." He adds, 'The Native who instructed me in the Bengalee language, (who was a Brahmin of more than ordinary intelligence,) frequently expressed his surprise to me that Government did not issue an order that no more Suttees should be permitted, intimating his conviction that no commotion whatever would ensue.'†

It may be interesting briefly to notice some of the methods proposed for the abolition of this horrid rite.

In 1805, the Court of Nizamut Adawlut, Calcutta, expressed themselves as follows:—'After information has been obtained of the extent to which the practice prevails, and of the districts in which it has fallen into disuse, or in which it is discountenanced by the most respectable classes, it may be immediately abolished in particular districts, and be checked and ultimately prohibited in the other parts of these provinces.' But, since that time, the inhuman practice, instead of its abolition being effected, or any prohibition of it issued, appears to have gradually increased!‡

It has been suggested, that to make provision for the widow who has declined immolating herself, would be a useful regulation; but this plan, like every other sort of entire prohibition, is defective, as it may have (to use the language of W. Chaplin, Esq., Commissioner of the Deccan) 'the injurious effect of leading persons to feign a resolution to burn themselves in the hope of being paid for desisting.'

The nature of the system of discountenancing Suttees, pursued on the Madras side of India, is as follows:

'Here (says the writer of the following article, in a Calcutta paper) the immolation of widows, though once frequent, is now seldom known.' 'Before any woman can destroy herself by burning, permission must be obtained of the magistrate. On the request being preferred, the applicant is directed to wait a little for an answer; the magistrate, in the mean time, sends for his cutwal, and instructs him to proclaim that a certain woman intends burning herself; but, should any bunian or bukall be discovered selling any article required for the purpose to the said woman, or any cooly

* Poynder's Speech, p. 220.

† Townley's Answer to the Abbé Dubois, p. 180, 190. See 'Suttees' Cry,' p. 84—86.

‡ Parliamentary Papers, vol. v., 1827, p. 6.

(labourer) offering his assistance by carrying oil, wood, &c., to the spot appointed, the former shall be turned out of the bazaar, and the latter otherwise punished. It is also proclaimed, that, should any crowd collect, the police peons are to disperse it, and to confine to the cutwal's choultry all persons resisting the police authority; should any Brahmin belonging to any public office be seen in the crowd, or any of his relations be found aiding the ceremony, such servant shall be discharged from his situation. The whole of this being proclaimed, the applicant is desired to take leave. As may be expected, it has been observed, that with these restrictions no burning has taken place.—Prevent a crowd from collecting to witness the immolation, and rest assured no such ceremony proceeds. Mark the disappointment of the Brahmin when he discovers that a crowd cannot be collected; mortified, he abandons the victim of his persuasion to shift for herself.

Another writer suggests, that 'an edict be published, that no son, brother, or cousin, of the first or second degree, of any female so burning, shall be permitted to hold any situation or renew any leases under Government.' This measure would, doubtless, save many widows, but would not annihilate the cruel custom.

The responsibility of Britain to exert her influence in abolishing this practice, should be seriously considered. Britain delays to speak the decisive word that shall save ten thousand widows from death, but (how important the inquiry!) '*on whom will the blood of the many thousand victims that are destined to perish be visited?*' This is a solemn question, before which we may well pause, and weigh all the present and the future consequences. It cannot be dissembled, that the charge of guilt attaches primarily to the *Government of India*, who are the conscious spectators of the act, and, possessing the means, are yet deterred from employing those means for its suppression. It next attaches to the *British Government* at home, who acquiesce in the motives that influence this reluctance. And, finally, the whole *British people* become parties to this moral guilt, if knowing, as they do, the existence of the crime, they do not consider themselves pledged to use all lawful means for abolishing a rite derogatory to the British character, forming an anomaly in the administration of civil law, and involving a flagrant breach of the law of God.*

The general expression of public opinion, by petitions to Parliament for the abolition of the burning of widows, is important. It is understood that the late Marquis of Hastings said, 'he would at once have put down the atrocious practice, if he could have relied upon the popular feeling being in his favour in our own country, and that the danger was felt—not in India, but only in England!'

* Grimshawe's Appeal on behalf of Hindoo Widows, (Seely,) p. 20. 26.

Why has not Britain long since removed this unaccountable suspicion of her abhorrence of shedding innocent blood? Let the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland speak, and supplicate that no more of these horrid murders defile our country.

Bedford, in 1823, took the lead in this work of justice and mercy. In 1827, upwards of twenty petitions were presented to Parliament; and during the past year (1828) petitions from different parts of the country have been also presented. To some of these efforts the Court of Directors evidently refer in the following extract from a communication respecting the Suttee, addressed to the Governor-General of India, dated London, July, 1827:

‘You will have perceived from the public channels of intelligence, that this is a subject which has excited a strong interest in the public mind of this country.’—(See Parliamentary Papers on Hindoo Widows, vol. vi. p. 21, July, 1828.)

We are encouraged to hope for success in these appeals to the Government of this country, since this cruel practice has been discountenanced by other powers.

‘The Mogul Government has uniformly discountenanced the practice of burning widows alive; and the extent of the benefits thus conferred may be estimated by the remarkable fact, that in no part of Hindoostan is the rite less known than under this sway; and in none is it more common than in that which is the centre of British power and ascendancy! This example was humanely followed by the Portuguese. The Dutch, the Danish, and the French Governments, uniformly refused to sanction the custom. Why is the name of Britain alone excluded from this honourable list of competitors? Is it that policy and duty in our case are irreconcilable, however blended in that of others? The conviction is most humiliating, that the British Government is the only European power in India that tolerates the practice of burning widows alive on the funeral pile!’—(Grimshawe’s Appeal, &c., pp. 17, 18.)

It is not unfrequently asked by some—Has not Britain formed a connection with India, and agreed to govern it upon such terms as to admit the perpetration of these evils? Does not such a contract with India exist? The late C. Grant, Esq., in his ‘Observations on the state of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain,’ written in 1792, and submitted to the Honourable Court of Directors in 1797, thus answers these inquiries:

‘Are we bound for ever to preserve all the enormities in the Hindoo system? Have we become the guardians of every monstrous principle and practice which it contains? Are we pledged to support for all generations, by the authority of our Government, and the power of our arms, the miseries which ignorance and knavery have so long entailed upon a large portion of the human race? Is this the part which a free, a humane, and at

enlightened people, a nation itself professing principles diametrically opposite to those in question, has engaged to act towards its own subjects? It would be too absurd to maintain that any engagement of this kind exists;—that Great Britain is under any obligation, direct or implied, to uphold errors and usages, gross and fundamentally subversive of the first principles of reason, morality, and religion. In Hindoostan, mothers of families are taken from the midst of their children, who have just lost their father also, and by a most diabolical complication of force and fraud are driven into the flames! Shall we be in all time to come, as we have hitherto been, passive spectators of this unnatural wickedness?*

‘We have, indeed, made a treaty with India, (observes J. Poynder, Esq.,) but not in defiance of the law of nature;—we have entered into a compact, but not with crime and bloodshed; not at the price of life, nor amidst the groans and sufferings of our common humanity. The moment a religious rite infringes upon the laws of society, its character is changed, and it becomes a civil crime.

‘Human sacrifices were first forbidden at Rome, by a decree of the Senate, B.C. 95 years; but, some persons still continuing them privately, the Emperor Augustus renewed the prohibition with effect. Tiberius suppressed them in Gaul, and Claudius extirpated the Druids, as well as their sanguinary worship in that country. These sacrifices existed in Britain till about A.D. 60, when Paulinus Suetonius overthrew the Druids and their inhuman rites, so that they never afterwards revived. And will it be endured that our own heathen conquerors have done more for us than we are willing to do for our Indian subjects? Shall the mere natural principle, *Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto*, have exercised an influence on pagan Rome, and shall Christian Britain refuse to acknowledge the force of the same argument?’—(Poynder’s Speech on Human Sacrifices in India, p. 13—15. 220.)

The importance of the expression of public opinion to accomplish the abolition of Suttees, (and consequently of other inhuman practices in India,) was thus stated by a respectable East India proprietor in October, 1828:

‘With regard to the Suttee question, I believe that I expressed to you, some time back, my despair of any material alteration in that horrid practice for many years to come; unless the religious part of the public shall come forward in a manner so decided as to induce attention from his Majesty’s Government and from the House of Commons. They seem ignorant, notwithstanding the papers printed by Parliament, and other publications, that the average of these murders has been for many years from forty to fifty per month! I fear little more can be done in the General Court.’

* Par. Papers, 1827, vol. v. p. 33.

The necessity and importance of Societies to promote the abolition of human sacrifices in India appear evident. These can circulate information upon the subject among the members of both Houses of Parliament, and men of influence in the United Kingdom and in India, and also originate numerous petitions to Parliament, praying for the speedy and entire abolition of these murderous practices.

We conclude, by subjoining the following form of a petition, sent from Manchester in 1827 :

‘ To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled,

‘ The humble petition of the inhabitants of Manchester and its vicinity, adopted at a public meeting, convened by the Borough-reeve and constables of Manchester, and held in the Town Hall, on the 9th of May, 1827 ;

‘ Sheweth,—That your petitioners have learned with the greatest regret that the burning of widows with the dead bodies of their husbands, and other customs by which human life is wantonly sacrificed, continue to be practised in various parts of British India, with undiminished frequency, in gross violation of the law of God, and of the rights and feelings of humanity.

‘ That it further appears to your petitioners that the existing regulations of the Suttee, circulated by the Bengal Government, in one thousand eight hundred and fifteen, have rather tended to increase than to diminish the number of human sacrifices, it being understood by the Natives, that by those regulations the sanction of the ruling power is now added to the recommendation of the shaster.

‘ That it appears from documents submitted to your Right Honourable House, and since laid before the public, that the practice of burning Hindoo women alive, if prohibited by Government, might be effectually suppressed, without any ground for apprehension of evil consequence.

‘ That your petitioners, deeply impressed with the obligation of the inhabitants of Britain, to promote the civilisation and improvement of their fellow-subjects in India, as expressed by a resolution of your Right Honourable House, in the year one thousand eight hundred and thirteen, most earnestly implore your Right Honourable House to adopt such measures as may be deemed most expedient and effectual for the suppression of customs so abhorrent from the British character, and so opposed to the welfare of our Indian possessions, and thus to remove the stigma which at present attaches to our national character, and relieve the inhabitants of British India from this cruel scourge. And your petitioners will ever pray.’

SONNETS.

I.—*Musings.*

I HAVE past hours before me!—I upcall
 Visions of what is ~~lost~~ ; dim memories
 Of love, and hope, and flowerets, and blue skies—
 Bright idols of youth's worship,—each, and all :
 And to that worship once again could fall.
 My tears, fast gushing, tremble as they rise,—
 Then fall—a mute and glorious sacrifice
 To what I would to lasting life recall.
 It were a bliss, in a wild chronicle
 Of words—weak, rude, perchance—to treasure up
 The thronging thoughts, which in their converse tell
 Of my first tasting life's enchanted cup ;
 Those magic voices of the soul, which seem
 To speak of what should die not, as a dream !

II.

I KNOW that not again those dreams may come,
 Which brightened o'er my boyhood ; yet I know
 That there is hope of happiness below
 Whilst thou art near my solitary home.
 And, if my melancholy dreamings roam—
 If far away from that dear spot they go—
 It is where budding flowers, mild breezes, show
 Spring's coming, that they wander. Ocean's foam
 Is distant far from that loved haunt where I
 Have pictured oft for thee a fairy dwelling :
 There the bird's songs ring out melodiously ;
 And, as thou art in beauty all excelling,
 So, in my secret thoughts, I picture there
 A home for thee, in beauty without peer !

III.

To ——— (on her Birth-day.)

It is not that I hoped, or hope, that e'er
 One heart will cherish idle words like mine ;
 It is not that I deemed thy smiles would shine
 O'er the faint characters I traced here ;
 But it would cost too many a bitter tear
 (Like those which blot, even now, each feeble line,)
 If, without homage to thy spirit's shrine,
 I passed this dearest day of all the year.
 And now, though with faint heart as heart may be,
 And hands 'all trembling, as beneath thy touch,
 Fain would I waft a blessing now to thee—
 Words cannot tell, lips cannot whisper such :—
 But, on the day of thy nativity,
 Oh ! could I ever pray for thee too much !

T. M.

INTERESTING SETTLEMENT IN WALES.

Some Account of the Principles and Progress of an Experiment for improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes of Society, in the Hills of Monmouthshire, begun in the year 1820. By J. H. Moggridge, Esq., of Woodfield, near Newport, in Wales.

THE following original paper, which was recently read at the Bristol Philosophical Institution, and which was obtained from its intelligent and benevolent author, during our late visit to that city, appears to us peculiarly worthy of a place in THE ORIENTAL HERALD, as it is the constant aim of this publication not merely to show the philanthropists of England what may be done in India; but to show to the influential people of India also, among whom this work circulates largely, what they may do for themselves, and their poorer fellow-countrymen, by detailing to them examples like this. To the many men of fortune who return annually from India, and whose time hangs heavily on their hands for want of useful occupation, we especially recommend the example, as one worth buying an estate for the mere purpose of so appropriating it: for, among all the luxuries that the most unlimited wealth can purchase, where is there one so pure, so sweet, or so durable, as the pleasure of doing good?—ED.

SETTLEMENT OF BLACKWOOD.

The change which has of late years taken place in the situation and circumstances of the labouring poor in this country, has not only been the subject of just and general regret, but, in its progress, has imposed heavier pecuniary burdens, on the middle classes of society more especially, than are elsewhere known, and has repeatedly excited most serious apprehensions both for the safety of private property and the preservation of the public peace. So notorious and alarming have this change and its consequences become, that Parliamentary committees have at different times been specially appointed to devise appropriate remedies; and official reports of the state of the poor and of the enormous increase of the rates assigned for their relief have been repeatedly made, unhappily but too confirmatory of the fact of the wretchedness and degradation of those classes of society on whose labour the wealth and strength of the country and the value of wealth itself depends. To account for facts at once so melancholy and alarming, various reasons have been assigned both by Parliament and by individuals; and different expedients have been resorted to, or recommended, by way of palliative; but so utterly ineffectual has all proved which has been either said or done on the subject, that although the Committee of the House of Commons, in its longest and most detailed report, seems to have caught a glimpse of the real causes, when it

states that the 'idleness and want complained of are multiplied and increased by the diminution of the funds which should have been applicable to the maintenance and labour of the poor,' yet has their view of the case never been followed up by any correspondent legislative enactment in the course of the eleven years in which this great and increasing grievance has been pressing upon the country since the date of that Report. On the contrary, so hopeless has all prospect of restoring the industrious classes to the state of comparative ease, comfort, and independence, which they formerly enjoyed, appeared to have become, in the estimation of influential members of the Government, that the labouring poor are recommended and encouraged, as the only means left of avoiding continual privations and occasional starvation, to abandon their homes and country, and to seek that return for their industry, in the wilds of America and New Holland, which they are denied in the land of their nativity. If, instead of treating the most valuable part of the Report of the Committee with neglect or avoidance, the Legislature had pushed its inquiries in that direction, and if, instead of appearing to be afraid of unveiling the truth, it had acted on its principle fairly, consistently, and energetically, so desponding and desperate an expedient as emigration, of which, even in his own time, Milton says, 'there cannot be a more ill-boding sign to a nation, than when the people, to avoid hardships at home, are forced by heaps to forsake their native country,' need never have been resorted to. Thus, unhappily, indisposition to face the evil, and disinclination to sift its cause to the bottom, have both protracted relief and confirmed the mischief; so that, even to this day, the indubitable fact, that it is the increased difficulty of obtaining the means of living which has broken the spirit of the labourer, and plunged him into the depths of misery and crime, is but reluctantly and partially admitted. A thorough conviction of this unquestionable, however unwelcome truth, acquired from years of diligent observation of the state, temper, and habits of the poor in all their different stages of embarrassment, deprivation, want, and crime, and increasing attention to the operation of the changes of times and circumstances, excited a strong desire practically to try whether the downward course of some, not irrecoverably sunk in despair and guilt, might not be arrested; and whether, by the aid of disinterested kindness, and judicious but humiliating encouragement, such might not be enabled to retrieve their own characters for manly independence, and restore themselves and their families to circumstances of comfort, or at least removed from abjectness and want.

Of all the different facts which contributed to this conclusion, affording gratifying instances of the exercise of wisdom and benevolence, public or private, none impressed my mind so strongly as those developed in the course of the great and difficult, but successful experiment made by the late Count Rumford on the hordes of

mendicants and vagabonds who infested the streets, and levied contributions on the inhabitants, of Munich ; displaying perhaps the most splendid proof upon record, that to make men substantially better, you must begin by making them happier ; and that, if the temptation to crime be taken away, its commission will in a great measure cease. That this would be effected successfully and permanently, by way of charity, public or private, however kindly intentioned or profusely administered, long and painful experience forbade the expectation of. That which is thus given is but seldom duly prized ; and, however imperative the duty of charity towards our fellow-creatures in certain cases, it has a constant tendency to degrade its objects in their own estimation, as well as in the opinion of the world. In the accomplishment of the plan for improving the condition of the labouring poor of my own neighbourhood, (which was not matured till several persons in distant parts of the country, who had thought on the subject, had been conferred with, and Mr Owen in particular had personally explained to me his co-operative system,) it was deemed an essential part of the remedial process, that the already wounded feelings of the objects of the experiment should be soothed ; their depressed spirits raised ; hope, nearly extinguished, recalled ; and energy sufficient to excite both to bodily and mental exertion, be roused into action.

It was therefore that, after certain farm labourers, and workmen in the neighbouring collieries, who had been able with difficulty to maintain themselves and their families when in health and full work, had been selected for their general good conduct and industry, and the object in view imparted to them, they were expressly told nothing was meant to be given them but the opportunity of bettering their own condition ; that they must themselves be the artificers of their own better fortune ; that pecuniary aid in carrying the plan into effect must be repaid with interest ; and that they would be considered to lie under no obligation but the indispensable one of redeeming themselves from a state of bondage, and providing for their families without the discredit of becoming a burden to others, or the disgrace of receiving parish relief as paupers. And on the same principle three conditions were annexed to proposed grants of land for the term of any three lives they might choose :

1. That they should regularly pay for it a moderate ground rent ;—
2. That they should personally assist in the erection thereon of substantial and commodious cottages for their own use, and in the formation of their gardens, in any way that their spare labour or skill could be best applied, without interfering with their regular work ;—and
3. That money necessarily advanced should be secured upon the premises, and repaid by instalments at stipulated periods. Upon these conditions, and under the promise of the advance of the necessary money, several of the parties originally selected declined entering upon the undertaking, the apparent hopelessness of success

producing a kind of despair, which resisted even the conviction that *they*, at any rate, could be in no way losers by the attempt. It was acknowledged that, like a majority of their fellow-labourers in that part of the country at that period, they were living in hovels so little accommodated to their wants, that attention to the common decencies of life was out of the question; with a comparatively high rent to pay, or to be indebted for, and little or no garden (of which, indeed, at that time scarcely an individual amongst them had any idea of the value to a poor man's family) to assist in the supply of their wants. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the answer to the invitation, dictated by despair, was, 'we have no chance;' and, consequently, to such no adequate inducement to exertion could be proposed. Unfortunate beings like these had no need of being told, in the language of Mr. Malthus, that they had 'not been bidden to nature's feast.' Whatever might have been the supposed defect in their original title, they knew, from constant experience, that lives of perpetual labour failed occasionally to ensure a supply of the commonest wants of nature, whilst it was not unknown to them that many who laboured neither with the head nor the hand partook of the banquet to satiety, or revelled in all the excesses of luxury supplied at the cost of others. The original adventurers were thus reduced to three, to whom freehold leases were granted, in order to excite the necessary feeling of permanent interest, and to connect therewith an idea of property. One-eighth part of an acre was allotted to each for his house and garden, at a small ground rent, and the privilege of getting stone from quarries on the property near at hand, and of having timber for the roofs of their houses from the neighbouring woods, then in a course of cutting, conceded to all.

The spot assigned for the site of the future village, was part of a wood of 105 acres, the timber on which was to be left standing wherever it would not overshadow, or otherwise injure the gardens; the underwood was rooted up; and, with the foregoing exceptions, the ground was cleared at the expense of the landlord. Subsequently, as the village has advanced, besides single trees, others have been left in groups, and the land they stand upon reserved; near its centre is a village green of an acre of land, shaded by oaks and beeches; and, adjoining it on the north, half an acre, now about to be laid out as a burying-ground, and arranged and planted according to Mr Loudon's suggestion on visiting some of the continental countries. The great mass of the wood rising behind the village forms both a fine back ground and ample shelter from the strong westerly and north-westerly winds, whilst the woods and plantations of Woodfield, on the opposite bank of the river, (which, rising in the mountains higher up in the country, falls romantically over the ledges of rock which run across its time-worn channel,) effectually screen it on the east. The situation is dry and healthy, and the soil good; springs of pure water gush from the hill on the west, and it is intersected by a railway or tram-road communication between the

Tredegar and other iron works and collieries in Newport ; by the side of which a carriage-road has been formed, and another is now making, to connect the two banks of the river, (which are in different parishes,) over an iron bridge of one arch, lately erected.

By the midsummer of 1820 the three first habitations were finished ; the gardens had been fenced the preceding winter, and a portion of them planted with potatoes in the spring after the entire surface had been dug over, and the remains of the wood and coarse grass burned. Before this, the garden of the cottager, when he had one, consisted merely of a few square yards of land, generally surrounded with stones loosely piled upon each other ; its sole product leeks and onions ; the potatoe was locally little known, and its cultivation by the cottager totally neglected. Each of the newly-built houses, together with decent and proper separate accommodation for the family of the owner, contained an upper room to let as lodgings for single men, of whom a great number are employed in the neighbouring works, and each house had its own oven in the chimney corner of the living or day-room. Most of the materials for building being near at hand, and cheap, the cost of each house, when finished, was moderate, so that the interest of the money expended, (supposing the whole to have been borrowed,) and the cost of the lease, added to the ground rent, did not exceed a yearly outgoing of 46s. to 50s., being not one-third of the receipts for lodgings only. So that, reckoning the rent of the house the same as was previously given for the inferior habitations of the country, the profit and loss account of the adventure showed a clear gain of 10l. per annum, after rent and interest paid, applicable to the purpose of liquidation of debt. But the pecuniary advantages did not by any means rest here ; for the first year's produce of part only of the garden went far to establish a conviction in the mind of the owner, that the assurance given him of the possibility of making his garden contribute materially to the comfort and support of his family, had a great deal more of truth in it than his incredulity would beforehand allow him to believe. It was not, however, until the experience of the second year had clearly shown, by facts and results incontrovertible, the advantages of which the plan was susceptible, that the example of the original settlers was followed.

Numberless were the taunts and sneers which they had to encounter during these two first years ; and the plan itself, reviled by many, and countenanced by none but myself, had it not been for the firm conviction of my mind that it possessed within itself the means of its own vindication, might at this discouraging period of trial have been abandoned in disgust at the apathy or stupidity of those it was meant to serve ; and the open or concealed hostility of some who ought to have encouraged the attempt, and of others who might have known, and probably did know, better. For reasons drawn from these circumstances, it was determined to let the experi-

ment speak for itself, and work its own way. In the mean time, the new gardens had come into full cultivation; and as none of the general predictions of failure of crops, or failure in fulfilling engagements, had taken place, the most obstinate began to hesitate, and the doubting to express a degree of confidence; so that, after the second crop of potatoes had been stored for winter use, and spring greens had been planted, in prudent forecast, for the third year, a rapid change took place in the affairs of our infant colony; and in the winter months allotments were let for building, far exceeding in number the utmost expectation I had previously formed of the extent of the experiment. Finding, by the beginning of June, that not fewer than thirty additional houses were nearly finished, and that continual applications were made for new leases, I determined upon building a market-house, long wanted in the neighbourhood, which was opened, and the first market held on the 30th October following; a long room having been built over it for the occasional use of the village Provident Society, at that time established; and at the next succeeding Quarter Sessions, I caused it to be registered for the performance in it of divine worship. The year after, several persons applied for leases who had saved up a little money to invest it in the new village; and a few additional houses were built by some who had been early adventurers, chiefly with money borrowed for that purpose. To facilitate the making of temporary loans for such purposes, a fourth life was gratuitously added to the three before granted; and that there might be no appearance even of partiality, the same privilege was offered to all who had adventured from the beginning. Every succeeding year added considerably to the number of houses erected, until the year 1827, when, from a cause which will be alluded to hereafter, the further progress of the village was suddenly and unexpectedly arrested. In 1828 a few houses were again built, and provision is now making for erecting others in the approaching summer.

Notwithstanding this check, Blackwood now contains more than 260 houses, and 1,550 inhabitants. In proportion as the village increased in size, so did of course the wants of its inhabitants for the local accommodation afforded by shops of different kinds. An inn of some capacity has been some time erected, and two surgeons live in the village; whilst, besides shops for the sale of general and miscellaneous articles, there have settled in it a blacksmith, a baker, a butcher, a gardener, a glazier, shoemakers, tailors, carpenters, masons, sawyers, tilers, and, though last not least in importance, a 'schoolmaster is abroad' in the village. Several persons, who had built and inhabited one house, have now built one or two adjoining; and others have been built upon speculation, to rent out for profit. But the extent of the experiment was not to be limited to the spot first chosen for its trial. No sooner had success crowned the original undertaking, than all eyes, for miles

round, were opened to the advantages it offered ; and in the same valley, on a part of my property, three miles distant, another village has sprung up, without effort on my part, which takes its name of Yuisdd, or Black Island, from the farm on which it is situated. Not being sufficiently near the collieries for the residence of the workmen employed therein, it has advanced slowly but regularly and surely ; the houses are here, in general, of a still better description than the majority of those built in Blackwood, and there is no room to doubt that this village will continue to flourish, and, as hitherto, regularly and progressively increase. Yuisdd at present contains more than thirty houses ; and I am not aware that, with the exception of shops which required, in fitting up, a more than ordinary expenditure of capital, more than one person who is not an occupier as well as owner, has built on speculation. When the mines on this property are opened, it is probable it will become a large village.

In the year 1825, an Act of Parliament was obtained for making a road from the Bute works, situated at the head of the Runnrey Valley, partly in Monmouthshire and partly in Glamorganshire, the line of which runs for some way through another part of the property on which Blackwood is situated, at a distance therefrom of about two miles. This offered a favourable opportunity for extending the village system, and in the next year, ground, in several respects most advantageously situated, was laid out for a new village ; and availing myself of past experience, upon mature consideration, freehold leases, for lives renewable for ever at a small fine, were granted. In the course of the following winter, ground for fifty houses was taken, and many of them begun early in the spring, with great spirit ; but the unfortunate occurrences of 1827, operating here as at Blackwood, several of the lessees were unable to proceed, and it is lately only that building has been resumed with vigour. The prospect of extensive success and usefulness is now again opened, and it is expected generally that the progress of this village, called Trelyn, (from Tre, a town, and lyn, a pool,) will equal that of Blackwood. At this day, the combined population of these villages amounts to upwards of two thousand persons ; and the ground covered with buildings, and occupied as gardens, exceeds fifty acres.

Having thus, as concisely as is consistent with the object of affording the necessary information for understanding the immediate and economical effects of my village system, endeavoured to explain the principles upon which it is founded, and shortly detailed the particulars of the rise and progress of the villages to which it has given birth, before I proceed to state the moral, and, if I may so say, the practical, or social effects which it has produced,—it may be proper to add, and particularly with the view of encouragement to its more general adoption, that so far from having required

any painful sacrifice on my part, or being injurious to my property, it has proved in both respects the very reverse. Before the experiment was embarked in, it was suggested that the settlement of the labouring poor in considerable numbers upon my property, and within half a mile of my very residence, would be found inconvenient and troublesome in many respects, and that the spirit of independence which it was an essential part of my plan to foster and encourage, would be found annoying if it succeeded, and on the contrary, in case of failure, might be burthensome to my estate; and other anxious friends expected that the experiment would be a costly one at any rate, from the diversion of an important part of a valuable property from its accustomed course of productiveness. Neither the inconvenience nor the loss predicted has, however, been experienced; on the contrary, a colony of valuable workmen has been formed on the spot where their services were much wanted, and a vagrant and migratory population has been rendered stationary and steady. These, indeed, were benefits contemplated as part of the plan; but so important an improvement in the rental and reversionary value of this part of my property as has been already realised, was not anticipated; for in my most sanguine moments I did not beforehand expect that more than from twelve to twenty houses would at any time be built; nor would the fact be now mentioned but to show, that no one need be deterred from making similar experiments from apprehension of loss; and perhaps, after allowing every credit due to benevolent motives, it may be necessary, in order to ensure the permanency of undertakings of any kind, that both parties should be benefited.

In the spring of 1827, a question arose between the workmen in the collieries and their employers, respecting a reduction of wages; in consequence of which, the works, and of course also the ordinary means of subsistence to those who depended upon them, were suspended for no less a period than seven weeks. Many, perhaps *most*, of the colliers in Blackwood would have submitted to the reduction in the first instance, justly considering it to be rendered necessary by the then depressed state of the trade; and on my reaching Woodfield, on hearing of the disturbances, having been absent when the measure of reduction was resolved on, a deputation waited upon me, as resident magistrate of the district, expressing their desire to return to their work, which they had been forced to leave, provided they were protected from the threatened violence of their fellow-workmen. Every means that circumstances admitted of were adoped to secure them and their families from outrage; but the atrocities committed being carried on in the night, by numerous, though small bands, of miscreants in disguise, the task was a difficult one, though entered upon instantly, and prosecuted with the utmost energy. Some of the workmen, in different parts of the colliery district, betook themselves to the distant iron works for

employ, leaving their wives and children to parish support; and many formed themselves into bands of from five to ten strong, and with wallets on their shoulders, and sticks in their hands, scoured the country for twenty miles round, levying contributions in money, clothes, and victuals, of which regular distribution was made among their respective families; but the Blackwood villagers, (by which I mean those who had houses or gardens of their own,) without, so far as I am aware of, a single exception, turned into their gardens. It was at once affecting and gratifying to see them thus employed all day long. This was *their* resource. It was a hard alternative, but it was the one they chose; and they were soon in some degree rewarded, by being taught that a poor man's family might, in a great measure, be maintained temporarily from his garden. Some who had a little money beforehand were obliged to draw upon it; and before the termination of this disastrous seven weeks, their clothes declined in quantity and quality; but whilst adversity drove others to the commission of acts scarcely honest and legal, it put them and many besides in the way of learning a lesson, the good effects of which were strikingly exemplified, not only by a more general and improved cultivation of their gardens, but by such a demand for additional garden-ground, that upwards of three acres were appropriated for that purpose in the course of the next year. During the nightly outrages which were committed at some one or other of the collieries at this period, special constables were had recourse to, and so well had the villagers learned to respect and protect the property of others from having property of their own, that they not only willingly acted against their fellow-workmen who disturbed the public peace on this occasion, but were amongst the most trusty and steady of those appointed.

In the year 1824, a Friendly Provident Society was established in Blackwood, very few of the villagers having previously to their settlement there belonged to any institution of the kind, or made any sort of prudent provision against sickness, accident, or old age. This society is encouraged and guarded by honorary members. The members of this society have since thought fit, after setting aside such a portion of their fund as was considered ample provision against contingencies, to take a piece of ground, on which they have already erected two houses, and made several excellent gardens, which are let out by lot to the members who may be fortunate enough to obtain the first choice; for these, such rents are paid to the society, as, after deducting the ground-rent, will regularly and materially augment their disposable fund, at the same that the occupiers have an honourable pride in being in part at least owners. So well has this answered, that the building of one or two other houses is in contemplation. Day and evening schools have been kept in the room over the market-house for two years past, the workmen arranging with their masters to detain and pay over to the school-

master monthly, a certain small per centage on their wages, two hundred persons, children and adults, have been taught daily in this school; but the pressure of the times lately has considerably reduced this number, though the wish to learn remains the same. For some time after the same room was registered as a chapel, different persuasions of Christians were allowed its use on a Sunday, on the sole conditions of producing testimonials of good moral character on the part of the minister, and that the different congregations should not interfere with, abuse, or vilify each other. But the services of these being all in the Welch language, as were also those of all other places of worship in the parish, not excepting those of the Established Church, and the population of the village being four-fifths English—early in the last year, regular morning and evening services in the English language were established, the room fitted up as a chapel, with a bell and other appendages, and a minister of education, talents, and character settled there. In order to make the services as generally useful and acceptable as possible, and that no just ground of offence might be given to any, a liturgy but little altered from that of the celebrated Doctor Samuel Clarke, Rector of St. James's, and Chaplain to Queen Caroline, consort of George II., is in regular use; it being a fundamental principle recognised by the congregation, that the great object of religion is to improve the heart and understanding; and that when disputed points of doctrine are touched upon, the same shall, as much as possible, be expressed in the words of Scripture itself.

To this place of worship, which is respectably attended, there was a Sunday school attached in September last; and on Christmas day forty-one children partook of a dinner of beef and plum-pudding, as the reward of attention and good behaviour;—the number of scholars is now increased to eighty. A chapel-library has also been for some time established, and instructive books are in constant circulation; to this library any person may subscribe his penny per week, whether of the congregation or not: but there is also belonging to the chapel a little institution, termed an Extra Provident Fund, chiefly raised by donations, the object of which is to afford some immediate assistance to members of the congregation, in cases of sudden sickness or accident, (to which many of them, as working in the mines, are peculiarly liable,) or other singular and urgent case, to be judged of by the minister and trustees; and to lend sets of linen, &c., to lying-in women during the period of confinement. This fund is the vested property of the members of the congregation, to be indiscriminately applied in the cases prescribed, and not a charity; relief from it, on the contrary, being a matter of right, within the prescribed rules of the institution. In the month of November, application was made for the use of the room, in the names of twenty individuals, for holding a weekly meeting for the purpose of acquiring and imparting useful

knowledge, accompanied by a request, that if the object was approved, rules might be drawn up for the government of the society; which being acceded to, on the 3d of December, the rules suggested were adopted, the humble society constituted, and an introductory address delivered, explanatory of the nature, objects, and importance of such an institution. At this meeting, thirty-three members entered their names; on the 11th of February there were sixty-one members. Visitors introduced by members are allowed to be present, and from one hundred to one hundred and fifty persons generally attend. It is intended that a course of lectures on domestic economy, or, as it is expressed in the introductory address, 'the means of enabling every poor man's family to live better and cheaper by applying things to the best purposes in the best way,' shall be delivered. A lecture on the management of cottage-gardens will also be given, probably at the time when the annual prizes for best gardens, cleanest houses, &c., are bestowed; and it is meant that complete sets of models of all the mechanical powers already prepared, shall be exhibited, and explained to them in the course of the ensuing summer.

Many of the village gardens exhibit proofs of industry, intelligence, and, consequently, success, far beyond what might have been expected from the almost total previous neglect of that essential, and I will add, invaluable appendage to a poor man's house. It was long before a due sense of its importance could be instilled; the example of a few better informed on this subject, the adjudication of prizes, chiefly consisting of apple, gooseberry, and other fruit trees, with the valuable rhubarb plant (*rheum palmatum*), but, above all, the occurrences of 1827, before adverted to, so disastrous in other respects, but beneficial in this, have opened the eyes of all to the advantages of a garden; and those of the villages begin, for the most part, to abound in all the more useful vegetables; several produce fruit; and rows and beds of flowers even show themselves in not a few.

But of whatever importance this experiment may be considered in itself, its local value sinks into insignificance in comparison with that which it assumes as furnishing additional proof, on a considerable scale, of that incontrovertible, though imperfectly understood, and partially recognised principle in political economy—that the population of a country is very much what the institutions of that country make it; and as it may tend to establish and extend the conviction, that society is not only answerable for the moral and political evils from which it suffers, and the still greater with which it is threatened; but that the burdens of pauperism and the horrors of crime are but the natural inflictions of retributive justice, for its deviations from the true principles of political justice and moral rectitude. It would be just as reasonable to expect that a man with weights attached to his legs could swim as well as one not so in-

cumbered, as to doubt that the burdens which have been laid upon the industrious classes in England within the last half century have not been the cause of their present depression.

To account for the great change which has taken place in their circumstances within that time, it is sufficient to restate the facts which have been recently detailed in Parliament, (though they exhibit but a small share of the pecuniary burdens cast on the people of England;)—that the sums paid for poors'-rates at present in England and Wales amount to nearly nine millions of money; that at the beginning of the war of 1793, the number of paupers was as one in twelve; in the first year of the present century as one in nine; and that now they are as one in seven of the population of the country. In the mean time, a still greater proportion of the income or earnings of industry have been taken away from the labourer, or, what is the same thing, though the produce of his labour is in many cases nominally greater, it is more than proportionably less efficient. Thus it is, as the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, before referred to, states, that 'idleness and want are multiplied and increased by the diminution of the funds which should have been applicable to the maintenance and labour of the poor.' Why, it may be asked, should the English or Scotch labourer be supposed capable of reclaiming wastes, and felling forests, and draining swamps, and at the same time maintaining himself and his family in Canada or the United States of America, as some even of our statesmen contend he is,—and as experience, in many cases, has proved that he actually is,—but because little or nothing is subtracted from the produce of his industry, and because he feels secure in the possession and enjoyment of the work of his hands and the contrivances of his head. Plant the English or Scotch labourer, under similar circumstances in this respect, on a portion of the millions of British wastes which still remain uncultivated, and he will support himself and his family with equal certainty and comfort. The success of the experiment which has been now detailed, attended by circumstances not so advantageous as the British labourer might be placed in, is but one of many proofs which might be adduced in confirmation of this. It is a libel on the character of the British labourer and on the land of his forefathers, to suppose, that placed in circumstances equally favourable to the exercise of his powers of body and mind, he will do less for himself and his country than the labourer of any part of the Continents of Europe or America.

It has been well observed, that 'the circumstances which have most influence on the happiness of mankind, are for the most part noiseless revolutions;' but the changes are neither the less complete, the less effective, nor the less injurious on that account. Of this sort is that which has taken place, and which is still taking place to a great extent, in the condition of the labouring poor of this country. The change in its operation has been a silent one,

but not so are and will be its consequences : they begin to speak in awful tones of pauperised millions ; of multitudes of the most industrious of our manufacturing population reduced periodically (as the silk-weavers of Spitalfields and Macclesfield at present) to a state bordering upon starvation ; of the rural population of the country, in some counties mostly maintained by their parishes, or converted into hordes of poachers for subsistence ; of nine millions of poor rates taken yearly out of the pockets chiefly of the middle classes of society ; and of a frightful increase of crime, alike the sure and certain proof, as well as consequence, of distress.

That man must have been very unobservant of the signs of the times, or his understanding very strangely constituted, who does not see that this state of things cannot last ; and that either the trade and commerce of the country must be freed from the baleful operation of vexatious restrictions, unnatural exclusions, and monopolies at once impolitic and unjust, and the labouring classes by having the markets of the world as freely thrown open to the products of their industry, as they now are to those of the people of America and some of the states of Continental Europe, be placed in a condition to maintain themselves and their families in decency and comfort by moderate personal exertions ; or, that ere long,—which Heaven avert !—the security of persons and property and the peace and tranquillity of the country must be compromised. Well might one of the acutest political economists of a neighbouring country exclaim, after having verified the facts from his own personal observation on the spot, ‘ Ah ! what will long avail the natural and artificial advantages and the many noble qualities which the English people possess, if a false system of policy be persisted in ! ’ ‘ In England,’ says he, ‘ the great mass of the people, including even the middle classes of society, work incessantly either with their heads or their hands. If they remit their labours for a day, they are either elbowed out of their places and left behind in the race of competitorship, or, it may be, even are destined still farther to increase the number of unfortunate beings in a land where every seventh person one meets with is a pauper. ’ ‘ What a pity,’ adds he, ‘ that a nation so industrious and intelligent should be the victim of a mistaken policy ! ’ That all this admits of remedy, there is, however, no reasonable ground of doubt ; and if the foregoing detail of facts should contribute to excite that additional attention to the subject which the safety and welfare of individuals and the country imperiously require, the object with which this communication has been made, will be answered. But to render attention useful, it should be remembered that superficial inquiry, or conclusions drawn from false or imperfect premises, or from any but the right quarter, will avail nothing ; and, above all, it should not be overlooked, that on this question, more especially, ‘ the upper current of society presents no certain criterion by which we can judge of the direction in which the under current flows.’

SLAVERY AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

It has been a common practice with the abettors of slavery to charge the advocates for its abolition with exaggeration in the details they have occasionally given of the atrocities of slave-holders. It is not, however, too much to assert, that for one instance in which such atrocities may have been overcharged, hundreds of cases have occurred of a character so brutal, or rather fiendish, that men of common humanity have shrunk from describing them, on account of the facts being actually too monstrous to be easily believed, or too revolting to be heard without abhorrence. The recent accounts we have inserted of the cruelties at the Mauritius, (though some of the more barbarous details were not given,) may afford some notion of what inhuman acts men can be guilty when once thoroughly vitiated by this unnatural condition of society, which, when left to operate uncontrolled, turns the victim into a brute, and the oppressor into a demon. But if such outrages are now comparatively rare in some of our other colonies, it ought to be kept in mind, that this mitigation of the natural effects of the system is more to be ascribed to the improvement of the Courts of Justice, and to the salutary dread of exposure which the vigilant investigations of the Abolitionists have excited, than to any better principle. It is pretty clear that this mitigation of its more ferocious spirit (so far as it has really taken place) cannot be attributed, in any very considerable degree, to the improvement of moral feeling amongst the great mass of slave-holders; although even upon them, at least in the Cape Colony, we rejoice to perceive that the influence of the press and of the pulpit, in diffusing more enlightened principles and a higher tone of humanity, is beginning, at length, visibly to operate. Should this beneficial influence continue to increase in power, and be duly sustained by wise and energetic measures on the part of Government, we shall not despair of living to see the blighting curse of slavery, with all its barbarous accompaniments and debasing effects, totally and for ever extinguished in South Africa,—if not spontaneously by the efforts of the colonists themselves, at least with their willing concurrence; and this great object effected, too, without injury or hazard to any class, and with infinite advantage to all. Before we come, however, to state what observations we have to offer on this interesting point, we propose to take a retrospective survey of the state of slavery at the Cape, from an early period down to the important ordinance for its regulation which was issued by direction of the British Government in 1826.

Slavery was introduced into the Cape soon after its first settlement by the Dutch in 1652; and this part of the population was gradually augmented and recruited, partly by the importation of

Malay slaves from Java and the other Batavian settlements in the East, and partly by a regular traffic in Negroes, obtained from Madagascar and from the eastern and western coasts of the African Continent. There is reason to believe that slaves were also occasionally procured from the interior, by kidnapping or smuggling expeditions beyond the frontiers of the Cape Colony : this, however, does not appear to have been prosecuted to any very great extent, partly, perhaps, because such traffic was subjected to severe penalties by the Dutch Government, but more especially because slaves so acquired were of comparative little value on account of the facilities they possessed of escaping to their own tribes,—and still more from the uninterrupted continuance of a kidnapping system of a somewhat different sort, prevalent throughout the frontier districts down to the present time, by means of which the colonists were furnished with a class of bondmen, that supplied the place of slaves without involving the risk and responsibility of slave property. . . . We allude to the barbarous practice so long pursued, and not yet entirely extinguished, of hunting down the wild Hottentot or Bushman herds, and carrying into captivity the women and children, to be thralls and drudges in the houses and farms of the colonists. On this system, as well as on the treatment of the Hottentot race generally, so ably exposed in the recent publication of the Rev. Dr. Philip,* we shall probably offer some more particular observations in a future Number.

The slave code of the Cape was, down to a recent period, nearly the same as that established by the Dutch in their East and West India colonies. Without going into details, it may be justly characterised as a harsh, cruel, and cowardly system,—though, perhaps, not greatly worse as a whole, and in some points decidedly better, than the slave codes of the French and English settlements ; all of them, in fact, affording very inefficient protection to the slave, and admitting, directly or indirectly, the assumption of an arbitrary and almost unlimited power of oppression and outrage on the part of the master. Of the practical operation of this Dutch code, and of the real condition of the slaves under it, the Swedish traveller, Sparrman, has given a just and striking account in his excellent work on South Africa, written in 1776, after the author had resided upwards of two years in the colony :

‘ There is a law, indeed, (says Sparrman,) existing in this colony, which prohibits masters from killing their slaves, or from flogging or otherwise chastising them with too great severity ; but, how is a slave to go to law with his master, who is, as it were, his sovereign ; and who, by the same laws, has a right (or at least may, by dint of bribes, purchase that right) to have him flogged at the pub-

* Vide ‘ Researches in South Africa : illustrating the Civil, Moral, and Religious Condition of the Native Tribes,’ &c. &c. London, 1828.

lie whipping-post, not absolutely to death, indeed, yet not far from it; and this merely on the strength of the master's own testimony, and without any further inquisition into the merits of the case? The master has, besides, so far his slave's life in his hands, that, by rating and abusing him day by day, as likewise by proper domestic discipline, as it is called, such as heavy iron chains, hard work, and little meat, he may, without control, by little and little, though soon enough for his purpose, worry the poor fellow out of his life. In consequence of this, the unhappy slaves, who are frequently endued with finer feelings and nobler sentiments of humanity, though, for the most part, actuated by stronger passions, than their masters, often give themselves up totally to despondency, and commit various acts of desperation and violence. Divers circumstances and considerations may, perhaps, concur to induce a wretch in this situation to exempt his tyrant from the dagger which he plunges into his own bosom; content with being thus able to put an end to his own misery, and at the same time to disappoint his greedy master of the profits arising from the sweat of his brow. A female slave, who had been just bought at a high price, and rather prematurely treated with severity by her mistress, who lived in the Roode-zand district, hanged herself the same night out of revenge and despair, just at the entrance of her new mistress' bed-chamber. A young man and woman who were slaves at the Cape, and were passionately fond of each other, solicited their master, in conformity with the established custom, for his consent to their being united in wedlock,—but all in vain, as, from some whim or caprice, he was induced absolutely to forbid it. The consequence was, that the lover was seized with a singular fit of despair; and, having first plunged a dagger into the heart of the object of his dearest wishes, immediately afterwards put an end to his own life.—But how many hundred instances, not less dreadful than these, might be produced to this purpose!

The same respectable witness, on mentioning the murder of a planter in the interior of the Cape colony, which occurred while he was travelling in the vicinity, makes the following remarks:

‘Yet whatever might be the real reason for committing this dreadful crime, I am convinced that it had its origin in the very essence and nature of slavery, in whatever manner and in whatever country it may be practised; a motive which I found had as much influence among the Christians, in many places, as among the Turks on the coast of Barbary, to induce the unhappy slaves, and still more their tyrannical masters, to behave very strangely; nay, sometimes, to be guilty of the most horrid cruelties. I have known some colonists, not only in the heat of their passion, but even deliberately and in cold blood, undertake themselves the low office (fit only for the executioner) of not only flaying, for a trifling neglect, both the backs and limbs of their slaves by a peculiar slow

lingering method, but likewise, outdoing the very tigers in cruelty, throw pepper and salt over the wounds. But what appeared to me more strange and horrid, was to hear a colonist, not only describe with great seeming satisfaction the whole process of this diabolical invention, but even pride himself on the practice of it; and rack his brains, in order to find sophisms in defence of it, as well as of the slave trade,—in which occupation the important post he enjoyed in the colony, and his own interest, had engaged him. He was, however, a European by birth; of a free and civilised nation; and, indeed, gave evident proofs of possessing in other respects a kind and feeling heart;—so that, perhaps, it would be difficult to show any where a greater contradiction in the disposition of man, though in a world composed almost entirely of contradictions.

Such is the account given by the worthy Sparrman of slavery, and its deteriorating influence even on dispositions naturally amiable and humane. And in corroboration of his testimony, we have the satisfaction of next adducing that of a still more distinguished traveller and writer of our own country, who visited the colony twenty years later.

Mr. Barrow, now Secretary to the Admiralty, and well known as a man of literary and scientific attainments, spent several years at the Cape, immediately subsequent to the period of its first capture by the British in 1795; and in that period travelled through almost every part of the colony, and on some occasions beyond its frontiers. Occupying, as he did, too, the important situations of Auditor-General and of Government Secretary, under the successive administrations of Lord Macartney and Sir Francis Dundas, Mr. Barrow's information, in regard to the state of the slaves, as well as of every other class of the inhabitants, must have been ample and accurate; and his testimony, given in various parts of his two quarto volumes on South Africa,* is consequently peculiarly worthy of attention. His remarks, in regard to the introduction of slavery and the treatment of the native population, are valuable:

“There is,” he observes, “perhaps no part of the world, out of Europe, where the introduction of slavery was less necessary than at the Cape of Good Hope. Nor would it ever have found its way into this angle of Africa, had the same spirit of Batavian industry which raised a wealthy and populous republic out of the sea, impressed the minds of those who first formed the settlement. A temperate climate, a fertile soil, a mild and peaceable race of natives, were advantages that few infant colonies have possessed; and as they still exist, may one day yet be turned to account. To encourage the native Hottentots in useful labour, by giving them an interest in the produce of that labour, to make them experience the

* Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa, &c. London, 1801 and 1804.

comforts of civilised life, and to feel they have a place and a value in society, which the miserable policy of the Dutch Government denied to them, would be the sure means of diminishing and, in time, of entirely removing the necessity of slavery.—Vol. i. p. 45.

We have marked one clause of the above paragraph by italics, because, though somewhat apart from our immediate object, it merits particular notice. The volume containing it, contains elsewhere a full exposure of the oppression of the native race, eloquently defends their character from the false aspersions heaped upon it by the *Christians*, and unanswerably vindicates their claims to be emancipated from the degrading thralldom to which they had been unrighteously subjected by the Dutch Government and colonists, in defiance not only of their natural rights, but of their legal and recognised title to the privileges of freemen. This volume was published in 1801, and has ever since (until, perhaps, very recently) been the standard work from which British statesmen and legislators chiefly drew their information, and formed their opinions in regard to a settlement which, since 1806, has continued subject without interruption to the British dominion. How lamentable and disgraceful, then, is the fact, that, although the miserable condition of the Hottentots was so well known, and though this settlement has been long recognised as an integral portion of our empire, yet, during the whole of this long period, nothing,—absolutely nothing,—was done by Government for the relief of this much aggrieved people; but that, on the contrary, whenever British authority interfered with their condition, the effect (however different the professed purpose) was only to rivet their chains more firmly, and to depress them into deeper degradation. It is only, in fact, within these very few months that this much injured race of men have been restored to their proper rights and rank as free subjects of the King,—a welcome though tardy act of justice, reserved for the same fortunate Ministers, who, in the same year, have restored to our Irish brethren the privileges of their birthright.

But we proceed with Mr. Barrow's remarks on Slavery. 'The effects,' he observes, 'that a state of slavery invariably produces on the minds and habits of a people born and educated in the midst of it, are not less felt at the Cape than in the warmer climates. Among the upper ranks it is the custom for every child to have its slave, whose sole employment is to humour its caprices, and to drag it about from place to place, lest it should too soon discover for what purposes nature had bestowed on it legs and arms. Even the lower class of people object to their children going out as servants, or being bound as apprentices to learn the useful trades, which, in their contracted ideas, would be considered as condemning them to perform the work of slaves.'—Vol. i. p. 47.

In a subsequent part of his work, he observes, that 'the habitude which the people of this country naturally acquire in witnessing

instances of cruelty on human as well as brute creatures, cannot fail to produce a tendency to hardness of heart, and to stifle feelings of tenderness and benevolence. In fact, the rigour of justice is rarely softened with the balm of mercy. All criminals condemned to suffer the punishment of death, are afterwards hung in chains close to the public road, to be eaten by the crows and vultures. And, under the old Government, when a slave had been guilty of murdering a colonist, implacable rancour, not satisfied with putting in practice every species of torture that malignant and diabolical ingenuity could invent, as long as any signs of life remained in the criminal, sentenced him to be torn limb from limb, and the several parts to be hung upon posts erected for the purpose in the most public parts of the high road. Many of such posts still remain,—rather as deplorable memorials of what vindictive malice could invent than as examples for preventing similar crimes.—Vol. ii. p. 41.

Speaking of the domestic slaves of Cape Town, Mr. Barrow states, that although they are generally well fed and clothed, and not severely treated, 'yet such are the bad effects which the condition of slavery produces on the mind,' that they are incapable of being managed by kind and gentle usage, whilst 'under the severe hand of a rigid and cruel master,' they become useful bondmen. It is an axiom, he adds, 'or self-evident truth, that such are and always will be the consequences of degrading men to the lowest of all conditions, that of being made the property of man.'—Vol. ii. p. 108.

Of the field slaves he states, that they 'are not nearly so well treated as those of the town;' and that they 'are ill-fed, ill-clothed, work extremely hard, and are frequently punished with the greatest severity; sometimes with death, when rage gets the better of prudence and compassion.'—P. 109.

The following important observations, from an authority so unexceptionable, are especially deserving of the reader's attention. They are not only just as regards the Cape, but are equally applicable to every community where the same system of iniquity and oppression has been established:

'In a country,' says Mr. Barrow, 'where *Christians*' (i. e. white people) only are considered as human beings, and where strong prejudices prevail, the negro has little chance of obtaining justice. It has been observed with too much truth, that if a black should only strike a white, he ruins the chance of being tortured and torn in pieces, on presumptive proof that his intention was to murder; but if a white man murders a black belonging to himself, he puts him into the ground, and nothing more is said about it; if he murders that of another, he has only to pay the owner his full value; unless, indeed, the owner should be inexorable, and bring the criminal before the court of justice,—a case which, I believe, has not yet

happened. . Such is the distribution of justice between a man compelled to be a slave and one born to be free !—Vol. ii. p. 116.

Such are Mr. Barrow's opinions in regard to slavery, as he found it at the Cape of Good Hope thirty years ago ; and it is the more necessary to bring distinctly under the reader's notice the very decided testimony of this important witness, as we shall have occasion to refer to it hereafter, in adverting to the assertions of some later writers, and especially to the arrogant dicta of *'The Quarterly Review,'* in direct opposition to it. We shall find, also, too truly, that the evil and odious character of slavery, has undergone no real nor effectual change by the lapse of years ; and that, in spite of the boasted ameliorations which are pretended to have taken place in its aspect and character in South Africa, it is still essentially the same in all its leading features, and is, and must continue, to be, so long as it is permitted to exist, a grievous burden which weighs down and paralyzes the energies of the whole community in the race of improvement ; while, in its moral influence, as at once a crime and a curse, it contaminates and degrades equally the master and the slave.

The next evidence whom we shall cite upon the subject of Cape Slavery, is the author of a volume entitled *'State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822,* by a Civil Servant of the Colony.' The author of this work is now known to be Mr. Wilberforce Bird, who has been for many years Comptroller of Customs at the Cape, a gentleman of acknowledged talent, and formerly a Member of the House of Commons. His work, which is chiefly statistical, contains much valuable information no where else to be found ; but his opinions on moral and political subjects are depreciated greatly in the value that would otherwise be attached to them by a certain compromising character and a reprehensible levity of tone, which beset this writer's pen even in discussing the gravest topics, and tend greatly to shake the reader's confidence in his sincerity. Nevertheless, though this characteristic indecision, augmented probably by a natural unwillingness to render himself unpopular in the colony, by speaking out unreservedly his real opinions, renders this *'Civil Servant's'* testimony less satisfactory on the character of slavery than might have been expected from a man of liberal sentiments, of shrewd intellect, and who is also a professed abolitionist,—yet are there several facts and observations in his work too important to be passed over.

The slave population of the colony in 1820, as extracted from official returns, is stated to have been 34,329, of whom 20,098 were males. Notwithstanding the great disproportion in the numbers of the sexes, the excess of births over deaths and manumissions amounted to 488 within the year ; and Mr. Bird argues that this population 'will, in all human probability, double itself in about twenty-five years ; so that, in the year 1846, the colony may look to the number of nearly 70,000 as its slave population.' Although

we conceive this estimate of the progressive augmentation too high, it is certain that this class of the inhabitants, as well as every other class in the settlement, both white and coloured, are increasing at a very rapid rate; and while this very increase clearly demonstrates that the Cape slaves are under a less destructive system of bondage than what exists in most of the West India Islands, or in that charnel-house of wholesale murder, the Mauritius, it supplies at the same time a strong argument for some immediate plan being adopted for the abolition of slavery in South Africa, before increasing numbers increase the obstacles; all accounts agreeing that at present it would be no very arduous task to extinguish it. Let us hear the 'Civil Servant' on this point:

'Of all the colonies belonging to England,' he remarks, 'there is not one where (what may be called) an experiment of emancipation could be so safely made as at the Cape of Good Hope. There are no indigo, coffee, cotton, or sugar plantations to be made desolate by labour suddenly withdrawn. It would be a comfort to humanity to view the extinction of slavery even at a distance. Those who have leisure and talents for the subject may consider the degree of danger that could arise from declaring all female slave-children born after January 1824, to be free at eighteen, with the power in the owner to dispose of the term by sale, as he now does of the slave for life; that on the childrens' attainment of five years of age, one hundred rix-dollars should be paid by Government to the owner, as a remuneration for the past support; the future service till eighteen, an age when they will be able to take care of themselves, being considered as sufficient for the remainder.'

Without stopping at present to discuss the practicability of this or other plans for the extinction of slavery in this colony, (a point, however, to which we shall revert in the sequel,) we proceed with the evidence as to the general condition of the slaves:

'Marriages,' says Mr. Bird, 'are not permitted between slaves, or between a slave and a free person; nor is the practice of Christianity encouraged by the master, or any of its commandments, except the sixth and the eighth, taught to the slaves,—and perhaps those only because they guard and protect the property and life of the master.'—Speaking of the immorality which necessarily results from this criminal inhibition of marriage by the masters, he says, 'The conduct of the slaves is not restrained by either moral or religious ties, and both sexes follow the natural impulse of their passions.' But, he adds, 'the mischief and misery lie in the detestable system; for where little is sown much cannot be reaped.'

The author expresses regret that so little is attempted 'towards extending the Christian religion over the slave population of our colonies.' 'Many of the Cape Dutch proprietors,' he observes, 'have stubborn prejudices to the encouragement of Christianity;' and he might have added, that the English proprietors, with few exceptions,

appear utterly indifferent to either their moral or religious improvement, and are, on the whole, much worse masters than the Cape Dutch.

Yet, while he thus describes the moral condition of the slaves, advocates abolition, and characterises 'the entire system' as 'a mountain of misery and injustice,' with the 'inconsistency of which his work affords too frequent examples, he talks in the same chapter of the slaves in this colony being 'now generally well treated;' and while he admits that when a sale of slaves takes place 'by the distress or insolvency of the owners, or on the distribution of the property of a deceased person, the scene of woe is dreadful,' yet, in his usual compromising mode, he proceeds to say, that 'whenever it becomes necessary for an individual to sell a slave, permission is never refused to the slave to select the purchaser, which is usually done without difficulty; and on a sale occasioned by death, the children or relatives either share or buy the slaves of the family; so that, in fact, there is less distressful alteration in this species of property (for so it must be called) than could be expected.'

Now, although we readily admit that the general condition of slaves in this settlement is considerably less deplorable than that of the human labouring cattle of the Mauritius, or even than that of the 'labouring peasantry' (as the West Indians delicately term them) of Jamaica and other sugar islands,—yet we cannot help expressing our astonishment at this mollifying and mitigatory statement from the 'Civil Servant.' For although his observation of slavery had been exclusively confined to Cape Town and its immediate vicinity, (as, we believe, is the fact,) he could hardly be ignorant that separations of families and connections, by public auctions, were so common, even in Cape Town, previous to the important slave ordinance of 1826, that there are few visitors from India who have spent a month or two at the Cape, who have not witnessed scenes of this nature, accompanied almost invariably with circumstances of the most trying description to every one whose feelings had not been hardened by long familiarity with such spectacles. A friend of ours, who happened to touch at Table Bay, for a few days, on his passage home to England, witnessed a most heart-rending exhibition of this sort in the public market of Cape Town, where the husband and wife, parents and children, brothers and sisters, were sold separately, and torn from each other, without the excitement apparently of any unusual sympathy in the crowd of beholders. The slaves, too, were the property of an Englishman, and were not sold either for distress or want.

Even in the Notes to the 'Civil Servant's' book, appended by his friend Mr. H. T. Colebrook, (well known to our Indian readers for his valuable writings,) and who acted as the editor of the work, we find the following account of one of those sales of human stock, which, though unaccompanied by any circumstances of aggravated

hardship, and conducted with unusual decorum, yet exemplifies strongly the misery of such a condition :

'I here witnessed,' says Mr. Colebrook, 'for the first time, an auction of slaves in South Africa. It is conducted somewhat differently from a sale of negroes in Brazil, and from that of domestic slaves in the East Indies,—in both which countries I have been present at this touching scene. Many of the slaves, both among those who were to be sold, and among those who were reserved, appeared to be deeply affected by the approaching separation from friends with whom they had long shared servitude. Several were bathed in tears; others lamented aloud. The subject exposed for sale is placed upon a table for more convenient view; not handled and closely inspected, as at a sale of imported negroes in South America, but interrogated as to qualification and blemishes. Upon such occasions coarse jokes are not unfrequent, and greatly add to the disgust which the scene cannot but excite in a mind endowed with sensibility. In the present instance, there was little that passed of this nature. The sale proceeded gravely and simply, as a mere affair of business. A woman, with four young children, was the most remarkable lot; and scarcely had the sale been concluded, when a profit on the lot was offered to the purchaser, and accepted by him.'

Intending to resume this subject in the next Number of *THE ORIENTAL HERALD*, and to finish our survey of slavery in South Africa, with illustrations from other sources of more fresh and immediate interest, we shall conclude, for the present, with another scene of the above description, derived from an anonymous but perfectly authentic source. It is extracted from the letter of a gentleman whose respectability is well known to ourselves, written while he was travelling in the interior of the Cape colony :

'Having learned,' says the writer, 'that there was to be a sale of cattle, farm stock, &c., by auction, at a Veld-Cornet's in the vicinity, we halted our waggon one day for the purpose of procuring a fresh span of oxen. Among the stock of the farm sold, was a female slave and her three children. The two eldest children were girls, the one about thirteen years of age, and the other about eleven; the youngest was a boy. The whole family were exhibited together, but they were sold separately, and to different purchasers. The farmers examined them as if they had been so many head of cattle. While the sale was going on, the mother and her children were exhibited on a table, that they might be seen by the company, which was very large. There could not have been a finer subject for an able painter than this unhappy group. The tears, the anxiety, the anguish of the mother, while she met the gaze of the multitude, eyed the different countenances of the bidders, or cast a heart-rending look upon the children; and the simplicity and touching sorrow of the poor young ones, while they clung to their distracted parent,

wiping their eyes, and half concealing their faces,—contrasted with the marked insensibility and jocular countenances of the spectators and purchasers,—furnished a striking commentary on the miseries of slavery, and its debasing effects upon the hearts of its abettors. While the woman was in this distressed situation, she was asked, "Can you feed sheep?" Her reply was so indistinct that it escaped me; but it was probably in the negative, for her purchaser rejoined, in a loud and harsh voice, "Then I will teach you with the sjamboc."* The mother and her three children were sold to three separate purchasers; and they were literally torn from each other. How just the remark of the poet,

"There is no flesh in man's obdurate heart,—
It does not feel for man!"

THE SLEEPING SLAVE.

[Written after perusing the article on Slavery, contained in the March Number of
'The Oriental Herald.']

By Miss Jewsbury, of Manchester.

Av, sleep, alas! the morn is blushing,
Odours and songs around are gushing;
One hour, and on heaven's arched blue
The blazing sun will spring to view,
And thou must greet him from the wave,
Midst flowers and dews, and light—a slave!

Yet sleep; *that* hour is all thine own,
And dreams may on its wings be strewn,
Bright, as if wafted from afar
By genii guests of moon and star,
Brighter than on his eyes may rest,
Who slumbers lord of east and west.

Dream, wretched one! but not of time,
Nor ev'n thine own remembered clime;
Dream not of mother, wife, or boy,
Of childhood's games, or freedom's joy;
Forget thy native valley's stream,
Forget thy father's house—yet dream.

Dream of the world beyond the grave,
(Though broad, within it walks no slave,)
Of heaven, where many mansions be,
Of Him, who orders one for thee;
Of Him, who notes thy tears and sighs;
Dream thus and conquer—Slave, arise!

* A whip made of the rhinoceros' hide.

PUBLIC MEETING AT BRISTOL ON THE EAST-INDIA AND
CHINA TRADE.

(From '*The Bristol Mirror*,' of April 18.)

THE following is a detailed account of the proceedings at this Meeting, which was held on Tuesday last at the Guildhall, was very numerously attended, and was supported by a very large proportion of our respectable merchants and manufacturers. The subject was calculated to excite universal attention; and we were gratified to find that the resolutions, of which the petition is in fact an echo, were so framed as to receive the assent of all classes of our fellow-citizens, whatever may be their peculiar interests commercially, or their opinions politically: the object is expressed in clear terms.

The petition claims, as a natural right, the privilege of unrestricted trade and of freedom of intercourse with all countries in amity with his Majesty. It prays inquiry, and an alteration, in the regulations governing the trade, commerce, and intercourse with the East Indian countries, the discontinuance of monopoly, and the restoration of our legitimate rights on the expiration of the Company's Charter, subject to such qualifications as may be required for the preservation of other important national interests, for the safety of the British Empire in India, and the British Constitution at home. So properly qualified, no objection can fairly be raised; and we trust a measure so well calculated to improve the resources of the country, and to bring into action the local advantages of this city, will receive the zealous support of our commercial and trading community, and be ultimately attended by the success it merits. In contending with a chartered company, especially one of so great influence as the East India Company, considerable exertion, judgment, and perseverance must be applied. The Committee comprises several of our most active and experienced merchants; and if the question be taken up with equal zeal in other places, and intrusted to equally discreet and respectable hands, we may rest assured that it will be throughout temperately and ably conducted, and that such politic and effectual arrangements will be made for admitting the British public to the full advantages of these valuable possessions and countries, as will satisfy the claims of the commercial interests without incurring either sacrifice to any class of persons, or danger to our Eastern Empire, or to the well balanced Constitution we have the good fortune to possess and the good sense to appreciate.

About half-past twelve o'clock, John Cave, Esq., Mayor, was called to the chair, amidst the acclamations of the meeting.

The Chairman said, that, in the official situation which he held, he felt it was his duty always to attend to the call and the feelings of the public; but it was with particular satisfaction he acceded on

the present occasion to the request of the merchants, bankers, and inhabitants of this ancient and commercial city. Though he had refused to preside on a late political occasion, (for his conscience and feelings would not permit him to do so,) he had the greatest pleasure on taking the chair at this Meeting, the object of which was to induce the Legislature to refuse the renewal of the monopoly enjoyed by the East India Company, by their Charter, now on the eve of expiration. Leaving details to gentlemen more competent than himself to do their justice, he should imagine that, in the present depressed state of commerce, no time could be found more applicable to rouse the energies of the country in petitioning Parliament and Government against the renewal of the monopoly. He held in his hand a letter from his friend, Mr. Cropper, of Liverpool, in which that gentleman observed, that if the cultivation of cotton, now the great article of export from America to this country, were introduced into India, we should be able to do without the United States, and compel them to withdraw that tariff, which had proved so detrimental to the manufacturing interests of this country. An improvement would no doubt take place in its culture, similar to what had been experienced with regard to indigo; for which we were lately indebted to South America, but which having been introduced into India, under the fostering care of British skill and British enterprise, was now so improved that it superseded all other in the markets. By an article in 'The Bengal Chronicle' of Sept. 12, it appeared the inhabitants and settlers in India were equally anxious with ourselves against the renewal of the Charter; and he would call upon Bristol to join with Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow, and other large towns, in their endeavours to do away with that monopoly, which acted as a bar and a check to speculation and to the commercial interests of the country. (*Cheers.*) There never was a time when we more wanted a vent for our manufactures; and the advantages of the measure in promoting increased consumption would be incalculable. He was old enough to remember several similar monopolies, by one of which, the Turkey Company, he had been personally affected in early life; but which were now all abolished, with the exception of the one under their present consideration, and he hoped that also would follow them. One article all classes were interested in, that of tea, and which it was consequently necessary should be procured at the cheapest possible rate, but which, by the effects of the exclusive monopoly, cost the people of England 100 per cent. more than the inhabitants of any other country. This was surely a hard case. With respect to cotton, it appeared that in one week at Liverpool, viz., from April 4 to 10, 40 ships had entered that port from the United States, bringing 58,327 bags and bales of cotton. This would give some insight into the enormous trade in that article, amounting to 700,000 bags in three years, and for which, if the present monopoly were abolished, we should no longer be indebted to a country which had done every thing in its

power to exclude our manufactures from its markets. There was one more point to which he would briefly advert—the object they had met for on that day was almost exclusively commercial, but still he could not forget that commerce was often the harbinger of religion, and he trusted that in the present case she would serve as the handmaid of Christianity, and prove the most influential missionary in the East. (*Cheers.*)

The Requisition for the Meeting was then read by Mr. Bigg, as was also a letter from Liverpool, enclosing a copy of a resolution agreed to by the Committee in that town, and suggesting the propriety of a deputation being appointed by the principal cities to wait upon Ministers, preparatory to the discussion in Parliament, fixed for the 30th inst.

Joseph Reynolds, Esq., in moving the first resolution, said that the great advantages of commerce were the exchanging the surplus products of one country for those of another. After describing the bankrupt and insolvent state of the United States of America, at the close of their struggle for independence, and their present prosperity, Mr. R. stated that nine-tenths of her population were agriculturists, the soil was their own, the people were free, they had no monopolies, they raised much more than they could consume, and carried their surplus to other countries in exchange for their manufactures. He attributed to this commercial intercourse with other nations, the present greatness and prosperity of that rising country. France, at the conclusion of the same war, was embarrassed in her finances, but, as was thought, not so much distressed as England; her population were chiefly agricultural and her soil good, but her people were not free, the land they cultivated was not their own, her produce could not be increased, therefore her commerce could not be extended, and she sunk into the horrors of a national bankruptcy in 1788. This country had almost been in a similar situation, but she had one resource—pit coal; steam engines were brought into action—Arkwright produced his cotton mills—we had canals and sea-ports—the secrets of chemistry were unlocked; and, directed by science, such an amazing increase of product was gained as astonished the world, and bankrupt England triumphed over all. But India was not free, she was restrained by monopolies; and the consequence was, that for one hundred years her happiness and her resources had been impeded. The products of India were more numerous and more valuable than those of America—cotton, sugar, silk, indigo, tobacco, opium, dye-woods—in short, every thing we could want; while at the same we were able to supply her with every thing she could want. (*Cheers.*) Then again we were excluded, for no earthly reason that he could conceive, from China, which, being an agricultural country, was the very one, of all others, calculated to be a market for our manufactures. Another evil was, that this system gave to foreign nations advantages of which we

were deprived; at this very moment, American ships were loading with our manufactures for markets from which we were debarred.

Mr. Sheriff Riddle said that, concurring most fully in the sentiments of the preceding speaker, he had great pleasure in seconding the Resolution. Feeling himself unable to enter into the argument of the injustice of the contract of the East India Company, he would not take up the time of the meeting, but leave to gentlemen more able than himself a duty they were more competent to discharge.

J. G. SMITH, Esq., barrister, rose to move the second Resolution, which he read, and observed, that the meeting would perceive that it recognised a return to first principles; that it took for granted that monopolies were in themselves impolitic and illegal, and when they proved also to be injurious to the public in their operation, the abrogation of them formed a valid ground for the proceedings of meetings similar to that now assembled. Monopolies were founded on a preference of individual interest to public good; often on the sacrifice of public rights to the wishes of the monopolists, whose actions, even when illegal and unjust, were not under the control of legitimate authority. He was not aware that the East India monopoly was different from monopolies in general—its effect was to put a whole country under a ban—and as such, it was in violation of the statute of James I. ch. 23, which enacted that all monopolies should cease, as being injurious to the commonwealth and altogether subversive of the laws of the realm. Monopolies were sometimes granted by the ruling Prince, as royal favours; but when they were enacted by the Legislature, they were enacted upon certain conditions, the fulfilment of which was necessary. How far the East India Company had fulfilled the stipulations they were bound to would remain to be proved; if they had not, the contract was at an end. He should not point out the many instances of injustice and fraud with which they were chargeable, nor dwell upon the evils of the system, as he saw around him many gentlemen more competent to the task; but he should contend that the Legislature was bound to inquire how far the circumstances under which the charter was granted were similar to those in existence at the present time. That the country had been injured by the monopoly was evident from the fact, that there had been a partial extension of the right to trade:—to the extent of that surplus trade, therefore, the injury was acknowledged. The evils of monopoly were manifold; for instance, the monopolist had no competitor; he could therefore sell his goods as dear as he pleased:—he had no motive to improve his article, his object being to avoid expense:—he had no stimulus to increase it, for he knew there were none to step into the market before him. How different this from the effects of Free Trade! Where there were no exclusive privileges, all was competition and exertion; and the results were improvement, increase of produce, and moderation of charges. In a manufacturing country like this,

where the raw materials of other countries were worked up in a thousand different ways, the mischiefs of monopoly were incalculable. Another, and a great evil of the East India monopoly was, that the beneficial effect of the employment of large capital in shipping was not only taken away from the British merchant but thrown into the hands of foreigners, (*cheers*) who, wiser than ourselves, exploded all the old fashioned and injurious doctrines of exclusive privileges; and thus the British had the mortification of seeing the American merchant profiting by a trade, which, if exclusive privileges ought to have effect, ought to be confined to the British flag alone. It had been said that the evils of the system were imaginary; why not then throw open the trade, and let experience be the arbiter of the dispute? This meeting did not interfere with any vested right, inasmuch as its object was prospective—all it asked was, that when the time should come for the renewal of the Charter, both parties should be heard impartially. It was difficult to conceive upon what ground the East India Company would ask for a renewal of their privileges: hitherto they had conducted their trade upon principles of illiberality, selfishness, and injustice—were they disposed to reverse their system? It had been asked if there would be no danger by a transfer of government, which would be the result of the proposed measures. To this it might be replied, that the transfer would be from a set of merchants meeting in Leadenhall-street, whose avocations were proved by experience not the best calculated for such duties, to the hands of the Ministers of the Crown, who were responsible to the Parliament, their country, and, above all, to public opinion, for their conduct: that opinion which became every day more influential in proportion as it was grounded upon knowledge—that opinion which controlled even the Legislature itself, and to which every individual of the state found himself amenable. With respect, therefore, to the interests of trade in general, Mr. S. contended that exclusive privileges were inimical, not only to its prosperity, but to its very existence; if it were otherwise, why had we not an exclusive West India, Baltic, Mediterranean, or Irish trade? Mr. S. concluded by congratulating the meeting on the general interest which the question excited, not only in Bristol, but in other large and commercial towns, and anticipated the very beneficial effects which would result from throwing open the trade, not only to England, to India, but to the world at large. (*Loud cheers*.)

Seconded by A. G. H. Battersby, Esq.

Thomas Reynolds, Esq., moved the third Resolution, which was seconded by George Eddie Sanders, Esq.

Mr. W. E. Acraman, in moving the fourth Resolution, spoke nearly in the following words: 'I deem, Sir, some apology necessary for thus intruding on the time of yourself and this meeting; but I consider the object for which we are met as the bounden duty of myself and other merchants, in seeking the recovery of our rights of trade with every country in amity with Great Britain.'

I will, however, first read the Resolution which I have had the honour to have placed in my hands. Sir, in the year 1818, Mr. Grant, an East India Director, declared that, from a personal observation of forty years, there could not be any greater increase in the exports from India, nor any increase in the sale of imported goods; and in spite of this array of facts and experience, the petitioners of different manufacturing towns of Great Britain wished to try the experiment of exporting their goods to India! This evidence was borne out by Sir Thomas Munro, who stated that, with the exception of some hundred pounds' value of scissors, needles, &c., for the use of a few British residents in India, no importation of British goods of any importance could take place, owing to the prejudices of the Natives! Now, Sir, what has experience taught us since that time, under the partial opening of the trade with India? What are the facts? You will observe by the Resolutions, that it is asserted, that the amount of British exports of manufactured goods has increased, since the year 1814, from one million and a half to four millions; but, as millions are spoken of so lightly in this country, I will give the detail of the more important branches of our manufactures in tons and yards.

An Account of the Exportation of British Manufactures to India, and all Places to the Eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, including China, (which, however, bears but a small relative proportion,) and exclusive of New South Wales.

Iron.			
1825	. . . . .	9000 tons	1827 14,000 tons
1826	. . . . .	7000 do.	1828 17,000 do.
Copper.			
1825	. . . . .	600 tons	1827 2,500 tons
1826	. . . . .	1400 do.	1828 2,200 do.

Or one-sixth of the quantity that is made in this country.

Woollen Goods.			
1818	500,000 <i>l.</i> , official value	1824	800,000 <i>l.</i> , official value
1821	800,000 <i>l.</i> , ditto	1827	940,000 <i>l.</i> ditto
Plain Calicos.			
1814	. . . . . 200,000 yards	1827	. . . . . 20,000,000 yards
Printed Calicos.			
1813	. . . . . 600,000 yards	1827	. . . . . 14,000,000 yards
Cotton Yarn.			
1824	. . . . . 105,000 lbs. weight	1826	. . . . . 920,000 lbs. weight
1825	. . . . . 235,000 ditto	1827	. . . . . 2,600,000 do.
1828	{ First 3 months, 1,150,000 lbs. weight, equal to (for the whole year) 4,600,000 lbs. weight.		

This to India, be it observed, the place of growth for cotton and of cheap labour, and showing incontestably the great advantage and support derived from the machinery of this country. The late Bishop Heber has stated, in his account of a journey in the British Indian provinces, in the year 1826, in corroboration, *English cotton goods, both plain and printed, are to be met with commonly in wear among the people of the country; and may, I learned to my

surprise, be bought best and cheapest, as well as all kinds of hardware, earthenware, &c., at Pallee, a large town on the edge of the Desert, where, till lately, no European was known to have penetrated. Here, Sir, is an utter denial to the interested statements and opinions of Mr. Grant and Sir T. Munro, servants of the Company. Having said this much on the subject of British manufactures, I will now, Sir, allude to the restrictions imposed on free-born Englishmen going out to settle in India. In the first place, a license has to be procured from the Company, after due investigation of the objects of the petitioners, and in some instances it has been refused. I could prove this assertion by my own personal knowledge of individuals, whose application was first rejected, but subsequently granted by the interference of the late Mr. Canning then President of the Board of Control; and since that time I know that the petitioners, by their industry, have made a competent fortune. In the next place, when in India, British subjects are liable to transportation, at the will and caprice of the servants of the Company, without trial—without time for the collection of debt or family arrangements—and to be sent home to England, by way of China, in one of the Company's ships, with no better treatment than that experienced by a common soldier or sailor, unless well paid for. Thirdly, Trial by Jury is denied in civil cases, and has only been recently allowed in criminal ones. The profits of their industry, if resident in India, have to be invested in the public securities, which, from the secrecy of the Government, or unwisdom and hostilities, are liable to great fluctuations, and of which they cannot gain that notice which they would have at home. And they are placed in this dilemma from the disallowance to all British subjects of investing their capital in lands in India, for the purposes of agriculture and profitable employment. In consequence of this disability, we have bad cotton, bad rice, in fact, bad every thing, in the shape of the produce of the soil, sent to this country, while the application of British capital, energy, and skill, would remedy it. In short, Sir, I have only to say, on the authority of every intelligent and disinterested person coming from India, 'only give them the opportunity, and allow them the means of paying you, and they will take off as many of your manufactures as you please to send them, even the whole production of England.' I will now, Sir, remark on the importance of the extension of our trade with British India, with reference to our shipping. The shipping interest, for the last four years, has laboured under severe depression, with the exception of a few partial and favoured instances; and this observation every shipowner here present will bear me out; might have been occasioned by our reciprocity treaties, entered in about four years since with the Baltic States; it might continue to be depressed by the operation of that important measure, the currency, which has been gradually undergoing so great a change; shipping is of a perishable nature, and every person who invests

his property in it is fully entitled to a fair annual profit. The important articles of cotton, hemp, and rice, if encouraged in India, would, from their bulk and long voyage, afford considerable additional employment to British shipping. Having, Sir, proved, I hope, the justice of our claims to greater freedom of trade with the East, and to settlement in India, on the principle of the inherent right of British subjects, I will attempt to show the *efficiency*. The superabundant capital of this country requires vent and employment. It has been sacrificed in loans to foreign countries; it has been sent to South America to call into existence the trade with some sixteen millions of natives; it has been sunk in the bowels of the earth in mining speculations in the same quarter. How far more desirable would it have been in cultivating the products of the surface of the soil of India? The importance of the manufacture of cotton is now so great, that distress would ensue to the population of this country, in the event of another war with America, on which country we are almost wholly dependent for the supply of this material; and this, Sir, you have illustrated by reference to the arrival of upwards of forty American ships at Liverpool, with cotton, during the past week. Hemp for our navy is now afforded by Russia, a country of which we have like cause to be jealous, and a country now stretching its power nearly to the boundaries of British India. And lastly, Sir, I will come to the *necessity* of granting our claims. The revenue at this time is scarcely sufficient to defray the expenditure of the country, oppressed as it is by our national debt, so much augmented by the maintenance of a long war for the defence of our liberties. We must reduce this debt, the stumbling-block of free trade, which should be written up in large letters on the walls of every house. Here, Sir, are the means: first apply 'free trade' to the East, and by such application you will increase your revenue, and thereby reduce your debt, and, with the reduction of the national debt, national taxation? Then, Sir, and not till then, will the agriculturist, the manufacturer, and the shipowner, have nothing to fear from competition with our less taxed continental rivals. In conclusion, I will take this opportunity of alluding to our local situation. It may naturally be asked, why has not Bristol already taken advantage of the removal of many of the former restrictions on our commerce with the East, granted to her petitions in 1813? Some attempts, Sir, have been made of a direct trade with India, but they failed; renewed attempts of an indirect nature have been made, but the city of Bristol holds only an honorary title by the register of the ships at her customhouse; they go to Liverpool. But, Sir, of late years, I think a new era has sprung up for Bristol—her trade has increased. It is not in the power of one individual, nor of ten, to accomplish the renewal of her prosperity; all should unite for the general welfare, and be supported by the municipal bodies: we must encourage the establishment of cotton manufactories in our neighbourhood. I

feel Sir, a deep interest for my native city; I will do every thing in my power to promote it; and I hope, before I die, to see it once more enjoying that commercial rank which, from the advantages of its situation, it deserves to hold in this great empire.—(Great applause.)

MR. GEORGE WHEAT HALL, in seconding the Resolution, addressed the meeting to the following effect:—I rise, Sir, to second the resolution which has just been proposed; and I do so, deeply impressed with the magnitude of the question we are called on this day to discuss, convinced of the vast importance of the measure to every branch of industry in the state, and well aware of the difficulties, the opposition, and the influence, that will be arrayed against it. Our object, Sir, this day, is calmly to inquire into the eligibility of again conceding to the United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies, their present exclusive privileges; and, Sir, this is a subject that will require a union of every class and interest in the state, an annihilation of every sentiment that is even remotely connected with party feeling, and a suppression of every thing that tends alone to particular interest. I trust, Sir, that this ancient commercial city will have the firmness, on the present occasion, to think and act for itself, and that it will not be led away by the more speculative ideas of any other place beyond the bounds of sobriety. Prompted, Sir, by my own feelings, and in accordance with an appeal which has been elsewhere made to the agricultural interests, I appear before you this day as a member of that body, to offer to the meeting now assembled the humble assistance of an individual in a great national work. I must, however, protest against the support of this measure being considered as any sanction to the general doctrine of what is called free trade. I think, Sir, there is much misunderstanding upon the meaning of this term. If it is understood as requiring trade to be thrown open free from all regulation and restriction, then, Sir, I am a determined enemy to the system; but, if it require alone that no permanent exclusive privileges shall attach to a small portion of the public at the expense of the rest, then, Sir, I am highly friendly to the term. To suppose that trade alone can be released from the regulations and restrictions common to every other principle of civilised society, is perfectly Utopian. What, Sir, would be the effect of the elements unrestrained? How could the ponderous atmosphere be made subservient to the steam-engine, without restraint? What would be the actions of men without the magisterial authority? What the opinions of men without mental restraint? And what would be the conduct of the present meeting, without the restraining office which you, Sir, have this day kindly consented to fill? But, Sir, the present case is one of injurious and real monopoly; and, were it necessary to appeal to the feelings of this meeting, I might repeat some of the terms, glowing with eloquence and indig-

nation, of one who was once an honour to this city, to the Legislature, and his country—the highly-gifted Burke, but this is not required, as a question of arithmetic alone, and in a commercial view arguments press upon the mind to show the just grounds of the present proceeding. As nurses to rear an infant trade, companies with exclusive privileges have a limited utility; but, in a country such as this, abounding with enterprise and capital, they only cramp and retard commercial pursuits, and, unable to meet the individual trader upon equal terms, their existence requires the exclusion and privation of thousands. The failure of fifty known united companies in England and the Continent of Europe, since the establishment of the first East India Monopoly, demonstrates the ruinous character of their arrangements, and the superiority of a private trade. The East India Company have provided for their own continuance, under a joint stock, upon the expiration of their privileged term; and that intercourse to the immense Asiatic dominions which is now debarred from their countrymen, will be equally open to them if their Charter should not again be renewed. But, Sir, we cannot recur to the history of this Charter without lamenting that the very power which was obtained to designate their countrymen interlopers and illicit traders, was obtained by a loan to Government of two millions, for which they were to receive interest at eight per cent., and thus an expensive annuity was added to the privation of so valuable a trade, which the people had to pay. The supply, however, of the great Continent of Hindoostan, cannot fail of being highly important at the present time. Who can look upon the present national distress, the accumulation of goods consequent on the immense increase of machinery, without hailing as a great national advantage the immense outlet this is likely to become? A population of one hundred millions, independent of China, which contains, perhaps, two hundred millions more, presents a field for successful exertion worthy the energies of this great country; but, Sir, without some such channel to take off the amazingly increased quantity of goods produced, I contend that much of the beautiful machinery which has been introduced into our manufactories, becomes our bane. Sir, it is necessary that the creation and consumption of manufactured, or any other produce, should proceed at a nearly equal pace; they must go hand in hand; and, as well might a bird attempt to make progress in its flight with one wing shorter than the other, as for national prosperity to proceed with any material, or at least long continued, accumulation or deficiency of the commodities consumed by man. At the present time, Sir, the word machinery electrifies my frame, for, yielding to no man in sympathy for the distresses of my countrymen, or in exertions to alleviate them, I see but two courses before us: one is the opening of new channels for the consumption of our immense amount of manufactures elsewhere; and the other is to turn inwards upon ourselves, and restore that employment to all classes which is the foun-

dation and superstructure of their prosperity. I have frequently said, Sir, that nothing less than a treaty of commerce with the moon, or some other planet, would be sufficient to carry off the supply of manufactured goods, with the present increasing machinery in its full velocity; but it may be more useful first to explore every practicable portion of the terrestrial globe, where a *beneficial* intercourse can be carried on; and believing, Sir, that the great Asiatic continent peculiarly answers this description, I cheerfully assist in the business of this day. Sir, the diversity of climate between this country and our Indian possessions, is a great recommendation on this subject; it is between countries differing in their productions, that the most salutary intercourse can be carried on; and, Sir, when I look at the immense distance of that country, the number of ships that will be indispensably required for mutual interchange of different productions, foreign alike to each, the benefit that will be conferred on the shipping interest strikes forcibly on the mind. Which of us can recall the debt of gratitude we owe to the marine defenders of our country, without appreciating the prospect of increased employment to our shipping, which an increase of commerce with India must necessarily occasion? There is another interest, Sir, to which we are particularly called on to allude, in the city of Bristol,—I mean the West India interest,—and forming so large a portion of its whole trade, I trust the measures to be pursued on the question before us, will be such as to ensure their valuable assistance and co-operation. Under the altered system we are advocating, their properties have a claim to protection and regard, as well as the agricultural interest of this country; they, Sir, have no monopoly—neither have we—a pursuit freely open to the entrance of the whole nation cannot be a monopoly. Much more, Sir, might be advanced on this important question, and also in connection with the distress now too widely prevalent amongst us; but, without entering at all upon the subject, I cannot avoid simply mentioning, in connection with that distress, the altered currency of the country; and with only one observation more I will conclude. It is, Sir, with feelings of much pleasure and satisfaction that I have anticipated a connection which has been suggested to us, between the counties of Somerset and Gloucester, by means of an aerial suspension bridge across the River Avon from St. Vincent's Rocks, at three hundred feet above the level of the sea. I am satisfied, Sir, that so magnificent a work of art would be a great local attraction, and consequent benefit to this city and neighbourhood, to which I am strongly attached; but, Sir, these feelings of satisfaction sink into insignificance, in the comparison, when I contemplate the immensely greater benefits which would accrue, not only to this city, but to the kingdom at large, from a wide and open bridge between this little mighty Empire and the vast continent of Asia and its contiguous islands—a bridge, Sir, formed by the British shipping—manned with British sailors—

provided in British ports—and exchanging the manufactures of this country for commodities not grown within it, and therefore required by it. This, Sir, I consider a proceeding calculated to give increased employment and prosperity to our country—unless those crimes which are frequently stimulated by poverty; while, on the other side, it would carry with it civilisation and happiness to millions of our fellow-creatures; in short, Sir, I think it a measure of almost unmixed good. This address was received with much applause.

The Rev. T. C. COWAN, in moving the fifth Resolution, said that had the object in view been exclusively a commercial one, he would not have addressed the meeting; but there were other great and important objects involved, which were near and dear to them as Englishmen and Christians. Any person who had the Missionary cause at heart could not be indifferent to a measure that would spread the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. Mr. Cowan, after reading the resolution, said he would confine himself to two points; and he would ask, in the first place, what country was this from which we were excluded? Was it a foreign country? No! it was a limb of our body—it was a country using the same language, administered by the same laws, and acknowledging the same King as ourselves. (*Cheers.*) But the practical government of the country was despotic—it was not regulated by principles of justice, of equity, or of humanity. Residents might be removed from the soil, often without cause, with about as little ceremony as that class of individuals that were sent from this country to Botany Bay. What man with the spirit of the principles of a man, could endure to be under such a *lettre du cachet* as this? The East India Company had become a loathsome body, fit for dissolution. Their incorporation had led them to build factories by blood, to carry on trade at the sword's point, and to dye the white robe of commercial intercourse red. But, in endeavouring to remedy the evil, we should be careful not to increase the disease. We should be temperate in our proceedings—we should not assemble to break windows or pull down the doors of the Bastille in Leadenhall-street—but we should send a deputation of some individuals of wealth, talent, and respectability, to wait upon the Government, and temperately, but firmly, urge our claims. Mr. Cowan then read an extract from Adam Smith, bearing upon the point, and contended that it was ridiculous for the Company to ask for a further trial on pretence of getting out of their difficulties. They had made this an excuse before, and how stood the fact? In 1793 the Company had incurred a debt of seven millions, and on their representation, the Charter was renewed. In 1813 they had incurred an additional debt of nineteen millions, which was now increased, according to Mr. Buckingham's statement, to forty-eight millions. They had thus been accumulating a debt of nearly two millions every year, which, if not stopped, would only increase the

burthen and the difficulty that must, one day or other, come upon Great Britain. Their difficulties had gone on increasing—its accumulation was that of a snow-ball—nay, such a simile was too feeble—it was that of an avalanche, which must one day burst, and would overwhelm the country in ruin. (*Cheers.*) The Company had shown that if they knew not how to conduct their own affairs; so also were they indifferent to the interests of others; and this brought him to his second point—the improvement of the people of India in industry, morality, and religion. That such would prove to be the case, we had only to refer to the district allotted for the cultivation of indigo, which was in the hands of Europeans, and where the people were remarkable for their propriety of conduct. Mr. C. concluded with recommending his hearers pertinaciously to persist in their efforts to break down their monopoly, and adopt the sentence, though not perhaps the spirit, of Cato—*Delenda est Carthago.*

Mr. W. TOTHILL briefly seconded the Resolution.

CHRISTOPHER GEORGE, Esq., in moving the sixth Resolution, said he should briefly advert to the circumstances which induced him to take part in a cause which had justice on its side. Sometimes they were called upon to deal with cases where there were vested rights and costly indemnities to be considered, but no such difficulty existed in the present instance. They were not praying for the abolition of the Company, but simply that when their lease expired, both parties should be heard on the subject of its renewal. The Company might continue as long as they pleased, all that they (the meeting) wanted, was to do away with its monopoly. It could not be said the Company had had a short time for trial; their Charter had been renewed several times, and each time their debt had increased. It was confessed by all that this country only wanted opportunities to display its energies; it abounded with handicraft men, cunning in all kinds of work, and with a fund of capital; and here was a field which, if opened, would afford ample employment for all the labour and all the capital at their disposal. Mr. G., after alluding to the opening which would be afforded to the fathers of families in providing for their sons, concluded with expressing his conviction that their petition would be favourably received by the Legislature. It was a great feature in the present day that no complaint could be justly made without meeting attention and redress. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. JOSEPH EATON seconded the Resolution; and, after enumerating various items of loss sustained by this country on account of the profusion, jobbing, and extortionate charges of the imperial grocers in Lendenhall-street, and which formed a total of upwards of sixty millions sterling, proceeded to point out the immense loss that our commerce had sustained by the extravagantly high price of tea. It was an established position that consumption was pro-

portioned to the reduction of price in many of the necessaries of life—of this the reduction in the duty on coffee afforded a most convincing proof. In the year 1807, the duty was reduced from 2s. 2d. to 7d. per pound; previous to this the annual consumption was only 7,537 hundred weights, but for the first three years afterwards the annual consumption averaged 50,711 hundred weights, being nearly a sevenfold increase;—the duty raised in the former period was, per annum, 132,697*l.*, while in the latter period it amounted to 180,552*l.* A corresponding result would doubtless follow a reduction in the price of tea, and allowing it increased to only a quarter of an ounce per day for each individual, it would form a total of 120,000,000 pounds, or quadruple our present quantity;—this, at 1*s.* 6*d.* per pound, would make a net increase of 6,750,000*l.* For this, British manufactures to an equal amount must be exported; and allowing that labour formed three-fourths of the value of such exports, though it was unquestionably much more, it would occasion a sum exceeding five million pounds sterling to be distributed among the labouring classes of this country; averaging their wages at 30*l.* a year each, the result was, that employment would thus be found for nearly 170,000 British subjects, by the increase of our commerce in this one article. The present system, of course, kept this number out of employ, and he (Mr. Eaton) had at first some thoughts of proposing that they should be pensioned on the Company, but as this country would eventually have to pay the Company's debts, it would be only robbing Peter to pay Paul. (*Laughter.*) Mr. Eaton then proceeded to remark on the exceedingly injurious effects on our commerce of high duties on the necessaries of life—that our exports could only be to the extent of our consumption of articles received in return for them, and that unless a reduction of duty took place on the articles of tea and sugar, and they were brought freely within the reach of all classes, all the treasures of the Indies would be opened to us in vain: we should starve in the midst of plenty, and, like the fabled Tantalus, remain parched with thirst though lip deep in what we longed for. With respect to the allusion to machinery, made by a former speaker, he (Mr. Eaton) would not enter into the question now, but would be happy to meet that gentleman on the subject in the public papers. This, however, he would say, that without machinery the trade they were now striving to obtain would not be worth having. When the low rate of wages in India, and the expenses of the freight of the raw material to this country, its return in a manufactured shape, and other journeys, often amounting to 60,000 miles, were taken into consideration, how could it be possible, that, without the aid of machinery, we could gain any portion of the trade? We might as well attempt to stop the raging of the ocean as the improvement of machinery. (*Cheers.*) We all knew that we were compelled to live by the sweat of our brow, but we all liked to make that as light as possible,—(*laughter.*)—and machinery was to the tradesman what rich land was to the agriculturist.

He would remind the gentleman who had alluded to this subject, that even at agricultural meetings there were generally premiums for improved machinery, for best ploughs, &c. (*Cheers.*) In fact, it was impossible to do without machinery; if we made such an attempt we must go back to a state of barbarism:

Mr. HALL, in explanation, said, that the last speaker had entirely misunderstood him on the subject of machinery; he had never contended that we could do without it; what he had said was, that an increase of machinery, without a corresponding demand in the market for the goods produced, must necessarily cause the greatest distress, and throw numbers out of employment. With regard to the challenge of meeting Mr. Eaton in the public papers, he would gladly accept it; but he thought that their better course at present would be to join in promoting a subject on which they both agreed.

F. RICKETTS, Esq., said, that so many able and intelligent observations having been made in support of the previous resolutions, and looking forward to the zealous efforts and assistance of our present worthy representatives in Parliament and of our fellow-citizens generally, he should not occupy the time of the meeting by any observations of his own, but merely read the resolution which he had the honour to propose. He then moved the seventh Resolution, which was seconded by D. W. Acraman, Esq.

The petition was then read, after which T. SANDERS, Esq., moved, and J. M. GUTCH, Esq., seconded, the appointment of a Committee, whose names will be found in another page; and their first meeting was fixed for Saturday, April 18, at twelve o'clock, at the Commercial Rooms.

The Mayor then vacated the Chair, and Mr. Sheriff Riddle having taking the same,

Mr. C. GEORGE, after mentioning that the Mayor was one of the surviving members of the Committee formed in 1813 for a similar purpose, moved the thanks of the Meeting to his Worship. The resolution was seconded by THOMAS STOCK, Esq., and was carried by acclamation.

The meeting then dispersed at half-past three o'clock.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE MEETING.

‘ Guildhall, Bristol, April 14, 1829.

‘ At a Meeting of Bankers, Merchants, Traders, and other Inhabitants of the City of Bristol and its Vicinity, convened by Public Advertisement, for the purpose of taking into consideration the importance of extending the Commercial Relations of this Country with the East Indies, China, and other Countries to the Eastward of the Cape of Good Hope.

‘ JOHN CAVE, Esq., Mayor, in the Chair.

‘ The Requisition and Notice convening the Meeting, and a Com-

munication addressed to the Mayor from a Committee at Liverpool, having been read, the following Resolutions were passed unanimously:

‘1st,—That commerce, or the reciprocal interchange of the productions of different countries, is proved, by the history of the civilised world, to be a principal source of national wealth, power, and happiness; and that such interchange, with freedom of intercourse, is alike beneficial, whether it subsists between metropolitan states and their dependencies, or between independent nations.

‘2dly,—That the privilege of trade and of free intercourse with all countries in amity with his Majesty, and particularly with such as form an integral part of our empire, is the inherent right of the British public; and that the full exercise of this privilege, with such qualifications only as are imperiously required for the preservation of other important national interests, is essential to the maintenance of our manufacturers, the support of our commerce, and the general welfare of the kingdom.

‘3dly,—That all restrictions not justified by special necessity are serious impediments to national prosperity. That even the most exclusive monopolies (independently of their injurious effect on those against whom they are directed) are usually found to be scarcely less injurious to those in whose favour they are granted; and this position is strikingly exemplified in the financial and commercial history of the East India Company. The debts of the Company have been progressively increasing through a series of years, and latterly with portentous rapidity; having risen from seven millions, in the year 1793, to forty-two millions, the amount in the year 1826. That for a long time previously to the last renewal of their Charter, the amount of their commercial transactions had been nearly stationary. That in the China trade (all access to which is pertinaciously refused to Englishmen, though foreigners freely participate in its advantages) their exports have rather declined; and that their annual importation of tea since that period has immaterially increased, while, relatively to the augmented population of these kingdoms, it is less by thirty per cent.

‘4thly,—That the partial opening of the trade to British India (though clogged with vexatious restrictions) has already raised the amount of our exports from one million and a half to nearly four millions annually; while our imports have increased in a corresponding ratio. That the extension of this most important branch of commerce with so many millions of our fellow-subjects, is prevented by the deficiency of suitable returns; for the production of which, the soil, climate, and population of India, are peculiarly adapted, and which need only the due application of British skill and capital. The removal of the existing restrictions will necessarily create increased demand for British goods, increased employ-

ment of British artisans, encouragement to British agriculture, augmented and improved imports of East India produce, extended employment for British shipping, and increase of national revenue.

' 5thly.—That it is essential to the acquirement and rapid extension of these advantages, that the right of free settlement in India should be secured to Englishmen, and the country opened to the enterprise and perseverance of the British public: whose energies and example would powerfully conduce to the improvement of the people in industry, morality and religion; to their security, good order, and loyalty; and to the permanence of our connection with these valuable though distant dependencies.

' 6thly.—That measures, characterised by these beneficial tendencies, have been introduced for the most part by his Majesty's Government; and form a striking contrast with the timid, vacillating, and tortuous policy of the East India Company. Long continued and calamitous experience has proved the incompetence of the Company to conduct their commercial, financial or territorial affairs, with advantage, either to themselves, to our Eastern Empire, or to this kingdom. That, since unrestricted intercourse with the countries to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope will, on the approaching expiration of the present Charter, become again the legal as also the natural right of Englishmen, it is the interest and imperative duty of all classes of his Majesty's subjects to adopt such measures, and apply such collective and individual exertion, as will prevent a renewal of the Company's monopoly.

' 7thly.—That a Petition to the House of Commons be forthwith prepared and signed, embodying the foregoing Resolutions, and praying that the House will direct its attention to the serious disadvantages which the British Public, and the Commercial Interests in particular, have been subjected to, by the exclusive privileges of the East India Company: in the confidence that the present regulations governing the commerce, trade, and intercourse with our Eastern possessions, with China and the adjacent countries, will be effectually altered; the existing restrictions removed; and the public restored to their legitimate rights, under such qualifications only, as are required for the safety of the British Empire in India, and the British Constitution at home.

' 8thly.—That a Committee be appointed to carry into effect these Resolutions: that they invite the co-operation of the Corporation and other public bodies of the City; be empowered to appoint Deputies to London, to correspond with Associations in other places, and to adopt generally all measures they may deem advisable in furtherance of the important object to be attained; that a subscription be forthwith opened for defraying the expenses attending the proceedings; and that the fund be at the disposal of the Committee.

That the following gentlemen do form such Committee, with power to add to their numbers; five to be a quorum:

John Cave, Esq., Mayor,	John Hare, Jun.
T. H. Riddle, Esq., Sheriff,	James I. Wright,
Alderman Wm. Fripp,	G. H. Ames,
Alderman Barrow,	Henry Bush,
Joseph Cookson,	F. Ricketts,
A. G. H. Battersby,	John Winwood,
Joseph Reynolds,	Peter Maze,
Thomas Stock,	Wm. Tothill,
Daniel Cave,	George Thomas,
George E. Sanders,	Wm. S. Jacques,
Henry Ricketts,	J. E. Lunell,
Wm. Edward Acraman,	Samuel Capper,
Christopher George,	J. S. Fry,
J. L. M'Adam,	Wm. Scott—Esquires.

(Signed) JOHN CAVE, Mayor, *Chairman*.

On the Mayor leaving the Chair, it was taken by Mr. Sheriff RIDDLE: when it was unanimously resolved, that the Thanks of the Meeting be given to the Right Worshipful the Mayor, for the alacrity with which he has met the views of his fellow-citizens on this occasion, so important to the interests of the city, and the country at large; for his kindness in taking the Chair, and for his ability therein.

RESOURCES OF THE CITY AND PORT OF BRISTOL.

THE following is an interesting Document obtained at Bristol, descriptive of the local capabilities of that City and its neighbourhood, which is so intimately connected with the subject of its Commercial Relations, as to make it a most appropriate addition to the Report of the Proceedings already detailed:

'The Committee appointed by the Board to investigate and report upon the subject referred to it by the Chamber, at its annual meeting in January last, viz., "The capabilities of the City of Bristol and its neighbourhood, for the establishment of such branches of manufacture as have not yet been introduced, and the improvement and extension of those already established there," present the following Report as the result of their inquiries:

'In fulfilling this duty, your Committee have endeavoured to ascertain, in the first instance, the principal essentials for rendering a place or district peculiarly eligible as a seat for manufactories; and next, whether the City and neighbourhood of Bristol possessed such essentials, according to the requisites of each leading branch of manufacture brought under consideration. Having arrived at a satisfactory conclusion on these two points, your Committee next proceeded to consider the several branches of manufacture which,

with a fair prospect of success, might be introduced, selecting those which would be calculated more especially to advance the interests of the city.

‘On the first subject of inquiry, your Committee find that, in affording the chief essentials for a manufacturing district, Bristol and its neighbourhood will bear comparison with any of the more preferred parts of the kingdom. In the cost of coal, the expense of labour, the supply and prices of provisions, and other material points, a minute examination has been instituted. The facilities of procuring the raw material, (if of foreign produce,) the cost of inland carriage, the expense of bringing the manufactured articles into the market, or to the port for shipment, and the freights from this and different other ports in the kingdom to and from foreign countries; these several material points have been carefully investigated and viewed in comparison as they affect the profits of the manufacturer, and your Committee feel that the facts elicited fully support their opinion of the advantages Bristol presents.

‘In the course of these inquiries, one general principle has been found to prevail in governing the choice of stations for the establishment of manufactories. It appears that a cheap and sufficient supply of coal, and in some cases of water also, forms one great desideratum. In these respects, Bristol and its environs possess peculiar advantages in the various qualities of coal adapted to the different branches of manufacture, and the capability of unlimited supply, at prices as low as this important article bears, with some exceptions, in any part of the kingdom. Monmouthshire, with its numerous collieries, abounding with the facilities of inland transit, can render any supply and of any required quality. At Bedminster, one mile from the city, is raised a fine quality of coal, and the works are capable of considerable extension. Saint George’s, Kingswood, and Coalpitheath, are other districts in the vicinity, each producing excellent coal in abundant quantities, and from whence a portion of the present supply is drawn; and these last-mentioned districts will in a short period become more closely connected with the city by a rail-road, already commenced, and which has been undertaken for the sole purpose of opening and bringing into full efficiency this valuable source of supply.

‘Since the introduction and general application of the steam engine, a large supply of water is not so indispensable for the generality of manufactories; yet, for such as may need this requisite, the banks of the Avon, as well as other districts in the surrounding country, will be found well adapted. In every direction building materials abound, whilst the moderate rate of wages, and the large population, present to the manufacturer the means of procuring and maintaining any number of artisans, with the advantage of keeping them independent of that system of combination which, in many places peculiar to certain branches of

manufacture, has been found to check the prosperity of extensive works.

‘In the supply and price of provisions, Bristol stands peculiarly favoured, and this necessarily operates to control the rate of wages. Surrounded by rich agricultural districts; possessed, on the one hand, of extensive inland navigation, by the river Avon, Kennett and Avon, and Wilts and Berks, and Somersetshire coal canals, connecting the city with Wiltshire, Berkshire, and the corn districts; possessed, on the other hand, of the Severn, with the Berkeley and Gloucester canal, affording expeditious means of communication with Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, and the adjacent counties—of the Wye, the Usk, and other rivers of Monmouthshire and South Wales, on the one side of the Bristol Channel, with the Perrott and other rivers of Somersetshire and Devonshire, on the other side; to which may be likewise added, the South of Ireland, now brought, by the celerity of steam navigation, to the comparative position of a neighbouring county;—with these several channels of supply, such an abundance of every article is produced, that a uniform and moderate rate of price is maintained, highly conducive to the welfare of a manufacturing population.

‘With these advantages, it has excited surprise that, considering the vast sums embarked in the manufacture of cotton goods and twist, no one capitalist should have been attracted to this city or neighbourhood, more especially since these articles are already in considerable demand, and are of all others most wanted for supporting the trade of the port, by supplying to shipowners and merchants the means of making up an assorted cargo, the convenience of which would go far to secure encouragement to any parties engaged in such an undertaking.

‘The want of light goods in the manufactures of the neighbourhood, has been long felt as a prominent disadvantage; and, in degree of importance, your Committee are of opinion that cotton goods and cotton twist form the branches of manufacture that should be *first* introduced, in order to advance the interests of the city in its manufacturing and commercial relations.

‘Your Committee form this conclusion on two grounds: first, they believe that the import of the raw material, and the export of the manufactured articles, would undoubtedly increase, both directly and indirectly, the trade of the port, and thereby diffuse very material benefits amongst all classes of the community; and secondly, that from the local advantages which Bristol commands as a place where the manufactures might be produced, little risk would attend the forming an establishment for the purpose.

‘In exposition of the first point, it will be sufficient to point out the instances of Liverpool and Glasgow, as illustrating the benefits flowing from the cotton trade in its several branches. The importance of each of these places may be traced in some degree to this

source. The acquiring for Bristol a portion of this valuable trade would not deprive any other places of their present traffic; the spirit and enterprise of the present day are sure to find a market for the goods produced, it being found that the demand very generally keeps pace with the increased produce. The unusual demand for cotton goods and twist that has of late years arisen, and the wide field opened in India and China for these articles, furnish strong encouragement to the proposition.

The progressive increase in the exports, to the East Indies and China in particular, is shown from the following extract from the Parliamentary Papers of the last session :

An Account of the Official Values of Cotton Manufactured Goods exported from Great Britain in each Year, from 1818 to 1826, both inclusive.

In the Years	1818.	1819.	1820.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Official Value	21,292,355 3 1	16,696,539 8 11	20,509,926 0 7
	1821.	1822.	1823.
	21,642,935 19 11	24,559,272 1 1	24,119,358 15 9
	1824.	1825.	1826.
	27,171,555 18 3	26,597,574 16 11	21,445,742 13 4

An Account of so much of the same Goods as were exported in the same Years to the East Indies and China.

In the Years	1818.	1819.	1820.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Official Value	698,816 17 8	556,115 13 6	1,139,701 14 5
	1821.	1822.	1823.
	1,531,293 14 0	1,639,001 11 3	1,741,057 4 10
	1824.	1825.	1826.
	1,761,240 16 6	1,703,822 1 11	2,061,701 14 9

An Account of the Official Values of Cotton Twist and Yarn exported from Great Britain in each Year, from 1818 to 1826, both inclusive.

In the Years	1818.	1819.	1820.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Official Value	1,296,775 11 8	1,585,753 6 0	2,022,153 0 3
	1821.	1822.	1823.
	1,898,679 2 1	2,351,771 6 5	2,425,411 0 5
	1824.	1825.	1826.
	2,984,344 15 8	2,897,706 2 4	3,748,526 16 1

An Account of so much of the same Goods as were exported in the same Years to the East Indies and China.

In the Years	1818.	1819.	1820.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Official Value.	166 3 0	86 13 11	20 0 0
	1821.	1822.	1823.
	523 13 2	1,982 2 10	10,789 10 6
	1824.	1825.	1826.
	9,406 4 11½	20,890 16 8	79,430 10 1

*** As far as can be collected from the Custom-House Reports, the export of cotton twist to the East Indies has increased in an extraordinary degree, compared with that of 1826, but the Official Accounts are not yet declared.—The Custom entries of cotton twist are as follow:—in 1824, 105,000 lbs.; in 1825, 235,000 lbs.; in 1826, 919,000 lbs.; in 1827, 2,672,000 lbs.; and in the first three months of 1828, 1,149,000 lbs.; or nearly one-sixth of the whole export of the United Kingdom.

'The trade between this port and India has hitherto been limited from the want of a *local* demand for the produce of the country, in several of the articles usually forming a cargo. Sugar, rice, cotton and saltpetre, are the principal component parts of every cargo. The recent reduction of duties on some of these will afford relief to the trade; still, however, without a home demand for cotton, which is one of the chief articles of import from India, the merchant and shipowner sustain a disadvantage in making a shipment to Bristol. Again, cotton goods and twist are required to form assorted outward cargoes to fill up the vacant room occasioned by the description of goods which might be exported from this place; thus, until these articles can be added to the list of products of the city and neighbourhood, there will be no encouraging demand for the raw material, and no advantageous supply of the manufactures.

With reference to the second point, the qualifications of Bristol as a manufacturing district before enumerated, are sufficient to warrant the conclusion drawn. The local tolls lately modified on articles generally, and on those of high value in particular, will now bear comparison with Liverpool; the accommodation afforded by the floating harbour in bringing the goods to the doors of the warehouses, thereby reducing the expense of hauling, which forms an important consideration in several ports; the moderate rate of charges by the warehouse keepers; the capability of establishing manufactories within or in the immediate neighbourhood of the city, under all the advantages of a cheap and efficient supply of coal and other essentials for securing the operation of such works; the saving that would arise as compared with many manufacturing districts in the carriage of the raw material and product from and back to the shipping port;* these several considerations concur to place Bristol in a favourable light upon every view of the subject.

Independently of the demand of cotton goods for export, the *local demand* for home consumption may be estimated as of considerable extent. The large population of the city, of Somersetshire, the west of England, Monmouthshire, Gloucestershire, and South Wales, for all of which Bristol ought to be the market whence all their supplies would be with most advantage drawn, would take off a large quantity of cotton goods, if sold on reasonable terms by being manufactured on the spot.

The same reasoning will apply to other branches of manufacture of less national value; and which your Committee forbear to particularize: they will therefore proceed to the next subject of consideration, the extension or improvement of those branches of manufacture already introduced in the city.

* The carriage of raw cotton from Liverpool to Derby is 40s. per ton.
To Manchester, 15s. per ton.
— of manufactured goods to Liverpool from Derby, 50s. per ton.
From Manchester, 10s. per ton.

' On this head, your Committee have been led to direct their attention to the article of china and earthenware, as forming to the merchant and shipowner a principal and profitable item of export, when combined with our heavy commodities, and as being an article also of extensive home consumption. One establishment only in this branch is now conducted in this city to any extent; its utmost power is unable to supply the present demand; the deficiency is consequently supplied from Staffordshire, at a great expense of carriage, with the additional charges of distant sale. In this the merchant and consumer labour under a disadvantage, and consequently in the foreign market the shipments, from ports lying in the more immediate vicinity of the seat of manufacture, are capable of being disposed of at a cheaper rate, by reason of the lesser expense attached to them. On these grounds, therefore, the extension in Bristol of this branch of manufacture would be desirable.

' The success and character of the product of the establishment alluded to, prove the capability of the city in affording the essentials for profitably conducting it. Coal, of requisite strength and quickness, in which lies the peculiar advantage of the Staffordshire works, is supplied from Newport at a comparatively trifling difference in price, and in inexhaustible quantities; the coal of the immediate neighbourhood is found to possess the qualities necessary for the general purposes of the manufacture. In many respects, Bristol is by its situation more favoured than Staffordshire. The clay and stone from the south of England, a leading article of raw material, can be delivered in Bristol at a lower rate than in Staffordshire. The manufacturer there pays canal freight from Liverpool for the raw material, and another considerable tonnage for his manufactured goods back to Liverpool.*

' These heavy charges on articles of so considerable value is much in favour of the Bristol manufacturer, whose works, lying at the shipping port, afford an important advantage.

' In thus recommending the extension of potteries in this neighbourhood, your Committee feel satisfied the measure would conduce to improve the trade by the increased foreign demand that would arise so soon as this branch of manufacture should become an article of more general local export. Competition excites fresh energies, gives an impulse to trade, and opens new channels for consumption, by which mutual benefits are derived and success is more extensively attained.

' Amongst the numerous suggestions which have been presented to the attention of your Committee, the establishment of a cloth-hall deserves notice. From the situation of Bristol, in the centre

* The canal freight from Liverpool to Staffordshire for the raw material is 10s. 8d. per ton, and for the ware in crates sent to Liverpool, 20s. per ton. It has been represented that 400 crates of ware are weekly sent to Liverpool by one manufacturer only, for shipment to America.

of the woollen manufacturing districts of the west of England, the forming a general mart for the commodities would be a convenience as well to the merchant as to the manufacturer; at present, shipments of goods, the produce of this neighbourhood, are made at distant ports, the inland carriage on which forms a considerable item of expense; the opening a cloth-hall would be an encouragement to the manufacturer, and would probably tend to restore the current of trade in these articles to its former channel, more especially since the local tolls no longer form an impediment to their export. The practical effect of such establishments has been proved by their operation in the northern counties; and an example is presented in our own city in the leather-hall, by which Bristol has now become the mart for the west of England in that branch of trade. The intended erection on a large scale of a wool-hall, and the fixing monthly meetings, will, in a similar manner, have a beneficial effect.

‘ To the articles of carpeting, coarse woollens, silks, and the different kinds of manufacture from hemp and flax, which form the products of the neighbouring counties, your Committee have not extended their inquiries, considering, that from the immediate connection Bristol holds with those districts as being their natural port for shipping and supply, they may be considered as identified with the city and contributing to its trade; the Committee would, however, urge the expediency of improving every means of intercourse with the surrounding country, by extending the inland communications, and giving additional facilities, means of transit, and expedition. In this respect, considerable improvement has recently been effected. The opening the Berkeley Canal has given a safer, more expeditious, and certain means of communication with the towns of Birmingham, Worcester, and all others in that line. The proposed Bristol and Gloucestershire railway will, in another direction, powerfully conduce to the general welfare of the city, by bringing into extensive consumption the mineral property of the district through which it passes, and, by connecting this valuable line of country with the floating harbour, raise its importance as a situation for manufactories.

‘ On those articles which are considered our peculiar manufactures, viz., iron, lead, brass, copper, tin-plates, crown glass, bottles, stoneware, refined sugar, hats, tobacco-pipes, &c., it will be only necessary to observe, that the progressive increase in these trades, so far as may depend on foreign export, will be impeded or promoted by the continued absence or the accession of valuable light goods.

‘ Glass-bottles, stoneware, hats, tobacco-pipes, and such like articles, do not, from their inferior value, advantageously contribute to form a general cargo, since the freight on them must necessarily be higher, if unaccompanied by a more eligible assortment, the

value of which would bear its proportionate share of expense; to this is chiefly to be attributed the want of a steady and more extensive trade in these our manufactures. Speculation in such articles, with the sole view of realising a freight on them, is often disappointed by their unproductive sale at the foreign port, arising from the superfluous quantity of one article shipped in order to make up the cargo, in place of the more general assortment; and this operates to check that uniform connection in trade with foreign countries, under which alone commerce can flourish.

' In the foregoing observations, your Committee have confined themselves to the exposition of the general capabilities of the city and its neighbourhood, with the means by which such advantages may be brought to bear. The constitution of the Chamber will not admit of its funds being applied in any undertaking of the nature suggested; the object of its institution, is to promote improvements by inquiry and recommendation, and to pave the way for their adoption by the interference and personal exertions of the members, so that capital and the spirit of enterprise might be attracted into such channels as may most effectually conduce to the advancement of the general interests; and should the attention devoted to this subject, add in any degree to the attainment of this end, it will afford to your Committee sincere and heartfelt satisfaction.

' THOMAS STOCK, *President*.

' At a Meeting of the Board of Directors of the Chamber of Commerce, held on Monday, the 6th day of October, 1828, the foregoing Report was unanimously approved, and ordered to be printed, and circulated under the direction of the Committee.

' LIONEL BIGG, *Secretary*.'

SONNET.

(Written after an Evening Walk on the Glacis of Fort William.)

At eve, when strolling on the Glacis' turf,
 I hear the carriages' incessant roar,
 Commingling, dashing, like the foaming surf,
 That rolls its surges to the pebbled shore:
 As on the rushing scene I thoughtful pore,
 Full oft departed friends, to memory dear,
 With sorrow's mellow'd feelings I deplore,
 Cut off untimely in their bright career,
 Like Ocean's foaming surge, the insatiate grave
 Yawns for its victims, to their danger blind—
 Each, after each, as bubbles by the wave,
 Engulphed—and leaving not a trace behind:
 And thus life's feverish fitful dream flows on;
 And thus we follow fast where those before have gone!

Calcutta, July 17, 1829.

M. B.

THE SILK TRADE.

(Communicated for '*The Oriental Herald*,' by a Merchant.)

AN inquiry into the rise and progress of a manufacture, involves not merely considerations connected with successful commerce, and the acquirement of wealth; but, to the philosophic mind, it will also afford matter of generous gratulation, in exhibiting to view the successive triumphs of man in his strivings after excellence. Our object, however, in the present brief article, is not to trace the early use and manufacture of silk, nor to show how, according to the Arabian proverb, 'with time and patience the leaf of the mulberry-tree becomes satin;' but we propose to ourselves the less pleasing, though perhaps more useful task, of investigating the causes of that state of tutelage and legislative dependence which has hitherto been the invariable characteristic of the silk trade, as contrasted with other branches of our manufactures. This, as we shall endeavour to demonstrate, is exclusively and necessarily the consequence of the much-lauded prohibitory system, which engenders an ignorant obduracy of mind, proof against any innovation, be it ever so great an improvement. That such is the fact, the past state of the silk trade abundantly testifies. This trade, prior to the relaxation of the restrictive system, never could boast more than a torpid sort of existence; now and then invigorated, no doubt, by the influence of fashionable caprice, or excited cupidity; but still indicating, even in its most sprightly moments, the morbid and unhealthy character of its constitution, subject to continual alternations of prosperity and distress. Yet when those interested in this trade have been most clamorous for legislative relief, in consequence of the severe depression of the market, they still adhered with obstinate perversity to that system which was the real cause of all their sufferings; and at the very time that they attributed their distress to the illicit introduction of foreign silks, with singular inconsistency, they virulently opposed the legalizing of that which they themselves declared could not be prevented.

It is somewhat singular, that one of the earliest notices of the silk trade in this country is couched in the language of complaint: in 1455, the silk-women of London complained to Parliament, that the Lombards and other foreigners, seeking to deprive women of their lawful employments, imported the articles made by them, instead of bringing the unwrought silk, as formerly. Here is an early specimen of querulousness, which their successors have evinced no want of disposition to imitate.

If any evidence were needed to corroborate the assertion, that the prohibitive system begets a state of mind adverse to any alteration, however great might be the consequent advantage, we should cite

the Petition of the Throwsters, presented to Parliament in 1822, against a clause of the Bill then pending, for the altering and amending the Navigation Laws. The object contemplated by the proposed alteration, was to permit the importation of thrown silk from the ports of the Channel, instead of limiting its importation, as heretofore, to the ports of the countries of its growth. The purpose of this measure was to ensure greater regularity of delivery, and thereby to prevent those fluctuations so highly detrimental to the best interests of trade. So harmless was its operation, too, that it did not sensibly increase the importations: in fact, in the succeeding year, 1823, when the Act was in full effect, the imports of thrown silk were *one-fourth less* than the preceding year. Yet such, nevertheless, was the feverish anxiety manifested by the throwsters, in regard to this safe and simple measure, that although they were then enjoying a protection of 9s. 2d. per lb., no sooner was the measure announced, than the throwsters of Congleton assembled, and on the 23d day of May, 1822, unanimously resolved to petition Parliament 'to avert a measure so destructive of the silk-throwsters of the whole country;' and after detailing the number of persons they employed, and declaring that their existence, and almost that of the country, would be endangered, if this clause were passed into a law, they concluded in the following terms: 'That your petitioners cannot contemplate so disastrous a result without alarm and pity;—alarm for themselves and the loss of their property, and pity for the deplorable state of the town, if the revived and increasing trade now carried on be destroyed; and they respectfully, yet strongly, submit the probably ruinous effects of the proposed measure to the serious consideration of your honourable House.' And this petition was signed by upwards of five thousand persons!

It may not be amiss here to observe, that the silk-throwing, considering its antiquity,* is pitifully distinguished for the few improvements that have been effected in it, as a reference to the lists of patents will demonstrate. We find patents upon patents for improvements in the linen, cotton, wollen, and other manufactures; but, in the silk-throwing, we believe, until lately, *not one*.

* It was in 1585, according to Strype, in his edition of Stowe, that silk-throwing was first introduced into England by Anthony, John and James Emeric, subjects of Philip, King of Spain; yet it was so soon naturalized, that we find, in 1629, the silk-throwers of London and its vicinity, (within four miles,) were incorporated under name of the Master, Wardens, Assistants and Commonalty of Silk Throwers; and in 1661, the Company employed upwards of 40,000 men, women and children. That the silk-throwing, although thus early introduced into this country, was yet very far inferior to the Italian method,—or at least, that it did not improve, nor flourish as it did in Italy, is proved by the patent and privileges granted in 1719, by Act of Parliament, to Sir T. Lombe, for having introduced the Piedmontese method, which was successfully adopted at Derby to a very large extent.

Nor were such unenviable peculiarities applicable exclusively to the throwing department; for the whole trade was equally affected by the leaden influence of monopoly, which, as has been well observed by Mr. Huskisson, 'cramps the spirit of improvement, and paralyses the energies of active industry.' But further, we maintain, that the state of tutelage and restrictive dependence, which characterises the silk trade, originates in the prohibitory system, which engenders a feeling of apathy and indifference to improvement. This is strikingly exemplified by the passiveness, or rather somnolence, displayed by the Silk Trade in not having, ere this, petitioned for the extinction of the East India Company's monopoly; a monopoly, which in this, as in almost every other instance, is a prolific source of mischief and misfortune, which is diametrically opposed to every principle of wise policy, and in the highest degree detrimental to the general prosperity of the country. The total abolition of this monopoly is the event, which of all others, the silk trade has to look forward to for its real revival; as the period when this manufacture, (no longer a sickly bantling,) fearless of the rivalry of foreign nations, shall spread and flourish in enduring prosperity. Is it not then singular, that, among the many who have expressed their opinions as to the cause of the present lamentable state of the silk trade, hardly one has even obscurely alluded to the extremely mischievous effects which are now resulting to the trade from the existence of the East India Company's charter. A very considerable portion of our raw silk, the pabulum of our manufacture, is received from India; and it might naturally be expected that it would be supplied in such quantities, and of such improved quality, as the urgent wants of our manufactures demand. Such, indeed, would be the undoubted result, except for the Honourable Company's ever marring monopoly, which, like the monster in 'Frankenstein,' introduces its hated mien at every step, and, like it, for ever haunts, with its withering and malign influence, the unfortunate author of its existence. We shall not here institute an inquiry into the deficiency in the ratio of increased importation of Bengal silk, as contrasted with Italian. It would be easy; but it has been already fully discussed in an excellent article which will be found in a recent Number of 'The Oriental Herald,' and where, too, the reader, who has not yet perused it, will learn much useful information regarding the impolitic method pursued by the East India Company in the production of their silks. But we have still to urge as an evidence of the unfavourable influence of the East India Company's monopoly, and as a potent argument against its continuance, that whilst the silks of Italy, of France, and even of Spain and Turkey, have improved, and are progressively improving, it is the wretched distinction of the Company's silks alone, to have greatly deteriorated in quality from what they were even forty years ago. What fact can be more convincing than this of the disastrous effects of monopolies? We recollect Lord Valentia says, that in Bengal he was called the grandson of Mrs.

Company, the Natives supposing the Company to be an old woman, and the Governors-General her children; a supposition, by the bye, not altogether destitute of sagacity, if the effects of her imbecility are as apparent to the Hindoos as they are to us!

To compete successfully with foreign nations, it is obvious that we must procure the raw material, not only as cheap as they do, but also as good—for quality is essential in the manufacture of the finer fabrics. And for this, too, we possess unequalled facilities, could we but avail ourselves of them properly. In India we possess a colony where the cultivation and production of silk have been familiar from time immemorial, and where the habits of the people, combined with the peculiar adaptation of the climate,* conduce greatly to excellence in this article; yet, by the operation of the East India Company's monopoly, all these extraordinary advantages are misapplied or wasted. We still continue dependent upon Italy for silk to the annual value of 2,000,000*l.*, and receive almost the whole of this amount from that part of Italy, too, where all our manufactures are most rigorously prohibited. That it is entirely owing to want of proper care and attention that the silks of Bengal do not rival those of Italy, is admitted by the Italians themselves. This is in a measure still further encouraged by a partial experiment which has been made at St. Helena, where the Italian worm and method have been introduced, and with such success that it is impossible to distinguish between some of the best silk received from thence and the best silk of Italy, so close is the assimilation. The force of these observations will be more apparent when we reflect, that in India silk is indigenous, whereas in Italy and France it is an exotic; and when we add, that in India any attempt at improvement has always met with corresponding success. We are, it is true, indebted to the East India Company for an amelioration of the native filature, by introducing, in 1770, the Italian method of reeling; but much more still remains to be done. And that it is susceptible of much higher improvement, has been demonstrated by the attempt of Messrs. Grout and Baylis of this city, eminent manufacturers of crape, and necessarily very large consumers of Bengal silk. These gentlemen, being practically acquainted with the defects of Bengal silk, and well knowing that, with proper attention, they might be easily rectified, established a filature at Hyhampore, and speedily produced silk which was admitted to be far superior to any of the East India Company's, for it was the best Bengal silk ever imported into this country. This is a gratifying evidence of what can be done. They were not, however, able to persevere, although the commencement was so auspicious. They soon found the baneful influence and preposterous privileges of the East India Company too

* Vide the Report relative to the Silk Trade, presented the 8th June, 1821, by the Select Committee of the House of Lords.

powerful to be singly resisted, and therefore discontinued their undertaking. Thus, we have a pretty exemplification of the enlightened policy of this envious and unwieldy incubus, which, like the dog in the manger, though it may not profit itself, takes especial care to prevent every body else from profiting.

It may not be superfluous to observe, that the Company's silks are known by the appellation of the districts where their filatures or factories are stationed: thus, we have silks known by the names of Commercolly, Cossimbuzar, Gonatea, Rudnagore, &c. &c. Now it happens that those filatures which have hitherto been most deservedly in esteem, are now in the worst state of deterioration. Hence it arises, that whilst there is an eager desire for the finer sizes and qualities, from their capability of being substituted for Italian silks, by their application to both warp and shute,—yet, although this advantageous substitution might be carried to an almost unlimited extent, and, notwithstanding that a necessity for it, in consequence of foreign competition, so strongly exists, it is a singular fact that, by some extraordinary fatality, the proportionate number of fine sizes imported from India has certainly not increased, and, we verily believe, has materially diminished.

Another bad consequence, resulting from the limited supply of these fine silks, is, that although the Company dare not now, as they used to do formerly, tax their silks exorbitantly, yet, as the few fine silks imported by them are positively essential to the fabrication of some articles, and, from their superior quality, are generally desirable in the manufacture, it usually occurs that there is an active competition in the purchase of them, insomuch that they invariably bring higher proportionate prices than those of Italy, and thereby enhance the prices of all other silks—the object, doubtless, most desired by the honourable mercers of Leadenhall-street.

Such are a few of the practical benefits for which we are indebted to the East India Company's Charter. It is a hopeless and hackneyed task merely to complain of the articles of this corporation; we must now contend against the monopoly *itself*. The evils we deplore can only be remedied by its entire abolition.

As early as 1681, complaints were made against the quality of the East India Company's silks. They answered then, (as they probably would now, if now they should deign to answer,) 'With respect to the quality of our India raw silk, it is the same as all other commodities on earth, some good, some bad, and some indifferent.' If any additional incentive were needed to make those interested in the silk trade unanimously protest against the continuance of the East India Company's monopoly, and to demand, as one man, to be disenthralled from its fettering influence, the conduct of our rivals, the French, might supply it. The silk of France, not many years ago, was inferior in quality to the Italian, but now, it can challenge comparison with the best in the world. This is a

well-merited reward for the unremitting care and patient attention with which the French have cultivated this branch of industry, and which we should do well to emulate. They were formerly, as we are now, dependent upon China for silk, which, from its peculiar qualities, is adapted particularly for the fabrication of certain articles. But they have now introduced the Chinese silk-worm, and produce a great portion of the silk required, upon their own soil.*

If we turn our eyes to the Western hemisphere, and to that division of it colonised by English blood, now happily a mighty independent nation, we perceive an eager desire manifested generally to cultivate this rich product; and the attempts which have hitherto been made, have met with very flattering success. Already they talk of soon exporting silk, as they now do cotton, to this country;† although we are possessed of India, where both these articles might be raised by care and skill to the required perfection, and to an almost indefinite extent; for, by the noxious influence of the East India Company's monopoly, all these immense colonial and national advantages are so misapplied and wasted, that we still continue to draw a great portion of our supplies of both from foreign or rival nations.

From the foregoing facts, is it too much to infer, that if the monopoly of the East India Company were to be abolished, and the consequent diversion of skill and enterprise to India to take place which there is every reason to anticipate, that the silk manufacture (sickly, languishing and rickety as it has been under legislative protection,) would speedily defy all foreign competition, and attain a healthful and lasting prosperity? From what has been said, we think it may be fairly deduced, that the state of tutelage and restrictive dependence which has so long characterised the silk trade, is an inevitable consequence of the antiquated prohibitive system, from which, thank Heaven, we are now in a fair way of being emancipated. Our aim now must be, to use our most strenuous exertions to abolish the East India, the Corn, and all other monopolies, or institutions which are tainted with the old bigoted system. If we thus, unitedly and determinedly persevere, we shall indeed witness the realisation of our hopes and the consummation of our wishes, in an unshackled freedom of commerce, and a consequent reciprocation of wealth and happiness to all mankind. Thus thinking, and being moreover ourselves intimately connected with the silk trade, we have considered it a duty which we owed to ourselves and our country, to give our humble advocacy and support to opinions, which we, in sincerity, believe must inevitably tend to the permanent prosperity of the Silk Trade and Manufacture of this country.

63, Old Broad-street.

J. W.

* Vide Noel and Charpentier's 'Nouveau Dictionnaire des Origines,' tom. ii. p. 647.

† Vide a highly interesting article in the 'North American Review,' No. lxi. p. 438.

MR. BUCKINGHAM'S LECTURES ON THE MONOPOLY OF THE
EAST INDIA COMPANY.

WE proceed with our task, which we shall now continue from month to month, in order to embody in these pages a faithful record of the effects produced in different parts of the country by the delivery of Mr. Buckingham's lectures on the past and present state of the Oriental regions generally, but more especially on the evils inflicted on this country, as well as on our dominions in the East, by the Monopoly of the East India Company.

On the 30th of March, these lectures were commenced at Leeds; and the first audience was about eighty in number. They increased daily, however, with such rapidity, that at the last the number was little short of six hundred. The ladies were almost as numerous as the gentlemen, and there was scarcely a family of wealth or distinction in the town that was not present. The extreme personal kindness and attention which Mr. Buckingham received from the warm-hearted and hospitable inhabitants was such as to afford him the highest gratification; and the frank and cordial manner in which the splendid manufacturing establishments of the place were opened to his inspection, added largely to his pleasure. The effect produced by his lectures at Leeds may be inferred from the following extracts from the papers of that town:

From 'The Leeds Mercury,' March 28.

'Mr. Buckingham is expected to arrive in Leeds this day, and to commence his lectures on Monday. Having had the pleasure to hear these lectures in another town, we are able to recommend them in the strongest manner to our readers of every class and of both sexes. We do not exaggerate when we say, that Mr. Buckingham's narratives and descriptions of the remarkable countries which he has visited, form the most interesting and entertaining lectures we have ever heard. They are not read, but delivered extemporaneously, and are of course much more pleasing on that account. With a mind full to overflowing of information concerning the countries he has visited, with a fluency and elegance of diction not to be surpassed, and with an amiable ingenuousness of manner, which shows that the traveller's feelings have not been sophisticated by all that he has seen and experienced, Mr. Buckingham cannot fail to impart very high gratification to any intelligent person who listens to his descriptions of countries comparatively little known to Englishmen, but abounding above all others in grand and interesting monuments of ancient art, and in natural features of great beauty and interest. In our opinion, his first lecture, which includes the unrivalled antiquities of Egypt, is the most interesting of the course, but all possess very great merit. The lecture on the India and China trade is the most important to commercial men, and no person ought to be ignorant of the facts which he mentions. We do not hesitate to say that any gentleman or lady who can command time to attend these lectures will derive the greatest pleasure from hearing them; and we hope our

mercantile men will listen to the concluding lecture with the view of having a public meeting in this town, to petition for the abolition of the East India Company's exclusive privileges, and the opening of the India and China trade to unrestricted competition.'

From 'The Leeds Patriot,' April 4.

'This enterprising traveller and accomplished gentleman has been giving a series of lectures in the Music Hall in this town, descriptive of the geography, antiquities, and general customs of the Eastern World. He has been attended by a most respectable auditory, by whom the stores of his accumulated knowledge have been received with the highest satisfaction. To the commercial world, Mr. Buckingham's observations are of the very first importance; whilst the man of science cannot fail to derive the utmost gratification. We regret Mr. Buckingham's stay in Leeds is so short, but trust the inhabitants will again have the gratification of presenting their respects to this talented gentleman, at no very distant period. To show our readers the approbation Mr. Buckingham has received from all classes in this country, we give the following extract from 'The Bristol Journal,' which is one of the highest Tory papers in the kingdom:—

" 'It would be vain in the confined limits of a weekly journal to attempt giving any analysis of a lecture, occupying upwards of four hours in its delivery; suffice it to say, the lecture exposed, in a very masterly manner, the monstrous abuses of the overgrown monopoly of Leadenhall-street, and pointed out the great advantages which would accrue to this country by the extension of her commercial intercourse with India, and by the opening of the trade to China. He rebutted and defeated with considerable tact many of the arguments which have, from time to time, been brought forward by the advocates of the East India Company's monopoly. We can assure our readers, we are equally anxious with Mr. Buckingham, to see the great evils resulting to British commerce, from the monopoly of the East India Company, done away with, and we sincerely trust, that every effort, consistent with present and future safety to the prosperity of the country, will be used to deter the Legislature from granting any renewal of the Company's almost expired Charter. The lecturer, having impressed on the minds of his hearers, in a most emphatic manner, the absolute necessity of union and co-operation in the great cause he advocated, sat down amidst much applause.'"

'At the close of his lecture on Mesopotamia and Persia, Mr. Buckingham stated, that having been earnestly applied to by many of those who heard his lectures at Liverpool, Manchester, and other places, to publish them for their gratification—he had, in compliance with their wish, commenced a series of original papers in 'The Oriental Herald,' beginning with his "Voyage on the Nile, from Cairo to the Cataracts,"—in which it is intended to embody all the original and hitherto unpublished information contained in his manuscript journal, from which all the information detailed in these lectures has been drawn; and which, therefore, to those who desire to revive their recollection of Egypt and the other countries described, will be found to be much more complete and comprehensive than the lectures themselves.

'At the close of the last lecture, Benjamin Gott, Esq., one of the principal merchants of Leeds, rose and addressed the assembly as follows:

'Having been a witness of the intense interest manifested towards Mr. Buckingham, by the largest and most respectable audiences that have ever been assembled at any delivery of lectures in this town; and seeing how these audiences have gone on increasing daily, until this Music Hall is filled, as I now behold it, to overflowing, I am sure I shall but speak the sentiments of every one present when I propose, that the cordial thanks of this assembly be presented to Mr. Buckingham, for the high gratification he has afforded to us all, by his eloquent, animated, and accurate descriptions of the most interesting features of the Eastern World; and that in addition to our thanks, we tender him our best wishes for his health, and continued success in the valuable services he is rendering to his country and to mankind.

'This motion was seconded by William Aldham, Esq., merchant of Leeds, and was carried by acclamation, amidst the most enthusiastic applause.'

From 'The Leeds Mercury,' April 4.

'On Monday last, Mr. Buckingham commenced his course of lectures on the countries of the East, in the Music Hall, in this town. All the lectures descriptive of those countries have now been delivered, and whether we judge of them from our own feelings, from the testimony of those with whom we have conversed, from the increasing numbers who have every day attended them, or from the strong and unequivocal expressions of pleasure and admiration with which they have been received, we have no hesitation in saying that they have been the most interesting and eloquent course of lectures that have ever been delivered in this town, or that we have ever had the pleasure of hearing, either here or in any other place. They have possessed every charm which eloquence and wit can communicate to the narration of the most interesting events, and the description of the most interesting scenes; and have not been more admirable for those qualities, than for the benevolence of heart and liberality of sentiment which they have every where displayed.'

The last lecture was concluded about eight o'clock in the evening; and Mr. Buckingham, after receiving the most cordial greeting of his friends, and the warmest wishes for his continued success and speedy return among them, left Leeds by the mail an hour afterwards, rode nearly two hundred miles without stopping, reaching London late on Sunday night, and at noon of the following day, commenced his City course, at the City of London Tavern, to an audience of not more than twenty persons! although five times as much expense had been incurred, in making this known, as had been required in the country. The first lecture was, however, well received, and the same parties attended again on the following day: but, though the time, place, and object of the lectures were advertised daily, in every one of the London papers, in addition to a considerable expense incurred in printed bills, and other modes of giving publicity, the audience never reached seventy throughout the week; the maximum being, therefore, much less than the smallest audience ever addressed in the country, even at the small village of Dukkinfield, near Manchester, where, without any expense, and by a single day's notice, nearly two hundred persons were collected, and entered warmly into the subject. At the City lecture, there

were only two members of the Society of Friends, though, in the country, these always formed a good proportion of the audience; nor was there, from the commencement to the close, a single member or partner of any one of the East India Agency Houses of the city, though all their establishments were within five minutes' walk of the spot where these lectures were delivered! Such is the deep interest which these professed opponents of Monopoly and friends of Free Trade take in the agitation of the question. Neither the Lord Mayor, nor either of the City Members, though each had been written to on the subject, gave the slightest intimation of their desire to promote the object; and most of the London papers were equally silent, though all the usual means had been taken to furnish them with proper facilities for their reporters or friends. All this is only to be accounted for from that clinging together of all Monopolists:—the East India Company, the Bank of England, the Corporation of London, the Chartered bodies of every kind and description make common cause in opposing attacks on either; while the general feeling of all classes of merchants and tradesmen in London is, that they profit more by the Monopoly being confined to their own port, than they would do if the trade were free, and a portion were to go away to Liverpool, Glasgow, Bristol and other out-ports. The newspapers are, many of them at least, greatly dependent on these bodies for sale and advertisements, and are cautious how they proceed; besides which, it is impossible not to perceive a personal jealousy in the studied suppression—for it can deserve no other name—of the great body of facts and arguments adduced in these lectures, which the reporters might as easily report, as what is uttered at a St. Giles's Vestry Meeting, more especially when neither the Parliament nor the Courts of Law made any demands on their space. How different the feeling of the people, and how different the conduct of the papers in the country, where no such sinister influence, and no such personal jealousy existed! The manufacturing districts and the out-ports may now see, however, that their cause must be supported chiefly by themselves; and they must make it popular with the great bulk of the people, when the London papers, who watch well the signs of the times, though they are slow to lead, will soon follow. In the mean time, there are some indications already given of approaching public interest in the columns of the London, as well as of the country, prints, which we shall give in due order: but, before we leave this part of our subject, we must record the following testimony to the impression left by Mr. Buckingham's lectures, at the City of London Tavern, on the last day, when the audience was about seventy in number. At its close, J. T. Rutt, Esq., of Clapton, addressed the assembly as follows:—

GENTLEMEN,—Before Mr. Buckingham leaves the situation which he has occupied so much to the instruction and highly rational entertainment of those who have listened to him, you will, I hope, allow me to

propose to this respectable meeting, that we unite in an expression of our thanks and satisfaction. I will not, gentlemen, venture to detain you another moment, but beg leave to submit to your acceptance the following Resolution:

‘That this meeting cannot separate without respectfully presenting to Mr. Buckingham, their grateful acknowledgments for the valuable information, so agreeably communicated in his lectures on the important and interesting objects of inquiry connected with the Eastern World, and for the patriotic zeal with which he has explained and recommended a system of wise and equitable national policy, under the extending operation of which, an intercourse with that too long-neglected portion of the globe would eminently conduce to the advancement of the moral, political, and commercial interests of the British Empire.’

The Resolution was seconded by John Wilks, Esq., of Finsbury-square, in the following terms:

‘The proposition made by my venerable and intelligent friend is to me an “agreeable surprise.” It is a surprise, because completely unexpected; and agreeable, because the respectful tribute it affords has been so amply deserved. For many years a proprietor of East India Stock, I have no hostility to the welfare of that Company, and, unconnected with commercial affairs, I am quite uninfluenced by the desire of gain; cheerfully, therefore, I second a proposition which all who have attended this course of lectures will gladly support. I speak because it would be ungrateful to be silent; and because it is pleasant partly to repay the obligations conferred. Without adopting all the opinions Mr. Buckingham has avowed, and deprecating any alteration whereby the political power and patronage of India should become more absolutely vested in the Crown,—who has not been gratified to accompany Mr. Buckingham through the Eastern regions to which he has been our guide? Who has not been charmed by those accurate and vivid descriptions which no books can supply? Who, after treading with him in imagination the margin of the Ganges, the Jordan, and the Nile, will not eagerly tender to him their acknowledgments of praise? But he has yet more won my esteem by the intrepidity with which he has entered on his new career—by the liberal principles he illustrates as well as propounds—by his exposures of the evils of that commercial monopoly which India and Britain alike deplore—and by the solicitude he displays, that commerce, wealth, knowledge, freedom, religion, and happiness, should far more widely prevail. Therefore, mainly I repeat, do I second this proposition; and as a patriot, a philanthropist, and a Christian, must wish him success.’

Several gentlemen in succession then expressed their belief, that, among other causes which had operated to prevent a larger attendance, they were persuaded that the hour was less convenient for that purpose than some period of the evening, at which they strongly recommended the lectures to be repeated. The following letter was also on this occasion handed to Mr. Buckingham for publication in ‘The Oriental Herald’:

THE SILK TRADE.

‘SIR,—If any other instance were needed to evidence the blighting influence of the East India Company’s monopoly, it might, I think, be adduced from the present state of the silk trade, which, you are aware, is

in a state of almost unparalleled depression. Although this depression is generally attributed to foreign competition, yet I shall attempt to show, in a few words, that it is merely in consequence of the East India Company's monopoly, which, from its commencement, has ever been a source of misery and crime. The inability of our silk-manufacturers to compete successfully with those of France and other nations, does not, I think, arise from a deficiency on their parts of either skill or enterprise. No; it results from the cause above alluded to, and which I shall shortly prove. The advantage at present possessed by France is, that on her own soil she produces the greater part of the raw material, which is of a very superior quality, and which she has brought to this state of excellence by unremitting care and industry. Now, we who are in possession of India, where the cost of production is so extremely low, as contrasted with France, where, too, this valuable product is indigenous; where its cultivation and manufacture are familiar, having been followed from time immemorial; and where, by the peculiar adaptation of the climate, &c., we have every fostering circumstance to conduce to excellence,—yet we are, nevertheless, dependent upon Italy (where it is an *exotic*) for our fine silks, which are absolutely necessary for the manufacture of our superior fabrics and fancy articles; and it is in these alone that we are sensibly affected by foreign competition. Now this superiority of the Italian and French silk does not arise from any inherent quality superior to the Indian; it arises from the care and skill which is bestowed by the Italians and French in the one case, and the want of it by the Indian (thanks to the East India Company) in the other. That this is the fact, is proved by the prices which are procured for the few tolerably good Bengal silks, which invariably produce higher proportionate prices than those of Italy. The foregoing observations are still further corroborated by the experiment made by an eminent house in the *crape* trade, (Grout and Baylis,) who established a filature at Hyampore, and the silk which came here from thence was admitted on all hands to be superior to any the Company ever imported,—a sufficiently convincing proof of the capabilities of that interesting country. I should, however, observe; that from obstacles and impediments, (which you are fully able to appreciate,) they were obliged to relinquish their design, although they gave so promising an earnest of what might follow if they persevered. I must not omit mentioning also that whilst the silks of Italy and even Turkey are progressively increasing in quantity and quality, it is the *enervating* distinction of those of the East India Company alone to have not increased in any thing like the same ratio, and to have considerably deteriorated from what they were forty years ago. Such is the scathing influence of monopoly! In conclusion allow me to observe, that I am increasingly convinced that if that vast country were thrown open (as I trust it soon will be) to the full influence of European enterprise and colonisation, —when its inexhaustible capabilities are developed, and its products have become of a meliorated quality, then we may bid defiance to the rivalry of all other nations, and the silk manufacture will attain an eminence little inferior even to that occupied by the *cotton* trade at present. Finally, permit me to felicitate you upon the glorious undertaking in which you are engaged, which I am well assured is not merely to point out the road of wealth and successful commerce, but also, through their medium, to encourage the diffusion of knowledge, and the constant reciprocation of virtue and happiness to all mankind.

In truth, this is a holy cause; and, Sir, you have well begun by striking at the odious East India Company's monopoly. Continue then, and

"Let the axe
Strike at the root; the poison tree will fall;
And where its venom'd exhalations spread
Ruin and death and woe,
A garden shall arise in loveliness,
Surpassing fabled Eden."

'A SILK BROKER.

'P. S. I should not omit mentioning that we were formerly indebted to the East India Company for the China silks imported into this country; but since the partial relaxation of their Charter their importations have progressively diminished, and now the whole are imported by the private trader, the competition with whom is ruinous to the East India Company. No comment is needed.'

In the following week, commencing on the 13th of April, [Mr. Buckingham repeated his course of lectures at the Free-Mason's Hall, in the centre of London, at half-past seven in the evening. These were much better attended, from the commencement to the close; and on the last day the audience was nearly two hundred. The interest excited was of the most lively description—and the ladies were here also as numerous as the gentlemen. Among the most constant attendants was Sir Sidney Smith—who has seen more of the Turks and Egyptians than any other officer in the British Navy—with the ladies of his family; and, at the close of one of the lectures, he sought an introduction to Mr. Buckingham, to whom, after expressing verbally his high gratification, he presented a rare and curious volume, written in Spanish, on the legal rights of the Christians to their sanctuaries in the Holy Land; with the following inscription on the title-page, written in his own hand:

'To Mr. Buckingham, in acknowledgment of his benevolent views, and perspicuity and energy in their development—from Admiral Sir Sidney Smith, after his Lecture on Palestine, April 16, 1829.'

At Almack's, near St. James's Square, where the lectures were next delivered, in the Easter week, the audience fluctuated daily between fifty and a hundred. It included several Peers and Peeresses, as well as Members of the House of Commons, and their families. Notwithstanding the extremely unfavourable weather, and the absence of a large portion of the fashionable world for the holidays, the audience continued to increase, and to manifest, in the strongest manner, the most unequivocal testimony of general satisfaction. The moral and political effect produced at this assembly, was greater than at either of the others in the metropolis; and after the applause, which was loud and frequent throughout the lecture, and long continued at its close, had subsided, Mr. Buckingham was urged, by several of his distinguished auditors, to make arrangements for repeating the last lecture on India and China, especially, again at different points in the capital, for the information of those whose absence from town had prevented them from attending the

present Course. Mr. Buckingham readily acceded to this wish, and we shall state the effect it may produce, in our succeeding Number.

Having brought the history of these proceedings up to the latest date, we turn to the Country Papers, to show our distant readers in India more especially, that in the remotest parts of the Kingdom the subject is beginning to attract public attention:

From the 'Falmouth Packet,' April 4.

'The next important question that will engage public attention after the settlement of the Catholic claims will be the charter of the East India Company, which will expire, we believe, in the year 1833; previous to which period the propriety of its renewal will be discussed over and over again. Already is the tocsin sounded, and the mercantile and manufacturing interests of the country are stirring themselves for the purpose of preventing the continuance, beyond the period allowed by the present charter, of a monopoly which is no less odious in the present day, than it is fraught with the most injurious consequences to the trading and labouring classes. By it, British skill, capital, and enterprise, are deprived of one of the greatest markets in the world for the disposal of their produce. And for what? That a select body may retain in their hands, for their own especial benefit, the vast patronage derived from the government of one hundred millions of people! For this sole purpose is the trade to China and the East "cabin'd, cribb'd, and confined," to the incalculable detriment of the merchant, the trader, the shipowner, the artisan—indeed, to every interest of the empire. For this sole purpose are we compelled to pay about treble the price for that necessary article of daily consumption than we should otherwise do. Let the East India Company have the monopoly of the trade in tea, if you will, if monopoly they must have,—but, in the name of common sense, let there be no more than the necessary restrictions on the export and import of all other articles, and then the country will be enabled to pay a high price for its tea. Since the Catholics have obtained their long-sought claims by agitation,—agitation to which the Government yielded most reluctantly,—we advise all classes of our countrymen to agitate the question of monopoly—the right of free trade to the East and to China—and the sovereignty of Leadenhall-street must give way to the united voice of the people.'

From the 'Elgin Courier,' April 17.

'Now that the great question of Catholic emancipation is settled—now that the overwhelming majority of the Irish have conceded to them those civil and political immunities which they have invariably regarded as the only panacea for the diversified and oppressive evils under which their country has groaned for so long a time,—we would urge the nation to turn their most anxious attention to a consideration of every constitutional means by which the abolition of the East India Company's monopoly of all commercial intercourse with the teeming population of India and China, may be effected.

'That a monopoly so monstrous in its nature could have existed in this country, amid the intelligence and liberality of the second quarter of the nineteenth century, is one of those anomalies in British legislation on which future generations will look back with emotions of the utmost astonishment. The history of civilised society presents us

with no instance of a nation having submitted for successive generations to tolerate an abuse so glaring and so oppressive.

It is really astonishing that the nation are not more alive than they are to the immense advantages which would result to this country from a free, unrestricted commercial intercourse with India and China. One of these advantages—and it is one which we should think would come home to the bosom of every individual—is, that tea, a commodity used by all ranks and classes of men in the country, would be procured at one half of the price which is at present given for it. Competition or rivalry is the very life and soul of trade, as of every thing else; and were unrestricted commerce permitted to be carried on betwixt individuals, or bodies of individuals in this country, and those of India and China, the immediate consequence would be a reduction in the price of the article of tea to at least the above amount. Tea may be purchased in every other kingdom in Europe at the one half of the price at which it is offered in this country, simply from the circumstance, that those nations authorise no such monopoly of trade with India and China, to any body of individuals, as we grant to the princes of Leadenhall Street.

But another advantage, and one which would be much more sensibly and extensively felt, resulting from the abolition of the East India Company's monopoly is, the vast, the almost incredible, increase which would consequently take place in every branch of the manufactures of this country. At present the manufacturing districts of Great Britain are, without exception, experiencing a measure of commercial depression and embarrassment quite unprecedented in our former history; and every individual at all acquainted with the science of political economy, is as decidedly convinced as he is of the most obvious mathematical truth, that occasional seasons of commercial distress must be encountered by Britain so long as we are prevented from exporting our manufactures to foreign markets. From the exportation of articles of British manufactures to other foreign countries, we can scarcely anticipate a sufficient return for the capital expended on them, from the superior physical resources of some, and the political advantages of others. But let the odious monopoly of Leadenhall Street be once abolished, and a free and unrestricted intercourse be opened up betwixt this country and the extensive, rich, and populous empires of India and China, and we shall have a demand for our articles of commerce quite unprecedented in its extent, and on such terms as will secure a more than ample remuneration to the holder or seller, and which shall possess the further invaluable qualities of being steady and permanent. To establish the truth of this remark beyond the possibility of doubt, it is only necessary to mention the arithmetical fact, that the united population of these countries is, according to the most moderate calculation, considerably more than three hundred millions of souls. Were permission once conceded to Britain to export her manufactured articles, without any commercial restrictions, to these populous regions, the dismal apprehensions of Professor Malthus and his disciples, in regard to a redundant population, would soon be proved by the stern and unanswerable logic of facts, to be as absurd—as visionary as any of those original sallies of the imagination in which the inmates of a lunatic asylum are wont to indulge themselves. So far from legislating as some of our sapient senators have urgently recommended us to do, with a view to prevent the multiplication of our species, we should perhaps witness in our own what has occurred in other happy countries, namely, the passing of a law entitling the man to a certain pre-

men who could claim the honour of being the father of a given number of the poor, which case the wisest, would in almost any instance be the successful competitor.

But the advantages which would accrue from the opening up of an unrestricted commerce with the East, would not merely be the prosperity and plenty which would result therefrom to Great Britain; the benefits of such a measure would be experienced to an equal, if not to a greater, extent by the vast population of India and China. By exchanging our manufactures for the produce of their countries, we would be placing within their reach many of those necessities, conveniences, and comforts of life with which they were hitherto unacquainted, and at the same time furnishing them with a new and powerful stimulus to cultivate those commodities for the production of which the richness of their soil, and the congeniality of their climate are so peculiarly adapted.

There is yet another sense—and in the estimation of the genuine philanthropist, it is by far the most important one—in which the abolition of the East India Company's monopoly is to be regarded as a consummation most devoutly to be wished,—we refer to its bearings on the great interests of civilisation, morality, religion. It is unnecessary to proclaim in the hearing of a Scottish community, that the population of India and China are a degraded and miserable race, alike the slaves of their sensual propensities, and the victims of an odious system of superstition,—and partaking, in short, in many instances, of more of the nature of the beasts that perish than of the character suited to the native dignity of rational and immortal beings. To confer on the teeming population of these extensive empires the benefits of civilisation—and to diffuse among them the blessings of Christianity, great exertions have already been made, and are at the present moment making by pious and benevolent individuals in this and other countries; but their exertions, we regret to say, have hitherto been only attended with very partial success. And we are most decidedly persuaded, that so long as the present system of exclusion exists, nothing short of the interposition of a miracle on behalf of the Indians and Chinese, can secure the effectual propagation of civilisation and Christianity among them. But let the Company's monstrous monopoly be abolished—give every physical facility for the extension of our commerce with India and China, and there is a moral certainty in the supposition, that from our frequent, rather we should say our habitual, free and familiar intercourse, for commercial and philanthropic purposes, with the natives of these countries,—we shall speedily witness the most glorious results in regard to the interests of civilisation and religion.

The expiration of the charter granted by Government, which secures to the Company this odious and grossly unjust monopoly, will occur in the year 1834, at which time an arduous struggle will take place in Parliament betwixt the advocates of free trade and the tenacious sticklers for injustice, oppression, corruption, and all that is selfish.

It is of the utmost importance, however, to impress it on the minds of our countrymen, that this great battle, though not perhaps decided until that period, must forthwith commence in order to secure the triumph of a cause which equally involves the interests of humanity and justice. It often occurs, that, by relying too much on the palpable virtue and justice of their cause, men allow themselves to fall into a state of inactivity, and thus furnish their opponents with an opportunity of obtaining

a triumph over them. And most assuredly, if, in the present instance, the nation be not roused to instant, independent, and strenuous action, there is every probability that, from the zeal and vigilance of the friends of monopoly, combined with extensive corruption, they will secure a renewal of the obnoxious charter for another term of twenty-one years.

What then, it will be asked, are the means which may be resorted to with the greatest probability of success, in aiming a death-blow at the odious monopoly of the East India Company? Look, we reply, at the events which have recently occurred, and are at this moment occurring in the country, and they will furnish you with an unequivocal answer. Agitate constitutionally, but with spirit and perseverance—and let the subject in all its details be brought fairly before the country,—is the explicit language in which these events address themselves to us.

Nor have these events spoken in vain. Already have the great commercial cities of Liverpool, Manchester, &c. acted agreeably to their advice. In these towns large public meetings have been held, and through the instrumentality of those who have acted most conspicuously on these occasions, a mass of important information respecting the Company's monopoly has been diffused through the country, which is already causing the "four-and-twenty" princes of Leadenhall Street to tremble on their thrones. Let the example thus set be only generally followed, and in a few years we shall have the pleasing task to perform of recording their dethronement—a dethronement at once complete and for ever.

We conceive it is of the utmost importance to the success of the exertions which are making for the abolition of the Company's monopoly, that the subject should be brought under the consideration of every session of Parliament that will intervene betwixt the present one and the expiration of their charter. If we lay the flattering unction to our souls, that it will be in sufficient time if the subject is made matter of legislative deliberation in the course of the session immediately preceding the expiration of the Company's charter, we only egregiously deceive ourselves; we render our defeat—we render the triumph of the cause of commercial illiberality, injustice, oppression—matters of moral certainty.

Nothing but the repeated, unanimous, and strongly expressed voice of the public will be able to bear down the mighty opposition which corrupt influence will raise in Parliament against the abolition of this monstrous monopoly. Now, until the nation are well acquainted—which we regret to say they are not at present—with the various circumstances associated with this monopoly, they will never attach to it a sufficient degree of importance; and, consequently, will not express themselves with that energy and importunity which are essentially necessary in such a case, to do it with effect. Let the subject, however, be only brought before every intervening session of Parliament, by those already capable of appreciating its merits, and understanding its various details, and these will, of necessity, thereby obtain an extent of publicity throughout the country, which it were impossible to impart to them through any other means. And were the subject but once properly understood, and its merits duly appreciated by the nation, we regard it as the highest degree probable—as all but absolutely certain, that at the first general election which occurs in the country,—and there must occur one at least before the expiration of the East India Company's charter—every intelligent and independent elector in the united kingdom will elicit from the

candidates who solicit his vote, previous to giving him his suffrages; a pledge that he will vote, in his place in Parliament, for the abolition of the odious monopoly in question. In that case, the "sun of the glory" of the Princes of Leadenhall Street will most certainly "set for ever," prior to the close of 1834.

From 'The Dublin Morning Post,' April 22.

In the report of a Public Meeting, held at the Rotunda in Dublin, on the subject of Negro Slavery, one of the resolutions is noticed in the following terms :

'This resolution was seconded by Mr. R. Ball, a Member of the Society of Friends, from Bristol, who wished to give some information on the China trade, but the hour being so late he declined it: he mentioned, however, that Mr. Buckingham, the talented editor of the "*Oriental Herald*," well known for his researches in the Asiatic world, would shortly visit Ireland, for the purpose of showing how much the manufacturing interests of this country would be benefited by the overthrowing of the monopoly of the East India Company. He concluded by repeating, with the happiest effect, some of the well-known lines of Cowper, on the subject of the negro slavery.'

Thus, in Cornwall, Scotland, and Ireland, the subject begins to attract attention among all parties ; and, even in London, there are indications of a tendency to think the matter one deserving consideration, in quarters where we had least expected it. Those, for instance, who remember the tirade of the '*Morning Journal*' against all the opponents of the East India Company, as given in our February Number, will be surprised to learn that it was the first to print the Report of the Bristol Meeting, and to speak rather in terms of commendation of its object. It excused itself from going at large into the subject from want of space—when its columns were never less pressed by public matter : but the phrase speaks volumes. The following is also a good omen :

From 'The Morning Post,' April 23.

'The exclusive privileges of the East India Company, as a trading corporation, must soon come under the consideration of Parliament, as the period approaches in which the Charter that confers them will expire.'

'Already have the merchants in some of our most important seaports begun to prepare their petitions to the Legislature, for unrestricted freedom, not of trade only but of colonisation, in the Asiatic possessions of Great Britain ; and we perceive by the Order Book of the House of Commons that a motion is to be made by Mr. W. Whitmore on the 30th instant, for the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the state of the trade between Great Britain, the East Indies, and China.'

'On the discussion of this motion it is not improbable that the Members of his Majesty's Government may communicate some information as to the views they have taken of the several important questions which the subject comprehends. Until they do this, it would be premature to speculate on what may probably be their decision upon any single branch of

the subject, not only because the facts connected with it are more fully in their possession than they are in that of any unofficial persons, and therefore are they entitled in a great degree to guide the public judgment, but because the territorial dominion of India, the security of which may be affected, and the value of which must be affected by any change in the law of trade or settlement, is in fact the property of a third party, the East India Company, who, upon every principle of justice, ought to be first heard, first consulted, first satisfied, unless they advance pretensions which are plainly incompatible with the national welfare.

‘The case altogether differs from that of a colonial possession of the British Crown, the trade to which may be rendered more or less free at the unfettered discretion of the Legislature; for the East Indies are not in right or in fact under the immediate dominion of the British Crown.

‘The case differs also from that of the trade which is to be carried on with the territories of a foreign Government, in regulating which, or leaving it without regulation, the interests of British commerce are or ought to be the exclusive object of the British Legislature; for the East Indies are British territories, although not territories of the British Crown.

‘The case is entirely unique. It is that of a Corporation of British subjects, in whose hands the sovereignty of India has become a proprietary right. In common with every other proprietary right, this ought no doubt to bend, and must bend, to the general interests of the empire; but, in common with every other, and in a degree second to none, it is entitled to the protection of the laws. When a canal is to be cut through a gentleman's estate, without his consent and by virtue of an express Act of Parliament, private property is justifiably invaded; for the public good is properly held paramount to individual rights; but in such a case ample compensation for all immediate, and a sufficient guarantee against all contingent evil, is constantly provided; and without this the Act would be one of unprincipled and atrocious spoliation. The case of the East India Company very closely resembles this. If it can be shown that an unfettered commercial intercourse with India, and an extensive and unlimited settlement of Europeans among her superstitious and semi-barbarous castes, would conduce to the immediate advantage of the whole empire, it may be wise, and if wise then just, in the Legislature to comply with the petitions which the mercantile community are about to present. But, in doing this, it can be neither just nor wise to overlook or overthrow the proprietary right of the East India Company to the sovereignty of the gigantic empire which, under the sanction of British law, they have created. If the new system of trade and colonisation be greatly calculated either to impair or endanger that sovereignty, whatever may be its direct commercial advantages, it ought not to be attempted at all; and if, whether correctly or incorrectly, the Corporation interested as proprietors, in this extraordinary sovereignty believe that the proposed system will produce these effects, we then say, that in national honour and justice, the experiment ought not to be tried without first giving them an ample and satisfactory legislative guarantee against the consequences they apprehend.

‘We throw out these observations to check in some degree the impetuosity upon this subject, which it is attempted, we see, in many quarters to excite in the public mind. No interests of British commerce can be indifferent to us; and we believe that the commercial advantages to be

derived from India are capable of an immense extension, and cannot be fully developed, unless by the active and subtle agency of individual enterprise. But we are still more certain that the respect due to the rights of property is the highest of all national interests, and that all the advantages that can ever flow from the most flourishing and boundless Indian commerce would be a poor compensation for even one conspicuous infringement of those sacred rights, perpetrated by the Legislature of Great Britain, and suggested and ratified by the popular voice.

‘It is evident that the question of free trade to India is not exclusively or even principally a commercial question. The security and welfare of an immense British dominion, the sacred right of property in England, are involved in it. The case of the China trade is altogether different, however; and upon this monopoly, as a source of mercantile profit, the East India Company has always been understood to place the higher value. The question with respect to this trade ought to be determined, there is no doubt, as far as the British Government can determine it, upon pure and commercial principles, leaving both the Celestial Empire and the East India Company to take care of themselves.’

From ‘*The Times*,’ April 13.

‘It is stated that associations have been formed, or are now forming, in all the principal cities and towns throughout Great Britain (London included), for the sole purpose of resisting the continuance of the monopoly exercised by the Company over the trade to India and China.’

‘As a motion is intended to be brought forward in the House of Commons on the 30th instant, touching Indian affairs, the Committee of the Liverpool Association, comprising several of the most respectable and important names in the commercial world, have come to a resolution, expressive of their opinion that it would be highly desirable to send a deputation to London from the principal commercial and manufacturing towns, to wait on the King’s Ministers previous to the day fixed for the above-mentioned discussion.

‘Copies of this resolution have been transmitted to the metropolis, and to 270 cities and towns of the united kingdom. That a monopoly so inconsistent with all the better notions and principles of modern times, and in its effects so cramping, as well as degrading, to the energy, activity, and prosperity of British commerce, should have been so long suffered in this kingdom, may well astonish any man of plain common sense. But the age of monopoly, both for factions and corporations, is ended. That of the India Company cannot stand, because nothing can stand against the conviction and feeling of the instructed classes of the British nation. The associating cities and out-ports have only to co-operate with spirit, and without mutual jealousy, and the question will soon be settled. It has been proposed as the most effectual course of proceeding, to constitute as soon as possible a central Committee, containing Delegates or Deputies from those in the provinces, together with a certain *quota* from the friends of commercial freedom in London, to remain in the capital during a part of every winter until the final settlement of the question, to receive authenticated communications from all parts of the empire, more especially from the great commercial bodies in the different Indian Presidencies, and to found on them such representations to Parliament, to the country at large, and to his Majesty’s Ministers, as might best illustrate the merits of this highly important case, and lead, at the expiration

of the Company's Charter, to an adjustment at once beneficial to the state, satisfactory to the merchant, and intelligible to the reason of mankind. We ourselves would recommend to the consideration of the parties, this suggestion for co-operating through some central power as the simplest and most effectual method by which scattered bodies can advance a common good.

From 'The Times,' April 7.

While the law for the relief of the Catholics, embodying in itself so many great principles of constitutional freedom and justice, advances rapidly to its conclusive triumph, we must not forget that there are other questions deeply affecting the national welfare of this country, which time is ripening into a magnitude and prominence not capable of being overlooked. The next subject of universal interest, with the enlightened classes of Englishmen,—and one, moreover, on which the bulk of the nation will unite most ardently and eagerly to support them,—is that of the commercial despotism exercised by the India Company beyond the Cape, and the necessity of putting a speedy end to it. We are convinced that the very opening of this question in Parliament or by the press, with a view to its adjustment, will draw together the whole English and Irish nation as one man, for the overthrow of a vexatious, burdensome, and unnatural monopoly, maintained by its possessors, as can be clearly proved, at a cost which more than balances its returns, to the infinite embarrassment and injury of private commercial enterprise; and, what is worse than all, to the infliction of a heavy and cruel system of indirect taxation upon our poorer countrymen, who are thus compelled to buy articles the most conducive to the health and comfort of their families, 300 per cent. dearer than they could obtain them did there exist no monopoly of the traffic with our great empire in the East.

Upon the famous Calcutta Stamp Act, which forms but a small item in the general catalogue of mercantile and fiscal grievances, we have received the following communication from a quarter familiar with the subject in its most essential parts:

“By the recent arrivals from Bengal, we find that the local Government of the East India Company, not discouraged by the odium brought on them through former attempts, and not having the fear of public opinion in England before their eyes, are on the very eve of discussions that may end in depriving their masters of their temporary authority altogether, zealously busy in forging new shackles for the industry of their countrymen at home, as well as of their Native Indian subjects. The notorious stamp-regulation had been drawn up in so slovenly a manner, or, as Lord Eldon would have said, supposing the venerable Peer had been a Hindoo Pundit, in such a way that “a troop of elephants might have marched through it;” consequently, in prosecutions before the King's Court for breaches of it, notwithstanding the piteous imploring of a Chief Justice for the Company, it was defeated twice over by the verdict of a jury. The authorities have now sent it to England, reinforced by a body of fresh pains and penalties, for the approbation of the Court of Directors and his Majesty's Ministers, which approbation we have very little doubt will, or at least ought to be refused; for a more impolitic, unsuitable, and iniquitous impost, in such a state of society, it is difficult to imagine. Surely the East India Company have open to them many obvious means of improving the industry and wealth, and hence the revenue, of the vast countries, we fear unworthily subjected

to their rule. They have a still wider field for improving their revenue by the reduction of useless or pernicious establishments; but they have never yet given an honest trial to either. They seem to lead a perverse preference to modes of taxation at once unpopular and unproductive. The stamp law, to which we are now alluding, is a fair sample. We have before us the East Indian accounts to the last year, in which they have been made up, or 1825-26, and it appears on the average of three years, that the net revenue accruing from stamps from a population of 57,000,000 of people, (we confine ourselves to the Bengal provinces,) amounts to no more, when fairly reduced to English money, than the pittance of 88,029*l.* sterling. The charges of collection appear, by the same authority, to amount to 54,602*l.*, or to full 62 per cent. on the revenue. For every 100*l.*, in short, taken from the pockets of the people, little more than 38*l.* find their way into the Treasury; and what is worse, the whole tax, or very nearly the whole of it, is derived from an impost on law proceedings, or on the petitions of the people; and this, too, in a country where the East India Company have themselves shown us, by laboured tables, that the execution of the law is in so imperfect a state, that no civil suit of any consequence can be brought to an issue in the Courts of First Instance under three years, or in the appellate courts under from three to six. An impost of this description is, no doubt, a rich source of patronage, and to inferior agents it must be an ample one of corruption; but for any other convenient quality in it, we are really at a loss to understand where it is to be found. The net revenue of Great Britain, derived from stamps in 1827, from a population of 12,000,000 of people, or thereabouts, amounted to 6,549,748*l.*, and the charges of collection were scarcely 2½ per cent. This, then, with all its numerous sins, is at least a productive, and as far as the charge of collection is concerned, an economical tax. It is perfection itself, in comparison with the Indian tax of the same denomination. At all events, stamps are endurable in a wealthy, commercial, and intelligent country, but they must be a scourge of the first magnitude in a semi-barbarous state of society, among a timid, an ignorant, and not a very moral population. Is this infliction of a novel mode of taxation, in a country where the state already took half the gross produce of the soil, calling it a land-tax, and where there existed besides house taxes, transit duties, town duties, and a hundred other vexations of the same sort, a specimen of the boasted paternal sway of the East India Company over the Hindoos?—another example of that tender regard for Native usages, which has induced it to wink at widow-burning, at infanticide, and similar acts of barbarous superstition, more especially at certain pilgrimages where a small profit is said to be derived from official connivance? As for any real use to be derived from such patronage, such protection, and such paternal government, the sooner they are one and all abolished, in our humble opinion, the better.”

From ‘The Times,’ April 22.

‘We see with satisfaction that Bristol is following the footsteps of other great commercial towns, in its decided resistance to any attempt that may be made for a renewal of the East India monopoly. A meeting was held there on Tuesday, the 14th instant, for the adoption of resolutions against that pernicious and odious measure, should it ever again be proposed; and, from some of the speeches, we conjecture that the subject is as well understood by the Bristol merchants, and the right spirit as pre-

valent amongst them, as in any other part of this intelligent and commercial country. One gentleman, Mr. Acraman, recurred with much force and success to the declarations of the late Director, Mr. Grant, and to the evidence of Sir Thomas Munro, before the Parliamentary Committee, to prove how monstrous was the contrast between the predictions of these interested or prejudiced parties, and the facts as they have since been exhibited, in relation to the capacity of India and its inhabitants for establishing and extending, almost indefinitely, a trade the most profitable with Great Britain. The value of any self-interested assertion by a monopolist upon subjects connected with the exclusive privileges of his monopoly, may be judged from a single statement, drawn from official records. Mr. (Director) Grant assured the world, on the strength of a 'forty years' experience and observation,' that it was impossible for India to increase either her exports or imports beyond the level at which they already stood; *ergo*, that she was quite incapable of bestowing benefit upon England by an enlarged consumption of her manufactures, or of deriving it from an enlarged production and exportation of her own raw materials;—*ergo*, that it was idle to think of releasing her from the gripe of Leadenhall-street, or in any wise touching the sacred monopoly of the 'Honourable Court.' Sir Thomas Munro,—in all respects a superior man to Mr. Grant, and perhaps the very ablest statesman as well as soldier that grew out of the Company's service—gave evidence as decided as the declarations of Mr. Grant, and altogether as conspicuous for its fallacy. He stated, that 'owing to the prejudices of the Natives, no importation of British goods, beyond that of a few hundred pounds worth of scissors and needles for the use of British residents, could ever make its way into India.' The best commentary upon all which wisdom is, that, in the year 1818, woollen goods were exported from this country to India of the official value of 500,000*l.*; in 1827, 940,000*l.* In 1814, the plain calicoes that were exported from Great Britain to India measured 200,000 yards; in 1827, 20,000,000 yards. In 1813, the *printed* calicoes exported hence to India measured 300,000 yards; in 1827, 14,000,000 yards. To prove even the recent and enormous growth of the export trade to our Indian empire, it is also stated, that so short a time ago as in the year 1824, there was exported of *cotton yarn* to India 105,000 lbs.; and in 1827, 4,600,000 lbs. But cotton yarn must be put in the loom before it can be made available for consumption; so here is a proof, not only of the extent to which India, under a relaxation of the monopoly, has overcome 'her prejudices' so far as to prefer the staple manufacture of this country to her own, but of her power to extend her native cotton manufacture, through the use of cotton twist supplied by England, simultaneously with her consumption of British calicoes, the product of her own, or of American, raw cotton. Her 'prejudices,' indeed! We doubt if there are half so many or a tenth part so inveterate or mischievous, on the banks of the Ganges, as among certain docks and warehouses on the banks of the Thames. Bishop Heber affirms that the British manufactures have already penetrated to the least accessible spots in the Peninsula, even to Palce, on the confines of the Desert, where, until recently, no European was ever seen. Among other fruits of the monopoly of this leaden despotism, it appears that, according to Mr. Acraman, we have had cotton, bad rice, and many bad things from India, which would all be improved in quality, were Englishmen enabled to proceed thither to cultivate the soil, and to settle. The change which has taken place in the article of indigo is adduced as a

striking instance of what would happen, was the culture of Indian produce generally free. That article is now grown by private English traders, who have permission to visit the interior districts; and in consequence its reputation and value are so raised as to beat every other out of the market. But we said on a former day, that there is yet a more important production of the climate and soil of India, on which Leaden-hall-street leans with a cruel pressure, to the infinite depreciation of a highly valuable interest, and to the benefit of our foreign rivals. In the silk trade, if we are unable to contend on all occasions with the French and Italian fabrics, it is greatly owing to the want of an equally excellent raw material, purchased on equal terms. In all respects but this, our manufacture stands on a footing not inferior to theirs; the price of labour in Lancashire and Nottinghamshire differs little, if at all, from that at Lyons; the ingenuity of our workmen dreads no comparison with that of any other country—our machinery is far better—our capital more powerful—our home-market more extensive, and our access to foreign markets as easy and secure. France has not raw material sufficient for her own purposes, and cannot afford it for ours. The finer silks of Italy are required on the spot, and we have the wisdom to exclude them by a duty. Turkish silk is coarse, and will not answer. Our supply from India might be made abundant for our most extensive demands, and suitable to our very finest fabrics, if English enterprise, intelligence, and capital were tolerated by the Company for its cultivation. The silk of India, like the tea of China, is a monopoly by the factors for the India-House—not, perhaps, a formal monopoly, but a virtual one of the strictest nature; and the deterioration or non-improvement of the silk of India is the inevitable consequence. The private adventurer has been driven out of the market, through the unfair means resorted to by the Company for carrying on this branch of commerce. At each station there is a Company's agent, who makes advances to the peasantry engaged in the care of the worms, by which he secures a mortgage on their whole crop of silk. The silk pods are brought into the Filatures, or Company's factories, and there reeled after the Italian method. This is the whole share which the Company's servants have in the production of the silk for export; and for this they receive a commission upon their advances, which yields each of them an income of 5000*l.* or 6000*l.* a year. With a full command of the revenues of the State for this purpose, the agent multiplies his advances to the utmost, that he may proportionally augment his commission. Private adventurers have tried a competition with these leviathan capitalists, but have been invariably ruined. The peasantry are all in debt to the Company; but they are not honest enough to withstand the temptation of advances offered them by private speculators, who know not that their crops are already mortgaged, and whose liens upon the peasant are always superseded by the *Exchequer writs* of the Company. Thus do the merchant rulers, by laws of their own making, or practices of their own authorising, make a joke of the pretended equality stipulated for the private merchant under the Charter of 1813; and tricks of one kind or another, directed to the same end of crushing private trade, are visible throughout their whole commercial system. That system, moreover, is a fatal one to themselves. If they discourage the individual speculator, the trade by which they overpower him is carried on at a calamitous loss—that on silk alone being estimated annually at half a million sterling. It follows from this vicious and rotten course, that the best Bengal silk finds its way to no market but that of England:

yet, that with every disadvantage of climate, the silk of Piedmont is, in the same market, 40 per cent. above the price of that of India. The best China silk, also, is 10 per cent. better than the finest Bengal. It was only since 1804, when private traders began to deal in India silk, that any large quantity of this article was introduced into England; and since the first application of the Italian mode of winding, although there has been a vast increase of quantity, in the quality there has been little improvement. The truth is, that the producers and cultivators of Indian silk are semi-barbarians. The species (or at least variety) of the mulberry, and of the worm itself, is the subject of but slender attention. Throw open the culture to Englishmen—relieve them from the unfair burdens and embarrassments laid upon all private residents in the interior of the country; the raw material, from the worst but one in the market, will then have fair play, and prove the more skilful hands into which it will have fallen. In every natural advantage India far excels Italy or China for the production of the finest silk; and it is a mortifying and miserable fact, that of these advantages a mismanaged monopoly should deprive our industrious countrymen.

Since writing the above, Mr. Buckingham has announced his intention of repeating his Lectures on the India and China Monopoly every evening during the remainder of the month—alternately at the City of London Tavern, from five to seven, for the merchants, after Change; at the Crown and Anchor, Strand, from seven to nine, for legal and professional men; and at the British Coffee-House, Charing Cross, from four to six, for the Members of both Houses of Parliament. The first has been already given, and was most numerous attended. Mr. Buckingham's reception, and the applause that followed the close of his lecture, were of the most gratifying kind, and evinced a deep interest, on the part of his auditors, in the subject of his discourse. In short, every day, and almost every hour, gives the most unequivocal proof of this interest increasing in every part of the metropolis, as well as in every town and county of the kingdom.

FURTHER PUBLIC MEETINGS IN THE COUNTRY, ON THE INDIAN MONOPOLY.

In addition to the Reports of the Public Meetings already contained in our present Number, we have the pleasure to add the three following, from Birmingham, Leeds, and Glasgow; and we see, by an announcement in the Manchester papers, that a public meeting was to be held there also, on the 27th, which will be too late for our present pages, but which will be given at length in those of the next month.

Resolutions of the Chamber of Commerce at Birmingham.

1. That the political strength of the British Empire mainly depends on the prosperity of its manufactures and commerce.

2. That the high, and, in many instances, prohibitory duties imposed by foreign States on the manufactured produce of this kingdom, and the very successful encouragement given by their respective governments to their own manufactures, render it indispensable that the British

Legislature should avail itself of every opportunity by which the trade of this country may be improved and extended.

'3. That all experience since the year 1813 has demonstrated that "neither a power to purchase, nor a disposition to use commodities of European manufacture, are wanted in the natives of British India," and that there is reason to believe that a more free and direct intercourse with China would prove the existence of a similar disposition and ability in that country.

'4. That as the Charter of the East India Company will expire in 1834, on three years' notice being given by Parliament, it is expedient that this Chamber should petition both Houses of Parliament to take into their consideration, during the present Session, the restrictions which impede the commerce of this kingdom with India and China, for the purpose of facilitating and extending a more beneficial intercourse with those vast regions than has hitherto existed.

'5. That it appears to this Chamber equally impolitic and unjust to exclude, or restrain, British merchants from a participation in the advantages of that trade to our own colonies which the subjects of foreign nations are freely permitted to enjoy.

'6. That this Chamber relies on the wisdom of Parliament, and on its just appreciation of the numbers, wealth, and intelligence of the manufacturing and commercial part of the community, for the eventual removal of every existing obstruction to our intercourse with British India, China, Southern Asia, and the Eastern Islands.

'TIMOTHY SMITH, Chairman.'

The following is the formation of the Leeds Committee, which is succeeded by the proceedings at a Public Meeting on the 21st :

'We the undersigned Bankers, Merchants, Manufacturers, and Woolstaplers of Leeds, in the West Riding of the county of York, agree to form a Committee to inquire into the bearings of the Charter of the Honourable the East India Company upon their trade, and to act in conjunction with the merchants of the other manufacturing, commercial, and maritime districts of the kingdom, in endeavouring to obtain such alterations in the said Charter as the circumstances of the country may require, when the subject shall again be brought before Parliament :

B. Gott and Sons
J. Brown and Co.
Aldam, Pease, Birchall and Co.
Hirst, Bramley and Co.
Hirst and Heycocks
Clapham, Brothers
Marshall and Co.
Tedley, Tatham, and Walker
T. Charlesworth
J. Clapham, Jun.
Peter Williams
Darnton Lupton
Bruce, Dorrington, and Walker
Wilson, Stow and Co.
T. Shann
J. H. Hebblethwaite
S. F. Birchall
Stampots, Brothers, and Co.
Bruce and Ritchie

Joseph Bateson
Beckett, Blayds, and Co.
W. W. Brown and Co.
Perfects and Smith
J. Wilkinson and Co.
J. P. Smith
Bywater, Charlesworth, and Co.
Benj. Goodman and Sons
John Peel Clapham
G. W. Bischoff
T. Bischoff, Jun.
G. Rosson
T. Prince
R. Driver
J. Horsfall
J. Cudworth
B. Chapman
J. Nussey
Alfred Birchall and Co.

PUBLIC MEETING AT LEEDS, ON THE INDIA AND CHINA TRADE.

ON Tuesday, April 21, a Meeting of Merchants, Manufacturers, and others extensively interested in the Woollen Manufacture, was held in the Court House, at Leeds, to determine on the expediency of presenting a Petition to the House of Commons, previous to the 30th instant, on the renewal of the East India Company's Charter; Benjamin Gott, Esq., in the Chair. After some conversation had taken place as to the objects of the Meeting, a draft of a petition was agreed upon, praying that when the question of the renewal of the East India Company's Charter should be submitted to the House, the subject might be fully investigated, not only in reference to a free trade to the East Indies and China, but to the expediency of opening the peninsula of India to colonisation, and giving to the British subjects settled there every privilege enjoyed by British subjects in the foreign dominions of the United Kingdom. In the course of the proceedings, communications from Glasgow and Liverpool were read, and some discussion took place, with respect to the expediency of sending a deputation to London, to co-operate with those from other parts of the kingdom; but it seemed to be the decided impression of the meeting that this step would be at present premature, as it was thought both Ministers and Parliament had been too much exhausted by the discussion of the Catholic Question, to be prepared or disposed to enter upon the consideration of so momentous a question during the present Session. It was determined that the Petition should be presented by the county Members, previous to the 30th instant, the day at present fixed for Mr. Whitmore's motion for the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the subject; and it was also resolved, that the petition should be transmitted to Lord Milton.

The following is a copy of the petition:

'To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom, in Parliament assembled, the humble Petition of the Bankers, Merchants, Manufacturers, and others, of the town and neighbourhood of Leeds, in the County of York ;

'SHEVETH,—That your petitioners are extensively interested in the manufacture of woollen, worsted, and linen cloth for the supply of foreign markets, as well as for home consumption, and as it is most essential to the commercial prosperity of the country, that the greatest facilities should be afforded for promoting the general export of its manufactures, they humbly request, that when the question of the renewal of the Charter of the Honourable the East India Company shall be submitted to your Honourable House, you will be pleased fully to investigate the subject, not only in reference to a free trade with the East Indies and China, but also to the expediency of opening the Peninsula of India to colonisation, and every privilege enjoyed by British subjects in the foreign dominions of the United Kingdom.

'And your Petitioners shall ever pray, &c.'

MEETING AT GLASGOW IN FAVOUR OF A FREE TRADE TO INDIA.

ON Wednesday, April 22, a numerous and highly respectable meeting of gentlemen interested in the trade to India, was held at the Abontine Hotel. On the motion of Mr. Ewing, Mr. K. Finlay was called to the chair. The Chairman stated that the meeting had been called in consequence of a resolution come to at a former meeting, for the purpose of forming an association in this city similar to those in Liverpool and other places in England, for watching over the general interests of the India trade, as far as regarded this city. Another purpose of the meeting was to take into consideration the measures necessary for accomplishing a great object—the entire abolition of the monopoly of the trade to India and China. Accidental circumstances must have led to the establishment of the extraordinary monopoly of the China trade, which had no existence when the charter was granted. It seemed to have arisen from its geographical position relative to the East Indies. At that time there was not capital in the country for carrying on such a great trade. The Chairman then read the resolutions. After the resolutions had been read, the Chairman stated that it was a general, but an erroneous opinion, that the East India Company's charter expired in 1833. The charter passed in 1813, but did not come into operation till March, 1814; and as it was to continue in operation for 20 years, its expiry did not take place till 1834; and three years' notice must be given to the Directors by the Speaker of the House of Commons of any intention to abolish it.

Mr. EWING stated, that having just arrived from the country, and only a few minutes having elapsed since he had been requested to attend the meeting, he should be very short. In 1813, he had fought the battle side by side with his honourable friend in the chair, and though the victory had not then been complete, the field had so far been won, that a breach had been made in the walls, and it only required a general effort to storm the garrison. The trade to India had been opened, and it only remained to shake off the fetters by which the intercourse with the East was still shackled. To use a well-known metaphor, 7s. 6d. in the pound had been gained, and all that was wanting was the voice of the people to recover the balance. While the existing limitations were most injurious to the country, they were far from being proportionally beneficial to the Company themselves. That great, and he must add respectable, corporation might be viewed as the eunuchs of a commercial seraglio; or as the Pharisees of old, who would neither use their own advantages nor allow others to enjoy them. He had no personal interest whatever in this question; but on public principle he should rejoice in the removal of so injurious a monopoly as the trade to China. On those grounds, he had much pleasure in

proposing the adoption of the resolutions which had just been read from the Chair.

Mr. JAMES OSWALD seconded the motion ; and the first four resolutions were then unanimously agreed to.

Mr. FINLAY said, that before any general expression of opinion could take place here, it was well known that in England public attention had been attracted very strongly to the subject. He had already received a number of letters from gentlemen in England on this great commercial subject, inquiring whether there was any intention of Glasgow stepping forward in the matter. The chief magistrate here had received a letter, inquiring whether a deputation was to be sent up to London to co-operate with those already in existence previous to the coming on of Mr. Whitmore's motion. There might be great injury sustained in commerce generally by the affection of a particular trade, because it might be the means of exclusion from many ramifications which might not be known to exist, or which did not appear to be connected with it. Such he considered the state of the China trade. It was not so much its own importance which rendered it valuable, however profitable it might be, but the great opening it would give to other channels. Its value was not to be estimated by the amount of the direct trade. That might be called the link of the chain of a great trade to the East generally, and for want of it we lost the benefit of the whole chain. In 1793 a slight opening was made, but it went no further than permitting merchants to send out goods in the Company's ships. Few, however, who took advantage of the offer once, tried it a second time. In 1813, he (Mr. Finlay) was one of a deputation from Glasgow, and, with his friend Mr. Ewing, he took much interest in the question. No men could have shown more eagerness than they did then, but they had little expectation of accomplishing much. Government was in the midst of an expensive war, and from that circumstance they had little hope of a beneficial termination of their labours. The Government, however, did open, and that pretty extensively, the trade, in the face of the remonstrances of those interested, who treated their application as improper and uncalled for, and one which might lead to consequences injurious to our possessions in the East. The tea-monopoly was accordingly given them. In the circumstances of the country then, it was perhaps politic for them to adopt such a resolution ; but it was undoubtedly wrong to continue it for twenty years. At that period the voice of an advocate of free trade, which had now become still, was raised against the continuance of such a measure for so long a period, and he moved that it should exist only for ten years. Mr. Finlay then pronounced a very high eulogium on the character of the lamented Mr. Canning, to whose eloquence and talents not only our own but other countries have been deeply indebted ; and one who, had Providence seen meet to spare him, would have been of great use to the country on the present question.

The other resolutions were then read.

Mr. CHARLES STIRLING moved their adoption.

Mr. SPIERS seconded the motion.

Mr. FINLAY, before putting the question, said he hoped similar associations would be formed in Greenock and Paisley, as the greater the interest that was taken in the subject, the greater would be the chance of success.

The resolutions were then carried unanimously.

On the motion of Mr. EWING, the thanks of the meeting were given to Mr. Finlay, and the meeting adjourned.

Afterwards nearly 40 gentlemen entered their names as members.

The following are the Resolutions which were passed on this occasion; and which we strongly recommend as a model for the inhabitants of other towns:

‘That an Association be formed for the protection and furtherance of the general interests of the trade with the East Indies, under the designation of the “Glasgow East India Association.”

‘That all merchants, manufacturers, and others, residing in Glasgow and the neighbourhood, interested in the success of the trade with India, be invited to become members of this Association.

‘That a general fund be established, for the purposes of the Association, by a subscription of five guineas from each member, to be paid at the time of signing the rules, and an annual subscription of half a guinea thereafter.

‘That whenever twenty persons shall have signed the agreement to become members of the Association, a meeting shall be called of all the subscribers, which meeting shall then name a committee, to prepare rules and regulations for the future government of the Association, and the proper management of its affairs.

‘That it was the firm purpose and determination of this meeting to claim, by every proper and constitutional means, the entire abolition of the East India Company’s commercial monopoly, in every branch of the trade to India and China; and it is the earnest wish of this assembly to farther this object by uniting with other mercantile bodies associated for the same purpose; therefore,

‘That to strengthen the hands, and support the views of their mercantile associates in other cities and towns in pursuit of the same objects, this meeting depute and appoint Alexander Garden, Esq., present Lord Provost of this city, and Robert Dalgliesh, Esq., to represent their interests at the meeting to be held in London, and to act in the manner which may appear to them to be proper, in furtherance of the important objects in view.

‘The Deputies from all the principal towns in the country are expected to arrive in town before this Number is issued from the press; and Mr. Whitmore’s motion, for a Parliamentary Committee, is postponed to May the 8th, to allow of the Deputies waiting on Ministers previous to the discussion coming on. Of all these matters we shall give a full and faithful account.

PRESENTATION OF A PIECE OF PLATE TO MR. FAIRBAIRN.

Editor of the 'South African Commercial Advertiser.'

WE are gratified to learn from a recent Number of the 'Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette,' that the inhabitants of that colony have, in a manner highly honourable to themselves, testified their respect for Mr. Fairbairn, and their gratitude for his invaluable services in maintaining the liberties of the Press, and advocating the claims and interests of the community. The following resolution, signed by upwards of two hundred of the principal Cape merchants and proprietors, speaks for itself; and shows how well the inhabitants of that long misgoverned settlement appreciate the benefits which an independent press, honestly and ably conducted, has achieved, and we trust, secured for them. Two-thirds nearly of the subscribers are Cape Dutch, and comprise the names of most of the old families of respectability in Cape Town and its vicinity. Subscriptions were going forward with equal zeal in the interior districts: and it is most gratifying to observe, and affords a happy omen for futurity, that the increasing interest in the general welfare of the community has already obliterated the petty jealousies and distinctions which only a few years ago divided the British and Dutch population into separate, suspicious, and hostile factions. This amalgamation, which twenty years of British dominion (exercised, it is true, in a spirit not remarkable for wisdom or meekness!) had done almost nothing to effect, has been accomplished by an INDEPENDENT PRESS in little more than three years; and, under a beneficent Providence, principally and pre-eminently by the pen of Mr. FAIRBAIRN.

'The undersigned inhabitants of Cape Town, and of other parts of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, desirous to evince to Mr. John Fairbairn, editor of the 'South African Commercial Advertiser' newspaper, that they duly appreciate the able, consistent, and independent manner in which, without regard to personal sacrifices and losses, and notwithstanding the most powerful opposition, he has constantly advocated and protected the best interests of the colony, from the period of his first connection with the Paper to the present moment, and especially to mark their sense of the firmness and ability so conspicuously displayed by Mr. Fairbairn subsequent to the last suppression of the 'Advertiser,' and during his late visit to England, in endeavouring to procure from his Majesty's Government, the blessings of a FREE PRESS for the inhabitants of this colony, have resolved to raise a sum of money for the purpose of purchasing a piece of plate, to be presented to Mr. Fairbairn in the name of the subscribers, as a mark of their esteem and regard, and as a small token of gratitude for his exertions on behalf of themselves and their fellow-colonists.'

EAST INDIA DIRECTORS.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—Yours being the only Asiatic Journal through the medium of which we are permitted to express our opinions on existing abuses in Leadenhall-street, may I beg the favour of you to notice, or insert, the accompanying letter.

I have no doubt you will agree with me, that it is sufficiently distressing to have noodles or imbeciles occasionally associated in the management of our affairs, without the additional grievance of having the second childhood and dotage of each Director, in rotation, imposed on us, in the shape of a legacy tax, for their past services,—an evil, you will observe, from which nothing but a high sense of honour and delicacy among the Directors can exempt the Proprietors, as those gentlemen in the direction must always retain (while acting with unanimity) a preponderating influence to reflect themselves. I am Sir, yours, &c.

A PROPRIETOR.

Hanover-square, March 28, 1829.

VACANCIES IN THE EAST INDIA DIRECTION.

To the Proprietors of India Stock.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I am one of those proprietors who have been recently denounced as Whigs and Radicals, from having voted for a particular candidate at the late election.

Grateful for the distinction conferred on me of being classed among so useful a public body, I hasten to acknowledge it, by bringing to your notice one of those abuses which you will probably consider of sufficient importance to call for a radical reform.

I allude to the circumstance of gentlemen being retained, or remaining in the direction for years after their health and intellects have become so much impaired as to render them utterly incapable of attending to their public duties, which duties (if we are to believe the epistles of those patriotic gentlemen while canvassing for their seats) are said to be most arduous and complicated.

Whether this abuse has crept in through the indifference manifested by the Proprietors at large, or is owing to the overwhelming influence exerted by the Directors themselves, in a public spirited over-anxiety to retain their patronage, I know not; but it has at last reached that pitch of indecency (if I may so express it) as to draw forth from the Proprietors murmurs of disapprobation both loud and deep.

What may be the opinion of the Directors on this subject I know not, but mine is this:—that no person, whatever may have been his talents or services, has a right to expect that he will be retained in an important public situation after his bodily or mental infirmities have disqualified him from discharging its duties. The indecency, if there is any, must rest with the person who persists in clinging to office under such circumstances, and not with the Whigs or Radicals, who are under the disagreeable necessity of turning him out.

I acknowledge that it is a most ungracious task to hint to such persons (as Gil Blas did to the Archbishop) that it is time to retire from public life; but there are cases of so decided a nature as to set all delicacy out of the question, and render it an imperative duty, not only on the Court of Directors, but also the immediate friends of the parties, to interfere.

I have said quite enough to be understood, and shall conclude by recommending the subject to the serious consideration of all the parties concerned. I have the honour to remain, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Your obedient humble servant,

A PROPRIETOR,

And no Candidate for the Direction.

Hanover-square, March 25, 1829.

EAST INDIA STRATAGEMS.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,

London, April 24, 1829.

ALTHOUGH it cannot have escaped your observation, yet it may not be deemed amiss, on my part, to point out that, in the year 1810,—two or three years before the last renewal of the East India Company's charter,—there were rumours of insubordination and insurrection among the military in India, just as there exist at this moment. The country was, at that time, frightened by reports of the most gloomy character. Such was the extent to which the farce was carried, that it was affirmed the army on the coast had committed actual violence, and that it would be necessary to oppose arms to arms. The details will be found in the newspapers published in London, from January to April, or May, 1810; and particularly in a letter from Lord Minto, and the Council of the Bengal Presidency, to Sir George Barlow, Governor in Council, Fort St. George; and if you have not the document at hand, I can supply you with a copy, at least of the greatest part of it. But the short and long of the business was this: the disturbance, the mutiny, the insurrection, or whatever they were pleased to call it,—*real or pretended*—originated in an attempt, said to be made on the part of Sir George Barlow, to reduce the pay and allowance of the army by one-third, and in the determined and combined resistance of the officers. All this was, however, luckily got the better of: the merits of the East India Company, and the absolute necessity of supporting them, being the most prominent features in the drama. Some sacrifices, at the same time, had been made, or rather, certain officers were made, what are vulgarly termed '*Cats'-paws*' of, on the momentous occasion, three being doomed to trial by court martial, and eighteen having the option of being tried or dismissed the service! *Query*,—Is the same kind of *ruse* now going on? The article in '*The Morning Chronicle*,' for the last two days, and the leading articles of a newspaper, dated in January, 1810, now before me, are so much alike, that the conclusion is irresistible. One day the whole story was quite true, the next day it was all false; but, throughout the whole, the Company must be supported!

J. M.

EXTRACTS OF LATE LETTERS FROM VARIOUS PARTS
OF INDIA.

The two following letters from Calcutta have appeared in *The Morning Herald* of April 23d and 24th; but, strange to say, although they contain such direct appeals to the interference of the press of England, the Editor has not yet ventured a line on the subject, at least up to the period of our writing this.

Calcutta, Oct. 3, 1823.

'The most remarkable circumstances occurring here, at least with a reference to the future melioration of society, are the evidences of the growing liberality and instruction of the Brahminical classes, and the interest they begin to take in public events. Such is the combination here among public men—such the despotic power possessed and exercised by the Government, that there is little chance of improvement, unless the Natives give some symptoms of being really concerned in what is passing. The white rulers of the country look with the greatest abhorrence on those 'blacks' who venture to question in any way their supreme wisdom. And it is a fact, no less remarkable than true, that most of the members of the Government party here, look with far greater abhorrence upon an inquiring Native than on the grossest fanaticism and superstition, as long as they are subservient and submissive. Submission is the great thing—and it is the dread of inquiry which makes them look with an unfriendly eye on the attempts to Christianise the country. There would be nothing to fear for an honest Government; the most intelligent Natives look with complacency—nay, with gratitude, on the sway of Great Britain, and anticipate unbounded blessings from the superior knowledge and superior moral qualities of our race. The fatal curse here is the distinction of caste. It seems to have emanated from the most diabolical of demons, and to have been intended to cut up by the roots all the social sympathies and generous affections. Here is a people so divided, that all intimate domestic connection between the different orders is absolutely prohibited; the spirit of association, that great and splendid power which has wrought the regeneration of civilised Europe and America, is banned and broken—and the seeds of political and religious prostration are sown in the daily and hourly business of life. They cannot eat and drink together—they cannot intermarry, nor intercommune, because of difference of tribe—so that benevolence itself is circumscribed and narrowed to the selfishness of party, if not that of person, which pervades the whole community. Nor is this state of things only of yesterday. It has been stamped into the history of ages; that which was mere acquiescence has become habit—horrible penalties have provided against any violation—and excommunication, terrible as the anathema of the Inquisition in the

worst of times, visits those who disregard the awful sanction which has been imposed upon the universal race. In a society so organised, how difficult is it to combine either for improvement or for resistance to oppression ! No wonder that the Hindoos have been always enslaved, when their own usages have prepared chains for their conquerors to fetter them with. The object of philanthropy should be to break down these barriers, for until they are 'weakened' or broken down, nothing will be done by the Natives,—little can be done for them. Yet something more would and might be done if the English press would second and encourage the labours of the few who are striving—sometimes almost against hope—to impress upon the Government here the necessity of exerting itself to meliorate the condition of the people—to counteract the prejudices of caste as far as they can be counteracted with safety—to encourage schools and teaching, not specifically (though remotely they would so act) with a view to conversion.

' There is, I fear, little to be hoped for from the Company's government. We may dream on ; and you, who know nothing of the strange frame-work of society here, will not be able to fancy the abominations which grow out of it. Turn your regards hither. Let the great English public take some interest in the rule which decides for a hundred millions of human beings. Fancy an English public, of whom nine out of ten—nay, 99 out of 100, are *employés*, civil and military, parts and parcels of the very system whose abuses are so flagrant. What are Europeans here, but men who resort to India to scrape up and carry away all they can, and as fast as they can, without heed or care, concern or interest in the prosperity of India ? Think of them—a foreign race encamped in a conquered country—an infinitely small minority in numbers—will they not look with jealousy and alarm on the improvement of the Natives ? Aye, even of their own half-caste children ? And how shall it be mended ? How, but by opening the doors to all who can bring with them, or obtain, the means of supporting themselves—settling, colonising, amalgamating, and identifying themselves and *their posterity* with the Natives. This ought to be repeated in the ears till it gets engraved in the hearts of all Englishmen, that in India, an English colony, no Englishman is allowed to colonise—that in India, an English settlement, no Englishman is allowed to settle—that in India, an English possession, no Englishman is allowed to possess an acre or an inch of land ; and this because a Company of merchants are the legislators, who have selfish interests of their own—who enslave trade, who fetter communications, who destroy the freedom of the press—who, in a word, do all that benevolence would deprecate, to prevent India from becoming a fountain-head of greatness, glory, and prosperity to England, whatever it may be to them.'

' Calcutta, Oct. 4, 1828.

' The system of Government which sways here is, as you know,

called *Delegation* ; and its machinery is, that every body shall rise by seniority. Extraordinary talent and fitness meet with no reward—extraordinary dulness or inaptitude no drawback. The sovereign of India is the East India Company—their agents a small privileged class, who fill their pockets as fast as they can, and hurry home with their spoils. The immense distance between the rulers and the ruled gives rise to innumerable difficulties and embarrassments. The real governors inhabit a more remote quarter of the globe, who create and send forth the instruments of their authority—instruments not in the smallest degree amenable to those *over* whom they exercise that authority. Out of such a system abundant vices grow, and that necessarily. Those must be pleased, and courted, and obeyed, who, knowing nothing of that which is passing in India, and seeking nothing but the *beneficial* returns of their commercial capital invested in the Indian Government, cannot be interested in those whose happiness and misery are out of the circle of their observation, and far beyond that of their sympathies. Every thing done here is necessarily reported home—the most minute trifles have to be referred to the East India Directors. Hence interminable records and minutes, and triplicate copyings, and indifference to opinion in India, where are all the means of judgment, and subserviency to the Hon. Company, who can only possess the means of judgment from the facts as reported by those who are interested in a particular view of them. If there be criminality, the criminals are they who are to furnish the evidence. Of course little will come which would lead to their condemnation. The only way to estimate the bearings of such a scheme is to suppose that England received its laws from Calcutta, and that some ten thousand Asiatic blacks were the instruments.

‘ There are thousands, and tens of thousands, of trifling cases, which are brought before the Governor in Council—solemnly argued, and decided, and settled—and then come to England all the details, all the discussions, all the documents ; so the Council is constantly engaged in the minutest affairs ; and so is the Court of Directors at home ; while the *weightier matters*, justice and judgment, are frequently lost sight of in the overwhelming frivolities which are always pressing upon attention. Every body will have the decision of the Governor in Council ; but the Company’s confidence is so small in the said Governor, that they require every detail to be communicated to themselves, while the Governor makes the same demand on all the subordinate authorities. All hang upon one another—parts of the same system, each rising, all rising, and keeping in its entirety that ladder of promotion which, happen what may, serves as a means of mounting, and encourages every one who is on the step below to look to the step above as one to which he will ascend, so long as the system continues, not as a matter of merit, but as a matter of course.

'And you ask what is the remedy for all this? What shall modify or mend this system of general jobbing? Just that which reforms abuses elsewhere—namely, public opinion. Admit independent Europeans—encourage them to settle—encourage them to speak freely—allow no power to banish them by arbitrary interference if they shall utter words displeasing to the ears of men in power. Should they commit offences against the public good—should they libel or slander—let them be visited, not by despotic, but by judicial authority. Gross injustices would soon be checked—Secretaries, Boards, and Councils, would not venture upon enormities—the supreme authority might safely divest itself of the greatest portion of its cares—and inferior functionaries would be operated on by all the motives of reward and punishment. There would be time then, and space, to legislate and improve—and, above all things, to *codify*—while our statute-book is yet manageably small, and our lawyers have not become mighty enough to form a strong and separate sinister interest, opposed to all amendment. Instead of stagnation, there would be activity; instead of indifference, zeal; instead of distrust, co-operation. The departments of Government would be each engaged in its proper functions; and the central power might be employed in those magnificent plans of good, for which this immense empire offers so splendid a field. Now we are visited by a three-fold Government, without unity—a Government local, directorial, and royal.'

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,

Madras, October 1, 1828.

'Since the period of my last writing you, viz., 22d of August, we have had many arrivals from England; amongst them the Hon. Company's four Bengal and coast ships, several chartered ships, and numerous free traders. By the former arrived his Majesty's 26th regiment of foot,—a very fine body of men, under the command of Colonel Oglander, sent out to relieve his Majesty's 30th regiment. The 26th, on landing, took up the duty in Fort St. George, relieving his Majesty's 89th regiment, which corps has marched for Trichinopoly to relieve the 30th regiment, which will then proceed forthwith to the Presidency, to embark for England.

'By the chartered ships arrived a great many recruits for the Honourable Company's Artillery and European regiments: it is very remarkable, that the greater part of the recruits that come to India for the Honourable Company's Army, are invariably *gentlemen* from Ireland; and they are frequently connected with some of the noble families of the Emerald Isle; many of them are also *professional men*; nor are the daughters of Erin apparently loath to quit its shores, as a very numerous portion of them seem to accompany the gallant youths.

'The Committee of Health continue zealous in their exertions for

promoting every measure likely to forward the object for which they were constituted: they have recently had placed under their direction several European non-commissioned officers, and a strong body of coolies, (labourers,) who have been employed in cutting down a great deal of wild bamboo, prickly pears, and other plants and trees, that were in situations tending to obstruct the free circulation of air, the benefit resulting from which is generally felt and acknowledged. Indeed, Madras was never more healthy than it is at present. In the beginning of this month a few cases of cholera occurred amongst Natives, but not of a serious nature, and arising more from exposure to damp, inattention to diet, and imprudence or neglect, than from any atmospheric or local cause.

‘An unfortunate occurrence took place at Arcot about two months ago: two young officers, in discussing some *delicate matters*, quarrelled at the cavalry mess-table there, when one of them struck the other a blow; both were placed in arrest, and have since been tried by a general court-martial; and the unfortunate youth who struck the blow has been cashiered. Inclosed you have the court-martial, and the remarks issued on it by his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

‘A corps dramatique of amateurs has lately been organised amongst us, with a veteran officer as their leader; and measures are in forwardness for getting up entertainments which promise to amuse us during the ensuing cold season: the late balls have also been better attended, and private parties are very frequent.

‘The public here have been amused of late with accounts of a Native who is said to possess the wonderful faculty of sitting in the air. He is a Malabar Brahmin, middle aged, and rather slightly made: he has exhibited before our Right Honourable Governor, and at various other gentlemen’s houses; but he appears to dislike many spectators witnessing his display of seemingly supernatural powers. Much speculation has been excited to account for this strange phenomenon. Some look upon it as a trick similar to others with which Europeans are often amused at seeing Natives perform; others really believe the individual to be possessed of the secret of

“Vaulting to his seat in air,—thin air.”

But there is very little difficulty in discerning that it is a mere trick. He is habited in a richer silken dress than is usually worn by persons of his appearance: his apparatus consists of a piece of plank, to which four pegs are fastened, forming it into a kind of stool, upon which, in a brass socket, and through a hole in the stool, he places upright a hollow bamboo of considerable length, over which he puts a kind of crutch, and covers it with a piece of leather; some of his attendants then surround him completely with a thick blanket, allowing him, however, sufficient room to move about, but obstructing all observation from the spectators; after remaining in this, his *sanctum sanctorum*, for about fifteen or eighteen minutes, he gives a signal, and the blanket is dropped, when lo! our hero is

beheld sitting cross-legged in the air, about four feet from the earth, and touching nothing but the top of the bamboo, on which his one wrist rests; with the other hand he makes his *salaams* to the wondering spectators, and is employed counting his beads; he generally remains in this position from twelve to fifteen minutes; when the blanket is again suspended round him, and about ten minutes is taken to remove the mysterious cause of his buoyancy, during which time a gurgling noise is heard, and he is then again beheld amongst his fellow-beings; in addition to this, he is said to possess the power of remaining under water for hours together, and even to suffer himself to be buried under ground for several days.

‘Major-General the Earl of Carnwath, appointed to the Staff of the Madras Army, has recently arrived here from Calcutta, and assumed the command of the Southern Division of the army.

‘Lieutenant-Colonel Otto, Quarter-Master General of the Madras army, is about returning to Europe, and the Deputy Quarter-Master General, a Major Hanson, succeeds him.

‘An old civil servant of the Honourable Company, who held the lucrative situations of Principal Collector and Magistrate of Madras, died a few weeks since under rather equivocal circumstances as report goes; and it is now said that, since his decease, a sad deficiency has been discovered of the Company’s funds, of which he had control, and, as usual on such occasions, the Native servants in the department appear to be deeply implicated.’

‘Madras, Dec. 31, 1828.

‘Another dull month has passed over our heads, bringing us to the close of 1828. We have expected ships from England all the month, but are till now without them, consequently we are indebted to the sister Presidencies for European intelligence; several ships that sailed from England in June last for this port have not yet made their appearance here; among them is the free trader *Rockingham*, Captain Hornblow. The weather throughout the month has been moderate, but blowing, in general, pretty fresh from the north-west; we have not, however, had the usual quantity of rain, which will be felt soon should we not have a further supply. In the interior, it is said, the quantity of rain that has fallen is equal to former years, and quite sufficient for the purposes of cultivation, the tanks, &c., being full.

‘A few cases of cholera have again occurred, and it has proved very fatal amongst the officers and men of H. M.-30th regt., stationed at Wallajahbad.

‘It has long been known, that many of the suggestions for re-trenchments, which were issued from Leadenhall Street in 1823-24, have never yet been attended to in India: but those orders having been so often repeated, the supreme Government, it is said, have at

last resolved to make at least a show of obedience, and many important changes are talked of as being to take place. Two Finance Committees, one civil, the other military, are forthwith to assemble at Calcutta; the members are to be a civil and a military officer from each of the three presidencies: from Madras are deputed Colonel Conway, C. B., Adj. Gen. of the army, and Mr. Russell, of the civil service. Amongst other economical steps spoken of is the abolition of the Penang Government, and rendering that island a dependency of one of the Indian Governments. It is said to be in agitation to equalise and assimilate, as nearly as possible, the allowances of all civil and military officers: it is not expected this will make much difference here; but in Bengal the deductions will be very considerable, particularly from the army.

A great movement is now taking place amongst the army of this establishment, regiments exchanging stations, &c. Two regiments of Native infantry, viz. the 19th and 33d, are under orders to embark for our new settlements in Ava, to relieve those now there, a promise having been made to the Sepoys, when embarking in 1826, that they should be relieved in three years. But there is a report of the intention of the Governor-General to abandon these possessions, as they are found to be so extremely expensive and unproductive.

A good deal of gaiety is going on amongst the fashionable world here at present. Our Right Honourable Governor ushers in the new year with a grand entertainment at the Banqueting Room to-morrow evening, the 1st of January. Our gallant Commander-in-Chief has issued upwards of three hundred cards of invitation for a party on the occasion of christening his infant child. An old bachelor gave a splendid party, two nights ago, to a *young lady*. We are to have a fancy dress and masked ball on the Twelfth Night. Our theatricals continue to amuse and prosper; and our races are soon to take place.

W. B. Anderson, Esq., a civil servant of the Honourable Company on this establishment, has been appointed Sheriff of Madras for the ensuing year, to the surprise of many, and the disappointment of some, as there were several other candidates for it.

The following correspondence has taken place between Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General of India, and the inhabitants of Madras. The testimony paid by the latter seems to have been fully merited; but the eulogies bestowed on the present Governors of Madras and Bombay appear to us to resemble more the unmeaning compliments so lavishly interchanged at public dinners, than the deliberation of a written correspondence would justify:

*'To the Right Honourable Lord William Cavendish Bentinck,
Governor-General of India.*

'MY LORD,—Your Lordship's determination to receive no public marks of respect during your short residence amongst us, restrained, how-

ever reluctantly, the personal expression of our sincere congratulations upon your safe arrival at the seat of your former government in your way to assume the chief authority of British India.

'The benevolence, moderation, and justice which characterised your Lordship's counsels as Governor of this Presidency are deeply impressed upon the minds of all classes of the population of these territories, and are the best pledges that the exercise of these great qualities will be commensurate with the extent of the vast empire now committed to your superintending care.

'Animated with these sentiments, we approach your Lordship with the expression of our confident hopes, that Providence will sustain you through the labours to which you are called, and crown a long life spent in the successful service of your country, with public gratitude and honourable repose.

'Signed by all the principal inhabitants at Madras, in whose behalf the address was transmitted to Lord W. Bentinck, by the Honourable J. H. D. Ogilvie, and Major-General Sir John Doveton.

'*Madras, August, 1829.*'

The following is his Lordship's Answer.

'GENTLEMEN,—When I now publicly declare, what, since I left the government of Fort St. George, I have never ceased upon every occasion to assert, that in my sincere belief, no Sovereign in the world could boast of possessing a greater proportion of distinguished civil and military officers than those then belonging to that Presidency, what need I say more to describe the deep and lasting gratification which I must derive from your address, subscribed as it has also been by others, the most respectable residents at Madras, whose favourable opinion I highly value.

'I am thoroughly convinced that your establishment has always continued to maintain its ancient character. Under my immediate and excellent predecessor, Lord Clive, the true principles of Indian Government had been worked up to the highest pitch of elevation. Through every part of the administration there prevailed an exalted sense of honour, a proud integrity, an extraordinary display of zeal and activity in the discharge of every public duty. Mine was only the humble task of keeping up what had been so happily established. Of the acts of my successors I can have but little knowledge; but your late lamented Governor and my esteemed friend, was, at the time I have been speaking of, associated with other great names, Webb, Close, and a long list of living characters whom it might be invidious to mention, and engaged in the same distinguished career. In his hands the system can have lost nothing of its vigour and purity. I feel assured it will not be less zealously maintained by your present Governor, brought up in the same school, esteemed by the virtuous men of that day, and subsequently the confidential secretary of one of our most upright Prime Ministers.

'Permit me to add, that it is no slight confirmation of my old and never-ceasing impressions, that two successive Governors of Fort St. George have been chosen from its own establishment; and that a third from the service, inferior to none of those who have most adorned the annals of British India, now presides over the Government of Bombay.

'With a sincere hope that great public services in India, as elsewhere, may ever continue to secure their due reward in public honours and in

the national gratitude, and with every hope that your honourable reputation may be handed down unsullied to the latest hour of British rule in the East, I have the honour to be your attached friend and servant,
(Signed) 'W. C. BENTINCK.

'Calcutta, September, 1828.'

'Bombay, December 25, 1828.

'I have very little news of public interest to offer you from hence. The great contest between the Government and the Judges has occupied all thoughts for some time past; and certainly the cause of the latter has gained ground by time and reflection. The same surveillance is exercised over the press as usual; and the Editor of 'The Bombay Gazette' has received a sharp reproof for Government for some unguarded paragraph in his paper. Sir Charles Malcolm is proceeding very actively with various alterations in the marine department; and Sir John Malcolm, our Governor, is beginning to entertain serious thoughts of returning to England. His state of health induces him to think, that if he remains much longer he may be called upon to leave his post very suddenly; and as he wishes to be replaced by some worthy successor, it is said that he has written home to express his wish, that he may be succeeded by Sir Charles Metcalfe, as the *only* person in India known to him who is equal to the task! This is the Bengal Civil Servant who took so distinguished a part in the cruel proceedings against the house of Palmer and Co., of Hyderabad; and from this it may be safely inferred, that Sir John's taste is rather in favour of the arbitrary mode of settling all Government disputes.'

CIVIL AND MILITARY APPOINTMENTS, PROMOTIONS, AND CHANGES IN INDIA.

[B. signifies Bombay—M. Madras—and C. Calcutta.]

- ABBOTT, G. Lieut., 15th N. I., app. to Pioneers.—C. Aug. 23.
 ARMSTRONG, R., Lieut.-Col., to resume com. of Bangalore.—M. Sept. 28.
 ABDEY, J. N., Capt., Artill., returned to duty.—M. Oct. 3.
 ANDERSON, G. W., Esq., to be Puisne Judge of Sudder and Dewanee and Sudder Foujdary Adwint.—B. Oct. 6.
 ANDREWS, W. C., Mr., to be First Assist. to the Collec. and Magis. of Kaira, &c., —B. Oct. 6.
 ARDEN, G., Capt., 8th N. I., to be Major, v. Tweedy, prom.—B. Sept. 18.
 BENSON, R., Capt., 11th N. I., to be an Aid-de-camp to Gov.-Gen.—C. Sept. 26.
 BISHOP, G. W., Ens., 7th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Marshall, prom., v. Fallock, dec.—C. Sept. 26.
 BOUSFIELD, H., Assist.-Surg., app. to Med. duties of Civil Station of Mynpoorie, v. Clarkson, prom.—C. Oct. 3.
 BAKER, W. E., 1st Lieut., Eng., app. to do duty with Sappers and Miners at Alleyghur.—C. Sept. 8.
 BAKER, G. P., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 25th N. I. to 2d Eur. reg.—C. Sept. 8.
 BROWN, C., Lieut.-Col., Com. of Artill., to be a Brigadier for annually inspecting the Horse Artill.—C. Oct. 3.
 BROOKS, W., Lieut.-Col., Infantry, to be Lieut.-Col. Com., v. Waguelin, dec., v. Nation, dec.—C. Oct. 11.

- Barrett, W., Vet. Surg., rem. from 6th to 3d Lt. Cav.—C. Sept. 16.
 Bremner, C. S., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Oct. 11.
 Baddeley, W. C., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 41st to 53d N. I.—C. Sept. 24.
 Bishop, S. P., Lieut.-Col., to take com. of 53d N. I.—C. Sept. 24.
 Burt, J. R., Cornet, rem. from 8th to 1st Lt. Cav.—C. Sept. 24.
 Bracken, John, Lieut., 29th N. I., returned to duty.—C. Sept. 24.
 Bruere, J. G. S., Esq., to be Regis. to Zillah Court of Chittoor.—M. Oct. 3.
 Bruce, H. F., Esq., to be Head Assist. to Principal Collect. of Nellore.—M. Oct. 3.
 Bruce, G., Sen.-Assist.-Surg., retired.—M. Sept. 16.
 Butterworth, W. I., Capt., 30th N. I., to be Assist.-Quarter-Mas.-Gen. of Army, v. Strahan, prom.—M. Sept. 26.
 Burry, W. S., Capt., 2d Lt. Cav., returned to duty.—M. Oct. 3.
 Bury, W. S., Capt., 2d Lt. Cav., on furl.—M. Sept. 30.
 Bainbridge, J. H., Mr., to be Assist. to Collec. and Magis. at Ahmednuggur.—B. Sept. 24.
 Bell, Alex., Mr., to be Junior Acting Deputy Warehouse Keeper.—B. Oct. 20.
 Brown, W., Lieut., 69th N. I., to be Capt. of a Comp. v. Hickman.—C. Oct. 11.
 Burrowes, R. E., H. M's. 20th regt., to be Private Sec. to the Hon. Gov., v. Sir A. Campbell.—B. Oct. 10.
 Barnewell, R., Major, to proceed to England overland, with despatches.—B. Oct. 11.
 Burnes, Lieut., Dep.-Assist. Quar.-Mast.-Gen. with the Cutch Subsid. Force, to be attached to the head-quar. of the depart. of Presidency.—B. Oct. 13.
 Baillie, E. H., Esq., to be Puisne Judge of the Sudder Dewanee and Sudder Foujdary Adawlut.—B. Oct. 6.
 Bell, Alex., Esq., to be Officiating Judge and Criminal Judge of the Northern Concan.—B. Oct. 6.
 Blair, G. M., Mr., to be First Assist. to the Collec. and Magis. of Poonah, v. Shoolapoor, &c.—B. Oct. 9.
 Barclay, J., Capt., 24th N. I., to be Maj., v. Napier, invalid.—B. Oct. 27.
 Boyd, W. S., Mr., to be Acting Collec. and Magis. of Poonah.—B. Oct. 25.
 Browne, W. J., Lieut., 8th N. I., to be Capt., v. Arden, prom. to act as Brig.-Maj. in the northern districts of Guzerat.—B. Sept. 18.
 Campbell, C., Super. Surg., app. to Cawnpore.—C. Aug. 23.
 Cotton, H., Ens., 67th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Lawrence, prom.—C. Sept. 26.
 Cochrane, M., Riding Master, rem. from 2d to 1st brig. Horse Artill. at Cawnpore.—C. Sept. 4.
 Collinson, W. C. P., Ens., app. to do duty with 24th N. I. at Cawnpore.—C. Sept. 8.
 Clarke, J., Ens., to do duty with 57th N. I.—C. Sept. 8.
 Carter, H., Ens., to do duty with 50th N. I.—C. Sept. 8.
 Cunliffe, R. H., Lieut.-Col. Com., posted to 4th N. I.—C. Sept. 8.
 Cruickshank, G., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Oct. 11.
 Currie, Claud, Surg., to be Cantonment-Surg. at Belgaum, v. Moore, prom.—M. Sept. 16.
 Christmas, D., Mr., admitted Veter.-Surg., posted to 1st brig. Horse Artill.—M. Sept. 19.
 Clapham, W., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 43d N. I. to 1st Eur. reg.—M. Sept. 15.
 Cullen, Wm., Lieut.-Col., Artill., posted to 2d batt.—M. Sept. 28.
 Carnwath, the Earl of, Maj.-Gen., his Majesty's Ser., appointed to com. of the Southern Division of the Army.—M. Sept. 28.
 Carden, W., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—M. Sept. 23.
 Campbell, John, Capt., his Majesty's 39th reg., to be Aid-de-Camp to Major-Gen. Sir A. Campbell.—M. Sept. 23.
 Claybill, G. D., Lieut., 40th N. I., returned to duty.—M. Oct. 3.
 Chanier, Edward, Mr., to be Supernumerary Assist. to Collec. and Magis. in Southern Concan.—B. Sept. 24.
 Clarke, J., Capt., 22d N. I., comm. Guzerat, Prov. Batt., placed at disposal of Com.-in-Chief, for regimental duty.—B. Oct. 13.

- Cumming, J. P., Lieut., 2d European regt., to be Captain, v. ~~Swart~~, deceased.
—B. Oct. 13.
- Campbell, Neil, Capt., Deputy Assistant Quar.-Mast. Gen., with the Malwa force to act as Assistant Quarter-Mast.-Gen. with the Guisowar Subsidiary Force.
—B. Oct. 13.
- Campbell, J., Lieutenant, Acting Deputy Assistant Quarter-Master-General with the Poonah division, to do duty with the Malwa force, v. Neil Campbell.
—B. Oct. 13.
- Gogan, R., Lieut., to be Assistant Superintendent Marine Depart., v. Harris.
—B. Oct. 11.
- Chambers, R. G., Mr., to be Second Assist. to the Collec. and Magis, of Surat, and Acting First Assist. to ditto.—B. Oct. 6.
- Clarke, C., Lieut., 21st N. I., in charge of the Coal Mines in Cutch, placed at the disposal of the Com.-in-Chief, for regimental duty.—B. Nov. 6.
- Crawley, C., Capt., Brig. Maj. in Cutch, to take charge of the Dep. Assist. Quar.-Mast.-Gen's Office, v. Burns.—B. Nov. 11.
- Cunningham, H., Ens., to take rank and to be posted 24th N. I., v. Vaillant, prom.—B. Oct. 27.
- Christie, J., Ens., 31st Mad. N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—B. Sept. 18.
- Delamain, John, Lieut.-Col., 58th N. I., to be Com. of Fortrena at Agra.
—C. Sept. 19.
- Dickey, E. J., Lieut., 14th N. I., to be Adj., v. Macgeorge.—C. Aug. 23.
- Davidson, W. W., Ens., to do duty with 50th N. I.—C. Sept. 8.
- Denty, H. F., Lieut.-Col., posted to 6th N. I.—C. Sept. 8.
- Deas, A. F. C., Ens., rem. from 46th N. I. to do duty with 62d N. I.—C. Sept. 16.
- Davidson, C., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Oct. 11.
- Davidson, F. R., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Oct. 11.
- Duff, Wm., Assist.-Surg., to be Surg., v. Luxmore, dec.—C. Oct. 11.
- Dickson, J. H., Mr., adm. as an Assist.-Surg.—C. Oct. 11.
- Delafosse, H., Capt., Artill., returned to duty.—C. Sept. 24.
- Davis, Maj., 2d Native Vet. batt., transferred to Pension List.—M. Sept. 16.
- De Montmorency, H. F., Lieut., 3d Lt. Cav., to return to his situation as Dep.-Assist.-Quarter-Master-Gen. of Army, v. Butterworth.—M. Sept. 16.
- Dalzell, A. A., the Hon. Capt., his Majesty's 49th foot, to be Aid-de-camp to the Right Hon. Maj.-Gen. the Earl of Carnwath.—M. Sept. 23.
- Dalzell, W. D., Capt., 16th N. I., returned to duty.—M. Oct. 3.
- Drever, J., Capt., 19th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. Sept. 22.
- Dawson, R., Capt., 1st Lt. Cav., on furl. to Eur. for health.—B. Oct. 13.
- Dow, J., Assist. Surg., (M.D.), to be Vaccinator to the north-east division of Guzerat, v. Love, dec.—B. Nov. 6.
- Dyke, W. H., Mr., to be Assist. to the Principal Collec. in the Southern Mahratta Country.—B. Oct. 31.
- Ewart, J., Lieut., 55th N. I., to be Adj., v. O'Hara, rem. to 2d Local Horse.
—C. Aug. 30.
- Eyre, E. W., Mr., adm. Assist.-Surg., and app. to do duty under Garrison Surg. of Fort St. George.—M. Sept. 16.
- Escombe, W., Mr., to be 3d Assist. to Collec. and Magis. in Northern Concan.
—B. Sept. 24.
- Elliot, W., Mr., to be Acting Sub-Collector in Southern Mahratta, v. Stevenson.—B. Sept. 24.
- Elliott, H. R., adm. Assist. Surg. on Estab.—B. Oct. 11.
- Erakine, James, Mr., to be First Assistant, to the Resident at Baroda, &c.
—B. Oct. 6.
- Elwell, E., Ens., 2d Gren. N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—B. Nov. 8.
- Fisher, the Rev. H. S., to be District Chaplain at Barrackpore, and Chaplain to Gov.-Gen.—C. Sept. 12.
- Fraser, T., Lieut., to act as Adj. to 7th Lt. Cav.—C. Aug. 23.
- Ford, J., Veter.-Surg., posted to 1st Lt. Cav.—C. Aug. 23.
- Fitzgerald, C., Maj., 6th Lt. Cav., to be an Honorary Aid-de-camp.—C. Sept. 26.

- Fisher, T., Lieut., prom. from 2d to 1st class of Deputy Assist.-Quarter-Master-Gen., v. Newville.—C. Sept. 26.
- Farmer, C., Lieut., 21st N. I., to be Adj., v. Gray, prom.—C. Sept. 8.
- Frazer, H., 1st Lieut., Eng., app. to do duty with Sappers and Miners.—C. Sept. 8.
- Ferries, J. H., Ens., to do duty with 7th N. I.—C. Sept. 8.
- Ford, J., Vet.-Surg., to do duty with 1st Lt. Cav.—C. Sept. 8.
- Forbes, W., Lieut., 61st N. I., to be Capt. of a Company, v. Wymer, prom.—C. Oct. 11.
- Fendall, H., Lieut., 20th N. I., to be Capt. of a Comp., v. Hutchinson, prom.—C. Oct. 11.
- Findon, W., Surg., to do duty with 17th N. I.—C. Oct. 11.
- Freeman, C. H. S., Lieut., 47th N. I.—C. Sept. 24.
- Filson, R., Sen. Assist.-Surg., to be Surg.—M. Sept. 16.
- Foord, H. S., Capt., Artill., posted to 4th batt.—M. Sept. 28.
- Farquharson, J. H., Mr., to act as Sen. Assist.-Judge, and Session Judge of Poonah at Sholapoor.—B. Nov. 6.
- Fawcett, Henry, Lieut., 1st Lt. Cav., to be an extra Aid-de-camp to the Hon. Gov.—B. Oct. 15.
- Fawcett, E. G., Mr., to be Second Assistant Judge and Criminal Judge of Surat.—B. Oct. 30.
- Garbett, C., adm. as Assist.-Surg.—C. Sept. 26.
- Guthrie, C. S., 1st Lieut., Eng., to do duty with Sappers and Miners.—C. Sept. 8.
- Gurnell, R. M., Ens., to do duty with 7th N. I.—C. Sept. 8.
- Gilbert, W. R., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 14th to 49th N. I.—C. Sept. 8.
- Garner, J., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 43d to 29th N. I.—C. Sept. 8.
- Garrett, E., Ens., to act as Interpreter and Quarter-Master to 1st extra. reg., v. R. Garrett.—C. Sept. 12.
- Garrett, Edward, Ens., 69th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Brown, prom.—C. Oct. 11.
- Gale, J. L., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 42d to 37th N. I.—C. Sept. 24.
- Garrett, W. T., Lieut., Artill., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. Sept. 19.
- Grierson, J., Surg., on furl. to Eur.—C. Oct. 11.
- Gray, A., Capt., 28th N. I., returned to duty.—M. Oct. 3.
- Gordon, John, Mr., to be Supernumary Assist. to Collector and Magistrate in Southern Concan.—B. Sept. 24.
- Gedley, T., Capt., 11th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—B. Oct. 9.
- Graham, G., Capt., H. M.'s 2d or Queen's Royals, to be Mil. Sec. to the Hon. Gov., v. Frederick.—B. Oct. 10.
- Glass, H. H., Esq., to be Registrar of the Sudder Dewanee and Sudder Foujdary Adawlut.—B. Oct. 6.
- Gordon, F. R., Lieut., 25th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—B. Nov. 6.
- Griffith, G. J., Assist. Surg., allowed to resign.—B. Nov. 11.
- Hammond, the Rev. A., to be Chaplain to the Old Church.—C. Sept. 12.
- Harris, J., Veter.-Surg., posted to 3d Lt. Cav.—C. Aug. 23.
- Hamilton, C., Lieut., 22d N. I., to officiate as Maj. of brig. to troops in Oude, v. Smallpage.—C. Aug. 23.
- Hall, J. W., Capt., 14th N. I., to be Sub-Assistant-Com.-Gen., v. Ebhart.—C. Sept. 26.
- Haggart, C., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Sept. 26.
- Hennessy, J., Ens., app. to do duty with 20th N. I. at Keitah.—C. Sept. 5.
- Hayward, F. T. C., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Oct. 3.
- Hampton, W. P., Ens., to do duty with 40th N. I.—C. Sept. 8.
- Hadden, D., Ens., to do duty with 13th N. I.—C. Sept. 8.
- Harris, J., Vet.-Surg., to do duty with 3d Lt. Cav.—C. Sept. 8.
- Hodgson, J. A., Maj., Inf., to be Lieut.-Col., v. Brookes, prom.—C. Oct. 11.
- Harris, J., Vet.-Surg., rem. from 3d to 6th Lt. Cav.—C. Sept. 16.
- Hutton, C., Ens., 20th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Ximenes.—C. Oct. 11.
- Hickman, J. P., Capt., 69th N. I., transf. to Invalid Estab.—C. Oct. 11.
- Hamilton, J., Cornet, 9th Lt. Cav., to be Lieut., v. Mahoun, prom.—C. Oct. 11.
- Hutchinson, T. F., Capt., 20th N. I., to be Maj., v. Paul, prom.—C. Oct. 11.

- Horne, A., Lieut., 52d N. I., returned to duty.—C. Sept. 24.
- Hogger, T. Mr., admt. Veter. Surg., posted to 4th Lt. Cav.—M. Sept. 19.
- Hanson, J., Maj., Dep. Quarter-Master-Gen. of Army, to be Quarter-Master-Gen., with official rank of Lieut.-Col. and a seat at the Military Board v. Otto.—M. Sept. 26.
- Hiern, M. H., Ens., posted to 41st N. I.—M. Sept. 17.
- Hyslop, A. G., Capt., Artill., rem. from 4th to 3d batt.—M. Sept. 28.
- Henderson, R., 1st Lieut., Eng., to be Assist. to superintend Engineers in Southern Division., v. Best.—M. Oct. 3.
- Handerson, J., Surg., his Majesty's 89th foot, to act as Deputy Inspec. of his Majesty's Hospital, v. Brown, dec.—M. Sept. 30.
- Hasker, W. C., Capt., 3d Native Vet. batt., on furl. to Eur.—M. Sept. 19.
- Hughes, E., Ens., 39th N. I., on furl.—M. Sept. 30.
- Hunt, B., Mr., to be Acting 1st Assist. to Collector at Poonah.—B. Oct. 20.
- Hogg, C. R., Ens., 2d Eur. regt., to be Lieut., v. Cumming, dec.—B. Oct. 13.
- Harrie, Edward W., Lieut., to officiate as General Agent for Transport, &c.—B. Oct. 11.
- Henderson, James, Mr. to act as Puisne Judge of the Courts of Sudder Dewanee and Sudder Foujdary Adawlut, and as Commissioner for the Southern Mahratta Country, v. Ironside.—B. Nov. 1.
- Hawkins, C. A., Ens., 8th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Browne.—B. Sept. 18.
- Hartly, J. C., Ens., rem. from 12th regt. to Gren. regt.—B. Sept. 18.
- Ironside, Edward, Esq., to be Senior Puisne Judge of the Sudder Dewanee and Sudder Foujdary Adawlut.—B. Oct. 6.
- Jacob, G. O., Surg., rem. from 2d to 47th N. I.—C. Sept. 20.
- Jamieson, J. W. H., Lieut. 52d N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. Oct. 11.
- Jefferies, R., Maj., rem. from 3d to 4th Nat. Vet. Batt.—M. Sept. 15.
- Johnston, A., Surg., on furl. to the Cape, and eventually to Eur. for health.—M. Sept. 30.
- Jones, E. W., Capt., 3d N. I., to command Guzerat Provincial Battalion, v. Clarke.—B. Oct. 10.
- Jeffery, R., Senior Supern. Ensign, to take rank, v. Hogg, prom.—B. Oct. 13.
- Jones, H. E. D., Ens. rem. from 2d Gren. regt. to 12th regt.—B. Sept. 18.
- Knyvett, W. J. K., Lieut., 6th Loc. Horse, to be second in comm., v. Hodges resigned.—C. Aug. 30.
- Kennedy, J. D., Ens., to do duty with 43d N. I.—C. Sept. 12.
- Knyvett, F., Lieut., to act as Interp. and Quar-Mas. to 64th N. I., v. Candy.—C. Sept. 13.
- Kewney, H., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Oct. 11.
- Kinloch, J. J., Ens., rem. from 7th to 27th N. I.—C. Sept. 24.
- Kenhedy, J. D., Ens., rem. from 43d to 1st N. I.—C. Sept. 24.
- Knyvett, A., Lieut., 64th N. I., on furl. to the Cape for health.—C. Sept. 30.
- Kenny, D. C., Lieut. Col. Comm. rem. from 47th to 34th, or C. L. I.—M. Sept. 17.
- Kirkland, N., Mr., to be Dep.-Collec. of Sea Customs in Guzerat.—B. Sept. 24.
- Kentish, John, Esq., to resume his situation of Judge and Criminal Judge of Surat.—B. Oct. 6.
- Kemball, V. C., Surgeon, to take charge of the European General Hospital at the Presidency.—B. Nov. 6.
- Lawrence, H., Lieut. and Brev. Capt., 67th N. I., to be Capt. of a Comp., v. McMahon, retired.—C. Sept. 26.
- Littler, J. H., Lieut. Col., posted to 14th N. I.—C. Sept. 8.
- Lindesay, A. K., Assist.-Surg., app. to 2d Nusseree Batt.—C. Sept. 13.
- Ludlow, E. H., 1st Lieut. 7th Batt. Artill., to be Adj. v. D'Oyly, prom.—C. Sept. 19.
- Lane, C. R. W., Capt., 2d N. I., to officiate as Assist. to Agent for timber at Nauthpore, v. Knyvett.—C. Oct. 11.
- Lindesay, A. K., posted to 58th N. I.—C. Oct. 11.
- Lewin, W. C. J., Lieut., Artill. on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. Sept. 19.
- Lane, J. T., Lieut., Artill. on furl. for health.—C. Sept. 13.

- Lawrie, W., Assist.-Surg., perm. to enter on Gen. Duties of Army.—M. Sept. 23.
 Lys, F. B., Surg. Maj., to be Lieut., v. Legget, dec.—M. Sept. 30.
 Lumsden, W. G., Esq., to be Third Judge of the Courts of Appeal and Circuits at Surat.—B. Oct. 6.
 Langford, J. W., Mr., to be First Assistant to the Political Agent in Kattywar, &c.—B. Oct. 6.
 Lawrie, C. F., Lieut., 12th N. I., to be Quar.-Master and Interp. in Hindoostanee.—B. Oct. 23.
 Liddell, J., Lieut., 2d N. I., to be Quar.-Master and Interpreter in Hindoostanee.—B. Oct. 23.
 Lumsden, J. G., Mr., to be Assistant to the Collector in the Southern Concan.—B. Oct. 31.
 Muir, J., Mr., to be Assist. to Magis., and to be Collect. of Nuddea.—C. Sept. 26.
 Macgeorge, W., Lieut., 3d extra N. I., app. to Pioneers.—C. Aug. 23.
 Mackinnon, K., Assist.-Surg., app. to Med. charge of 59th N. I., v. Stewart—C. Aug. 23.
 Marshall, E., Lieut., 71st N. I., to be Capt., v. Anderson, prom., v. Jacarrie, invalid.—C. Sept. 26.
 Munro, R., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Sept. 26.
 Mosley, W. B., Cornet, to do duty with 9th L. Cav. at Cawnpore.—C. Sept. 8.
 Mitford, W. V., Cornet, to do duty with 10th L. Cav. at Meerut.—C. Sept. 8.
 McDowell, J., Surg., rem. from 59th to 2d N. I.—C. Sept. 20.
 Malone, Edw., Lieut., 9th L. Cav., to be Capt. of a troop, v. Sneyd prom.—C. Oct. 11.
 M'Donald, J., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Oct. 11.
 Mee, J. E., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Oct. 11.
 Munro, J., Assist.-Surg., posted to 58th N. I.—C. Oct. 11.
 Magrath, J., Assist.-Surg., posted to 60th N. I.—C. Oct. 11.
 Macleod, C. M., Assist.-Surg., to do duty with 53d N. I.—C. Oct. 11.
 Murray, T., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 53d to 41st N. I.—C. Sept. 24.
 M'Queen, K., Assist.-Surg., on furl. to Eur.—C. Oct. 11.
 Marsh, W., Mr., to be Master Attend. at Mangalore.—M. Oct. 2.
 Montgomery, H. C., Esq., to be Head-Assist. to Principal Collec. and Magis. at Tanjore.—M. Oct. 7.
 Moore, M. S., Surg., to be Superintend. Surg., v. Owen, prom.—M. Sept. 16.
 M'Dowall, Wm., Lieut., Assist.-Surg., retired.—M. Sept. 16.
 Macarthur, Alex., Sen. Lieut. and Brev. Capt. 41st N. I., to be Capt., v. Legget, dec.—M. Sept. 19.
 M'Cally, W. B., Ens., 41st N. I., to be Lieut., v. Macarthur, prom.—M. Sept. 19.
 Macqueen, L., Cornet, rem. from 8th to 3d L. Cav.—M. Sept. 15.
 Monin, A., Lieut.-Col. Com., posted to 47th N. I.—M. Sept. 19.
 M'Kenna, J. M., adm. Assist.-Surg., and app. to do duty under Garr. Surg. of Poonamallee.—M. Sept. 30.
 Mousby, R., Lieut., to be Surveyor of Concan Mar. Dep., v. Harris.—B. Oct. 11.
 Mills, R., Mr., to be Collector and Magis. of Broach, and Acting Collector and Magis. of Ahmednuggur.—B. Oct. 6.
 Mills, E. B., Mr., to be Collector and Magis. of Kaira, &c.—B. Oct. 6.
 Malet, A., Mr., to be Assist. to the Resident at Baroda, and Acting First Assist. to do.—B. Oct. 6.
 Maw, N. C., Lieut.-Col., 1st Grenadier regt., on furlough to the Cape for health.—B. Nov. 6.
 Mitchell, J. M., Ensign, 1st European Inf., to be Interp. of Hindoostanee Language.—B. Oct. 22.
 Major, J. P., Ensign, 11th N. I., to be Interpreter of Hindoostanee Language.—B. Oct. 23.
 Moore, G., Lieut., 24th N. I., to be Capt., v. Barclay, prom.—B. Oct. 27.
 Morris, W. R., Mr., to be Acting First Assistant to the Collector and Magis. of Ahmednuggur at Naissichl.—B. Oct. 25.
 Mignan, R., Lieut., 1st Europ. regt., on furl. to Europe for health.—B. Sept. 15.
 Nation, H. M., Ens., app. to do duty with 23d N. I., at Moradabad.—C. Aug. 30.
 Newton, T., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 66th to 59th N. I.—Sept. 24.

- Neave, W. A., Esq., to be Head Assist. to Principal Collec. of Coimbatore.—M. Oct. 3.
- Nixon, H. J., Lieut., transf. from Pension to Inval. Estab.—M. Sept. 23.
- Otto, R. B., Lieut.-Col. Quar.-Mas.-Gen. of Army, on furl. to Eur.—M. Sept. 16.
- Purves, J., Veter. Surg., rem. from 4th L. Cav.—C. Sept. 3.
- Parker, W. J., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Sept. 26.
- Park, J. R., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Oct. 3.
- Pocklington, W. T., Ens., to duty with 24th N. I.—C. Sept. 8.
- Proke, G., Maj.-Gen. rem. from 4th to 46th N. I.—C. Sept. 8.
- Parker, W., Lieut., 10th L. Cav. and Aid-de-camp, to comm. Cavalry detach. forming Commander-in-Chief's Escort.—C. Sept. 18.
- Phillott, J., Cadet, promoted to Ensign.—C. Oct. 11.
- Paul, T. H., Maj. of Inf. to be Lieut.-Col., v. Weston, dec.—C. Oct. 11.
- Porter, R. T., Esq. to be Head-Assist. to Prin. Collec. of Chingleput.—M. Oct. 3.
- Prendergast, T., Esq., to be Assist. to Principal Collec. and Magis. of Tanjore.—M. Oct. 14.
- Perera, M. L., Lieut.-Col.-Comm., rem. from 34th, or C. L. L., to 16th N. I.—M. Sept. 17.
- Piske, T. T., Maj., Artill., posted to 1st batt.—M. Sept. 23.
- Palmer, O. Mr., adm. Assist.-Surg., and app. to do duty under Canton. Surg. of St. Thomas's Mount.—M. Sept. 30.
- Pitt, G. H., Mr., to be Second Assist. to Collector and Magis. at Broach.—B. Sept. 24.
- Pyne, John, Mr., to be Acting Collector and Magis. of Poonah.—B. Oct. 6.
- Pitt, G. H., Mr., to be Third Assistant to the Collector and Magis. in Candeish.—B. Oct. 10.
- Richards, W., Lieut.-Col.-Com. at Agra, to be Brigadier on Estab., v. Croxton.—C. Sept. 19.
- Richards, W. H., 14th N. I., to be Interp. and Quar.-Mas., v. Thorpe, resigned.—C. Aug. 23.
- Ross, Andrew, Assist.-Surg., to be Surg., v. Law, dec.—C. Sept. 26.
- Riddell, W., Lieut., 60th N. I., to be Adj., v. Cobbe, rem.—C. Aug. 30.
- Reid, S., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 8th to 7th L. Cav.—C. Sept. 4.
- Ross, W. H., Ens., to do duty with 51st N. I.—C. Sept. 8.
- Rainford, F., Ens., to do duty with 57th N. I.—C. Sept. 8.
- Rogers, F., Vet. Surg., to do duty with 7th L. Cav.—C. Sept. 8.
- Ramsay, G., Ens., 61st N. I., to be Lieut., v. Forbes, prom.—C. Oct. 11.
- Russell, H., Ens., 42d reg., to do duty with 20th N. I.—C. Sept. 16.
- Renny, C., Surg., rem. from 47th to 59th N. I.—C. Sept. 20.
- Roberts, H. T., Maj., Cav., to be Lieut.-Col., v. Arnold, dec.—C. Oct. 11.
- Roebuck, G. D., Lieut., 71st N. I., on furl. to Europe.—C. Sept. 19.
- Rait, Alex., Cadet, promoted to Cornet, appointed to do duty with 1st L. Cav.—M. Sept. 19.
- Robertson, C. M., Capt., 11th N. I., app. to charge of details of sick of Regiments on foreign serv. at Wallajahabad, v. Leggatt.—M. Sept. 23.
- Royes, S. H., Assist.-Surg., perm. to enter on general duties of Army.—M. Sept. 23.
- Robertson, W. S., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—M. Sept. 23.
- Rollo, R., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—M. Sept. 23.
- Rawston, T. A. H., Lieut., 6th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. Sept. 22.
- Romer, John, Esq., to be Chief Judge of the Sudder Dewanee and Sudder Foudjary Adawlut.—B. Oct. 6.
- Rooke, B. P., Assistant-Surgeon, to act as Dep.-Med.-Storekeeper at Bhooj, v. Scott.—B. Nov. 11.
- Sawers, J., Super.-Surg., app. to Agra.—C. Aug. 23.
- Skipton, G., Superin.-Surg., rem. from Agra to Saugor.—C. Aug. 23.
- Spurgeon, A. C., Mr., adm. as Assist.-Surg.—C. Sept. 26.
- Swiney, J., Surg., to be a Super.-Surg., on Estab., v. Law, dec.—C. Sept. 26.
- Smith, S., Lieut.-Col., app. to 8th L. Cav.—C. Sept. 4.
- Spry, H. H., Assist.-Surg., to do duty with 32d N. I.—C. Sept. 13.

- Shaw, J., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Oct. 11.
 Sneyd, R. H., Capt., 9th L. Cav., to be Maj., v. Roberts, prom.—C. Oct. 11.
 Scott, J. C., Ens., 20th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Fendall, prom., v. Ximenes, transf.—C. Oct. 11.
 Sandeman, J., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Oct. 11.
 Sturt, A. A., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Oct. 11.
 Swinton, W., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 47th to 63th N. I.—C. Sept. 24.
 Strahan, Wm., Capt. Assist.-Quar. Mas. Gen., of Army, to be Dep. Quar. Master Gen., v. Hanson, prom.—M. Sept. 26.
 Sale, H. W., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 1st Eur. reg. to 43d. N. I.—M. Sept. 15.
 Stuart, S., Capt., posted to Carnatic Eur. vet. batt.—M. Sept. 15.
 Short, R., Lieut.-Col., posted to 47th N. I.—M. Sept. 19.
 Sheddon, Wm., Mr., admit. Assist.-Surg., and app. to do duty under Gar, Surg. of Fort St. George.—M. Sept. 23.
 Spry, W. B., Maj., 41st N. I., returned to do duty.—M. Oct. 3.
 Scott, W., Lieut. 43d N. I., returned to duty.—M. Oct. 3.
 Searle, C., Assist.-Surg., on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. Sept. 22.
 Swanston, C. Capt., Pay-Mas. in Trevancore, on furl. to N. S. Wales for health.—M. Sept. 23.
 Stracey, E. J., Mr., to be Supernum. Assist. to Collec. and Magis. at Poonah.—B. Sept. 24.
 Stevenson, J. A. R., Mr., to be Secretary to the Hon. the Gov. during his tour.—B. Nov. 7.
 Stiles, H., Lieut., 2d European Inf., to act as Quarter-Master.—B. Oct. 13.
 Sutherland, James, Esq., to be Chief Judge of the Courts of Appeal and Circuit at Surat.—B. Oct. 6.
 Sims, Charles, Esq., to be Registrar to the Court of Appeal and Circuit of Surat.—B. Oct. 9.
 Sutherland, James, Mr., to be Agent to the Governor at Surat.—B. Oct.
 Sherreff, J., Major, 2d European regt., to assume the command of the Brigade at Deesa, v. Litchfield.—B. Nov. 11.
 Scott, P., Mr., to officiate as Deputy Persian Secretary to Governm.—B. Oct. 24.
 Shortt, J. M., Lieut., 13th N. I., to be Line Adjutant at Deesa, v. Brown, prom.—B. Sept. 16.
 Turner, John, Surg., to be Surg. to Governor, Gen.—C. Sept. 19.
 Turner, O. P., Lieut., 61st N. I., to be Interp. and Quar.-Mas. v. Jenkins, res.—C. Aug. 23.
 Trower, C. F., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Oct. 7.
 Tollemarhe, W., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Oct. 11.
 Taylor, H., Assist.-Surg., posted to 64th N. I.—C. Oct. 11.
 Thomson, H., Lieut.-Col., 9th Lt. Cav., returned to duty.—C. Sept. 24.
 Trelawny, J. Capt., 51st N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. Sept. 16.
 Turnour, A. E. G., Lieut. 21st N. I. on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. Sept. 19.
 Todd, W. F., Lieut. 14th N. I., on furl.—M. Sept. 30.
 Tracey, C. A. H., Mr., to be Acting 3d Assist. to Collec. and Magis. at Poonah.—B. Sept. 24.
 Thomas, J., Lieut., 16th N. I., returned to duty.—B. Oct. 13.
 Tweedy, G., Senior Major of Inf., to be Col., v. Taylor, deceased.—B. Sept. 18.
 Taylor, G. C., Capt., 26th N. I., on furlough.—B. Sept. 18.
 Taylor, James, Esq., to be Second Judge of the Courts of Appeal and Circuit at Surat.—B. Oct. 6.
 Underwood, W. E., Esq., to be Regis. to Prov. Court of Appeal and Circuit for Centre Division.—M. Oct. 3.
 Underwood, G. A., Capt., Acting Civ. Engineer in South Div. on furl. to Eur.—M. Sept. 22.
 Vaughan, J., Lieut.-Col. Com. Fort, and Town Maj., to be a Supernum. Aide-de-Camp.—C. Sept. 26.
 Vincent, W., Lieut.-Col., posted to 25th N. I.—C. Sept. 8.
 Vanzetti, G. L., Lieut., 5th N. I., on furl. to Eur.—C. Sept. 13.
 Vaillant, F. N., Ensign, 24th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Moore, prom.—B. Oct. 27.

- Wintle, the Rev. J. D., to be District Chaplain at Berhampore.—C. Sept. 12.
 Wardrop, Alex., Assist.-Surg., to be Surg., v. Webb, dec.—C. Sept. 26.
 Wales, C. H., Cadet, prom. to Ensign.—C. Sept. 26.
 Wilson, H. C., Lieut., to officiate as Interpreter and Quar.-Master to 25th N. I., v. Oldfield.—C. Aug. 30.
 Wyllie, A. M., Ensign, to do duty with 51st N. I.—C. Sept. 8.
 Watson, W. L., Lieut.-Col., removed from 2d European Regt. to 43d N. I.—C. Sept. 8.
 Wymer, G. P., Capt., 61st N. I., to be Major, v. Hodgson, prom.—C. Oct. 11.
 Warkley, William, Assist.-Surgeon, app. to Medical Duties of Civil Station of Fettehpoor, v. Laughton.—C. Oct. 11.
 Watson, J. A. D., Surgeon, to do duty with 35th N. I.—C. Oct. 11.
 Wood, W. H., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 68th to 47th N. I.—C. Sept. 24.
 Waters, E. F., Lieut.-Col., rein. from 59th to 66th N. I.—C. Sept. 24.
 Wild, C. F., Major, 24th N. I., appointed to charge of 26th N. I., v. Lafarre.—C. Sept. 24.
 Worsley, T., Major, 45th N. I., app. to charge of 42d N. I.—C. Sept. 24.
 Worsley, A., Cadet, prom. to Ensign.—M. Sept. 19.
 Warrant, A., Assist.-Surgeon, removed from 35th to 21st N. I.—M. Sept. 19.
 Ware, R., Lieut. and Brev. Capt., H. M.'s 39th regt., to be extra Aide-de-Camp to Major-Gen. Sir A. Campbell.—M. Sept. 23.
 Watkins, J., Capt., 5th Light Cav., returned to duty.—M. Oct. 3.
 Walter, H., Capt., 50th N. I., returned to duty.—M. Oct. 3.
 Walker, J., Surgeon, app. to Medical Charge of Convalescent Hospital at Mahabuleshwer.—B. Oct. 9.
 Willoughby, Capt., Acting Assist.-Quar.-Mast.-General, Guicowar Subsidiary Force, to resume his situation of Dep.-Assist.-Quar.-Mast.-General with the Poona Division.—B. Oct. 13.
 Williamson, T., Mr., to be Collector and Magis. of Ahmednuggur, and Acting Collector and Magis. of Broach.—B. Oct. 6.
 Wenn, C. W., Lieut. and Adjutant, to act as Quarter-Master of the Marine Battalion, v. Foster.—B. Nov. 11.
 Wroughton, G. C., Mr., to be Senior Assistant Judge and Criminal Judge of Surat, to be stationed at Broach.—B. Nov. 1.
 Wyllie, M., Ensign, to take rank, and posted to 8th N. I., v. Hawkins, prom.—B. Sept. 18.
 Ximenes, H. J., Lieut., 20th N. I., transferred to Pension Estab.—C. Oct. 3.
 Young, D. S., Senior Assist.-Surgeon, to be Surgeon.—M. Sept. 18.

BIRTHS.

- Apcar, the lady of H. G., Esq., of a son, at Calcutta, Sept. 27.
 Adams, the lady of H., Capt., Surrey, of a daughter, at Sattara, Sept. 16.
 Bohalt, the lady of J. W., Esq., of a daughter, at Negapatam, Sept. 13.
 Burt, the lady of T. W., Esq., Civil Service, of a daughter, at Mymensing, Sept. 20.
 Blair, the lady of Capt., 3d Local Horse, of a daughter, at Saugor, Sept. 23.
 Bean, the lady of J. D. D., Lieut., 23d N. I., of a daughter, at Alnorah, Sept. 29.
 Biddle, the lady of Capt., Artillery, of a son, at Bangalore, Sept. 23.
 Bromeld, the lady of J., Esq., Civil Service, of a son, at Bombay, Sept. 27.
 Boyd, the lady of J., Esq., Pioneer Battalion, of a son, at Nimboole, Oct. 10.
 Cureton, the lady of Capt., H. M.'s 16th, Queen's Lancers, of a daughter, in Seymour Street, Bryanston Square, April 11.
 Clendon, the lady of Lieut. H. C. M., of a daughter, at Colaba, Sept. 30.
 Crockett, the lady of John, Capt. country service, of a son, at Girgaum, Oct. 21.
 Campbell, the lady of D., Esq., Queen's Royals, of a daughter, at Mazagao, Oct. 21.
 Conwell, the lady of A., Esq., (M. D.), Surgeon, of a son, at Bombay, Nov. 1.

- Drummond, the lady of Capt., Dep. Asst. Quar.-Mast. General, of a son, at Mirzapore, Sept. 29.
- Douglas, the lady of C., Lieut. Rungpore Light Infantry, of a son, at Calcutta, Oct. 11.
- Dawson, the lady of Capt., Pay-Master of H. M.'s 89th regt., of a daughter, at Madras, Sept. 25.
- De Vitre, the lady of M., Esq., of a daughter, at Eden Hill, Mazagon, Oct. 15.
- Dawker, the lady of Capt., 2d regt., of a daughter, at the Presid. Canton, Bombay, Aug. 12.
- Douglas, the lady of Lieut. Dep.-Asst. Commiss.-Gen., of a daughter, at Massubpatam, Aug. 13.
- Francis, the lady of C. B., Esq., of a daughter, at Jessore, Aug. 29.
- Farquharson, the lady of J. H., Esq., Civil Service, of a daughter, at Tanhai, Oct. 2.
- Fawcett, the lady of James, Esq., of a daughter, at Bombay, Oct. 7.
- Greenwood, the lady of the Rev. W., of a son, at Calcutta, Sept. 20.
- Goldingham, the lady of G., Esq., Civil Service, of a daughter, at Negapatam, Oct. 4.
- Garraway, the lady of Lieut.-Col., of a son, at Bhowndy, Sept. 20.
- Grey, Lady, of a son, at Garden Reach, Bombay, Aug. 30.
- Hawtrey, the lady of Lieut.-Col.-Comm., 3d Bengal Cavalry, of a son, at Ketch, June 8.
- Holmes, the lady of Capt., 7th N. I., of a daughter, at Berhampore, Oct. 16.
- Hands, the lady of F. W., Capt., 38th Madras regt., of a son, at Nungore, Sept. 12.
- Harrison, the lady of E. B., Esq., Garrison-Surgeon, of a son, at Bombay, Sept. 13.
- Hawtayne, the lady of the Venerable Archdeacon, of a daughter, at Bombay, Oct. 2.
- Jeffreys, the lady of the Rev. H., of a son, at Matoungha, Oct. 21.
- Lermit, the lady of A., Adjut. Local Corps, of a son, at Mundlairsir, Aug. 2.
- Lardner, the lady of H. W., Lieut. and Adjut., 50th N. I., of a son, at Belgaum, Sept. 20.
- Lucas, the lady of Lieut., 1st troop Horse Brigade, of a daughter, at Malligaum, Sept. 20.
- Mourheton, the lady of William, Esq., Civil Service, of a daughter, at Mynpoory, July 21.
- Mainwaring, the lady of T., Esq., Civil Service, of a son, at Calcutta, Oct. 8.
- Macdonald, the lady of Lieut., 2d Cav., of a daughter, at Arcot, Aug. 28.
- Nicholson, the lady of Malcolm, Capt., at Jubbulpore, Aug. 18.
- Nelson, the lady of Robert, Esq., Civ. Serv., of a son, at Negapatam, Aug. 16.
- Owen, the lady of H. T., Esq., Civil Service, of a daughter, at Fattagaur, Sept. 23.
- Pigou, the lady of H. M., Esq., of a daughter, at Cuttack, Sept. 2.
- Proctor, the lady of the Rev. T., (A. M.), of a son, at Calcutta, Sept. 29.
- Palmer, the lady of W. P., Esq., Civil Service, of a daughter, at Garden Reach, Oct. 8.
- Pearce, the lady of Dr. G., Assistant-Surgeon, 37th N. I., of a daughter, at Berhampore, Sept. 25.
- Ronald, the lady of J., Esq., Assist.-Surgeon, of a son, at Calcutta, Oct. 17.
- Russell, the lady of Lieut.-Col., Horse Artillery, of a daughter, at Poonah, Oct. 9.
- Russell, the lady of Lieut.-Col., Horse Artil., of a daughter, at Poonah, Oct. 9.
- Shortland, the lady of V., Esq., 36th regt., of a daughter, at Midnapore, July 28.
- Squires, the lady of Capt., H. M.'s 13th Light Infantry, of a daughter, at Dinapore, Sept. 2.

- Stehelin, the lady of Brevet Capt., H. M.'s 13th Light Infantry, of a daughter, at Dinapore, Sept. 10.
 Seth, the lady of Lazar, Esq., of a son and heir, at Dacca, Sept. 13.
 Sievwright, the lady of F., Esq., H. M.'s 11th Light Dragoons, of a son, at Chinsurah, Sept. 21.
 Swinhoe, the lady of J. H., Esq., of twin daughters, at Calcutta, Oct. 15.
 Talbot, the lady of J. R., Lieut., Interpreter, and Quar.-Master, 59th N. I., of a daughter, at Calcutta, Sept. 7.
 Talbot, the lady of H. C., Lieut., 61st N. I., of a son, at Benares, Sept. 8.
 Thomas, the lady of W., Esq., Surgeon, of a daughter, at Barrackpore, Sept. 29.
 Wheatley, the lady of A., Lieut. and Adjut., 5th Light Cav., of a son and heir, at Neemuch, Aug. 10.
 Walker, the lady of F., Major, 65th N. I., of a daughter, at Barrackpore, Oct. 13.
 West, Lady, of a son, at Bombay, Oct. 4.

MARRIAGES.

- Bedford, Jas., Capt., Preven. Serv., to Jane Helen, only daughter of the late John Troup, Esq., of Twihall, Nairn, at Meerut, Sept. 20.
 Brooks, John, Capt., 2d Lt. Cav., to Miss Louisa Rind, youngest daughter of Thomas Rind, Esq., Stirlingshire, at Mhow, Oct. 24.
 Burrand, N., Lieut. and Adj., 1st Eur. reg., to Miss E. M. Cooper, daughter of Maj. L. Cooper, at Masulipatam, Oct. 12.
 Brown, T., Lieut., 11th N. I., to Mary Charleston, daughter of Lieut.-Col. Kennett, 22d N. I., Bombay, Nov. 12.
 Campbell, Donald, Esq., to Miss Mary La Roche Donnollon, at Mirzapore, Sept. 16.
 Conway, Lieut., 53d reg., to Louisa, youngest daughter of the late Brig. Vanrenen, at Bareilly, Sept. 25.
 Campbell, John, Esq., of the Nizam's Civ. Serv., to Eliza, youngest daughter of the late W. Harington, Esq., Mad. Civ. Serv., at Bombay, Aug. 19.
 Davis, A. T., Lieut., to Ann, only daughter of Lieut.-Col. W. Wilson, 37th N. I., at Purlaubgur, Sept. 10.
 Dyce, A., Lieut., Sub-Assist. Commis.-Gen., to Clara Anne, second daughter of the late T. H. Goodhinge, of Londonderry, Ireland, at Bangalore, Sept. 29.
 Edwards, J., Esq., Dep.-Commis. of Ordn., to Charlotte, youngest daughter of the late Lieut.-Col. W. Lally, Beng. Army, at Bareilly, Sept. 26.
 Frith, J. G., Esq., to Caroline Louisa, second daughter of C. E. Lyard, Esq., Paymas.-Gen. of Ceylon, at Colombo, Sept. 21.
 Harvey, John, Esq., to Jane, daughter of John Bald, Esq., Carsebridge, Alloa, at Calcutta, Oct. 15.
 Jeaffreson, W., Esq., to Harriett, second daughter of P. Free, Esq., at Bombay, Oct. 7.
 James, Lieut., Qu.-Mas., 32d N. I., to Miss Letitia Agnes Palmer, at Mergul.
 Marshman, John C., Esq., to Mrs. Anderson, at Serampore, Oct. 17.
 M'Nair, Arch., Lieut., 15th reg., to Mary Eliza, eldest daughter of Capt. Grey, H. M.'s 30th Foot, at Trevandrum, Oct. 9.
 Miller, George, Lieut. and 25th N. I., to Miss Catherine Eliza Adams, at Titalyah, B. Aug. 22.
 Paine, B. H., Mission and Superintend. of Mission Press, to Sarah Eliza, only daughter of the late Rev. A. Des Granges, at Bellary, Sept. 28.
 Roberts, R. G., Lieut., Beng. Artill., to Isabella, daughter of the late Rev. G. Holgate, Rector of Heydon Bois, &c., Essex, at Benares, Sept. 11.
 Underwood, W. E., Esq., Civ. Serv., to Magdaline, youngest daughter of W. Thompson, Esq., (M.D.) Wexford, Ireland, at Madras, Oct. 1.
 Wilcox, J., Lieut., 4th N. I., to Clarissa Mary Grace, youngest daughter of the late V. A. Torckler, Esq., of Calcutta, at Loodianah, Sept. 20.

West, Lieut.-Col., to *Eliza*, daughter of the late Col. White, at *Alepie*, Oct. 2.
Williams, F., Esq., 2d Gren.-regt., to Maria Sarah, eldest daughter of the late John White, Esq., 17th Dragoons, at *Bombay*, Nov. 15.

DEATHS.

Allen, Eleanor, widow of the late Mr. S. C., Dep.-Regis. of the Board of Revenue, at *Calcutta*, Aug. 11.
Arnold, G., Lieut.-Col.-Comm., 2d Light Cav., at *Calpee*, Oct. 2.
Burton, the Rev. R., of *Digah*, of the Baptist Missionary Society, aged 32, at *Banipore*, Sept. 6.
Blackburn, Charles C., Esq., at *Futtyghur*, Aug. 27.
Babington, William, Capt., 6th Madras Light Cavalry, at *Kalladyhee*, Oct. 5.
Bowater, Ann, wife of William, Lieut., Hon. Company's Marines, aged 27, at *Bombay*, Oct. 6.
Cuthbertson, Capt., George, late Commander of the country ship *Eliza*, aged 35, at *Calcutta*, Aug. 11.
Conyers, James S., Esq., Attorney-at-law, at *Calcutta*, Aug. 28.
Clarke, Charles, Esq., of the Civil Service, son of Lieut.-General T. Clarke, at *Madras*, Aug. 27.
Chambers, Sir C. H., Kt., acting Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Judicature, at *Presid. Bomey*, Oct. 13.
Caleston, Ashen, Esq., aged 39, at *Sydabad*, Aug. 23.
Cooper, John, son of the Rev. John, of *Hurnee*, at *Girgaum*, Oct. 13.
Dennie, the lady of Major, 13th N. I., at *Dinapore*, Sept. 6.
Donaldson, A. C., Ensign 2d European Infantry, aged 19, at *Deesa*, Aug. 28.
Foley, Capt., J. M., at *Bhangulpore*, Oct. 2.
Filson, Maria Euphemie, wife of Robert, Esq., (M. D.,) Port and Marine Surg., at *Madras*, Oct. 12.
Gilbert, Mr. A., late Chief Officer of the ship *Earl Kellie*, aged 54, at *Diamond Harbour*, Aug. 24.
Hodgson, the lady of Capt. W., and daughter of the late Col. Meiselbach, aged 28, at *Calpee*, Aug. 5.
Hawtayne, the lady of the Venerable Archdeacon, at *Bombay*.
Hitchens, E. J., son of Major, at *Bombay*, Aug. 27.
Ingis, Archibald, Esq., aged 43, at *Mazagon*, Sept. 21.
Joyce, Elizabeth, wife of the late William, Deputy-Commissary, aged 47, at *Allypore*, Aug. 17.
Krefting, J., the Hon. Col., aged 71, at *Serampore*, Oct. 7.
King, Thomas, Esq., aged 38, at *Calcutta*, Aug. 29.
Law, John, Esq., Superintending Surgeon, *Berhampore* District, aged 57, at *Berhampore*, Aug. 22.
Luxmore, Thomas, Esq., Residency Surgeon at *Lucknow*, Oct. 2.
Lindner, J. J., Esq., aged 35, at *Calcutta*, Oct. 9.
Logan, John, Esq., Assistant-Surgeon, *Bengal Establishment*, at sea.
Logan, W. H., Lieut., 45th N. I., at *Jaulnah*, Sept. 14.
McDonald, Allan, Capt., H. M.'s service, aged 38, at *Cawnpore*, Aug. 24.
Mein, N. C., Ens. Inf., at *Allyghur*, Aug. 7.
Manett, Thomas, Ens., 4th N. I., aged 9 years, at *Palaveram*, Aug. 30.
Nation, S., Lieut.-Col.-Comm., (C. B.,) of the *Bengal N. I.*, at *Cawnpore*, Aug. 20.
Oliphant, W., Capt., *Bengal Artill.*, Assist.-Sec. of Milit. Board, &c., at *Chowringhee*, Aug. 27.
Pallexfen, John, Esq., H. M.'s Shipwright, at *Bombay*, Sept. 24.
Polkinson, R. A., Capt. of *Jaffnapatam*, at *Negapatam*, Aug. 17.
Rideout, R., Capt., 10th *Bengal N. I.*, at *Ellichpoor*, Oct. 2.

Skene, Emma, lady of Major William, 5th Extra N. I., at Jubbulpore, Sept. 8.

Slacke, Ens., 43d N. I., at Benares, July 31.

Strang, John, Captain of the country service, aged 30, at Calcutta, Oct. 1.

Sweedland, C., Esq., aged 64, at Cossimbazar, Oct. 9.

Stewart, Edward, Capt., 2d European Infantry, near Deesa, Sept. 26.

Weston, Lieut.-Col. Henry, 3d N. I., at Loghooghaut, Aug. 31.

West, Lady, relict of the late Chief-Justice of Bombay, at the Hermitage, Bombay, Oct. 15.

SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

ARRIVALS FROM EASTERN PORTS.

Date.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Place of Depart.	Date.
1829.					1828.
Mar. 30	Plymouth ..	Daniel ..	Garbutt ..	S. Seas ..	Sept. 16
Mar. 30	Scilly ..	Craigear ..	Ray ..	Bengal ..	Sept. 16
Mar. 30	Crookhaven ..	Norna ..	Leggett ..	Singapore ..	Sept. 16
Apr. 2	Channel ..	William ..	Young ..	Bengal ..	Oct. 18
Apr. 2	Cork ..	Actius ..	Bailey ..	Bombay ..	Oct. 5
Apr. 3	Brighton ..	Roxburgh Castle ..	Denny ..	Bengal ..	Dec. 15
Apr. 3	Portsmouth ..	Lady Raffles ..	Tucker ..	Bombay ..	Oct. 5
Apr. 3	Weymouth ..	Captain Cook ..	Willis ..	Bombay ..	Nov. 18
Apr. 3	Kingsbridge ..	James & Thomas ..	Asbudge ..	Bombay ..	Nov. 23
Apr. 4	Downs ..	Catherine ..	Ford ..	S. Seas ..	Sept. 15
Apr. 4	Portsmouth ..	Hibberts ..	Morley ..	Bombay ..	Oct. 2
Apr. 4	Portsmouth ..	Eliza ..	Faze ..	Penang ..	Nov. 2
Apr. 4	Downs ..	Earl Egremont ..	Johnson ..	Cape ..	Dec. 29
Apr. 4	Downs ..	Glenalvon ..	Rickaby ..	Cape ..	Jan. 18
Apr. 6	Downs ..	Claudine ..	Flinn ..	Bengal ..	Nov. 6
Apr. 6	Downs ..	Angerona ..	Redknapp ..	Bengal ..	Sept. 28
Apr. 6	Downs ..	Warrens ..	— ..	S. Seas ..	Sept. 15
Apr. 6	Downs ..	John Palmer ..	Clarke ..	S. Seas ..	Sept. 15
Apr. 6	River ..	Minstrel ..	— ..	Bengal ..	Sept. 15
Apr. 7	Downs ..	Jessie ..	Winter ..	Cape ..	Feb. 11
Apr. 8	Isle of Wight ..	London ..	Smith ..	China ..	Dec. 20
Apr. 8	Margate ..	Circassian ..	Douthwaite ..	Bengal ..	Aug. 31
Apr. 9	Liverpool ..	St. George ..	Swainson ..	Bengal ..	Dec. 6
Apr. 10	Liverpool ..	Dorothy ..	Garnock ..	Bombay ..	Dec. 13
Apr. 11	Downs ..	Thames ..	Bagg ..	Bengal ..	Nov. 15
Apr. 11	Plymouth ..	Georgiana ..	Moore ..	Bengal ..	Nov. 28
Apr. 11	Liverpool ..	Sovereign ..	Nesfield ..	Bombay ..	Oct. 12
Apr. 11	Plymouth ..	Stentor ..	Fairweather ..	Ceylon ..	Nov. 3
Apr. 11	Portland ..	Abercrombie ..	Robinson ..	China ..	Dec. 10
Apr. 13	Portsmouth ..	Surrey ..	Kemp ..	Bombay ..	Nov. 17
Apr. 14	Cowes ..	Rachael ..	Potter ..	Singapore ..	Dec. 3
Apr. 14	Downs ..	Harlequin ..	O. May ..	Bombay ..	Sept. 28
Apr. 15	Downs ..	Olive Branch ..	Anderson ..	Cape ..	Feb. 9
Apr. 15	Gravesend ..	Peru ..	Graham ..	Cape ..	Feb. 1
Apr. 18	Downs ..	Canning ..	Baylis ..	China ..	Dec. 10
Apr. 18	Downs ..	Cambria ..	Davey ..	Bengal ..	Dec. 6
Apr. 18	Isle of Wight ..	Mount Stewart ..	Henning ..	Bombay ..	Sept. 27
Apr. 20	Downs ..	Providence ..	Ford ..	Bengal ..	Dec. 18
Apr. 20	Liverpool ..	Herculean ..	Mackeen ..	Calcutta ..	Dec. 18
Apr. 20	River ..	Promise ..	Saunders ..	V. D. Land ..	Dec. 18
Apr. 20	Liverpool ..	Gypsey ..	Quirk ..	Bombay ..	Dec. 27
Apr. 20	Liverpool ..	John Hayes ..	Worthington ..	Bengal ..	Nov. 8
Apr. 22	Holyhead ..	Bengal ..	Bissett ..	Bombay ..	Dec. 13

ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

Date.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Depart.
1828.				
Nov. 6	Calcutta	.. Belzoni	.. Talbert	.. London
Nov. 6	Calcutta	.. Cornwall	.. Oldham	.. London
Nov. 10	Calcutta	.. Duke of Lancaster..	Hannay	.. Liverpool
Nov. 12	Calcutta	.. Broxbornebury	.. Chapman	.. London
Nov. 17	Bombay	.. Upton Castle	.. Thacker	.. London
Nov. 19	Calcutta	.. Moffet	.. Browne	.. London
Nov. 19	Calcutta	.. Lord Hungerford	.. Heathorne	.. London
Nov. 20	Bombay	.. Cambrian	.. Blythe	.. London
Nov. 21	Calcutta	.. James Pattison	.. Grote	.. London
Nov. 21	Madras	.. Aurora	.. Owen	.. London
Nov. 22	Bombay	.. Triumph	.. Green	.. London
Nov. 22	Calcutta	.. Thalia	.. Biden	.. London
Nov. 24	Calcutta	.. Sophia	.. Dawson	.. London
Nov. 25	Calcutta	.. Abberton	.. Perceval	.. London
Nov. 25	Calcutta	.. Moira	.. Thornhill	.. London
Nov. 28	Bombay	.. Scotia	.. ———	.. Newcastle
Nov. 30	Bombay	.. Sir F. Burton	.. ———	.. Liverpool
Dec. 4	Madras	.. Fairlie	.. Fuller	.. London
Dec. 5	Bombay	.. Bride	.. Brown	.. London
Dec. 6	Calcutta	.. Barossa	.. Hutchinson	.. London
Dec. 6	Calcutta	.. Coldstream	.. Miller	.. London
Dec. 6	Calcutta	.. Maitland	.. Short	.. London
Dec. 9	Calcutta	.. Walworth Castle	.. Sinclair	.. Greenock
Dec. 9	Calcutta	.. Lady Flora	.. Fayrer	.. London
Dec. 12	Bombay	.. Dublin	.. Stewart	.. London

DEPARTURES FROM EUROPE.

Date.	Port of Depart.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Destination.
1829.				
April 7	Liverpool	.. Bland	.. Callan	.. Bengal
April 7	Deal	.. Ellen	.. Paterson	.. Cape
April 7	Liverpool	.. Tobacco Plant	.. Reid	.. China
April 14	Downs	.. Lion	.. M'Leod	.. V. D. Land
April 17	Greenock	.. Neptune	.. Whittleton	.. Bombay
April 21	Downs	.. Friendship	.. White	.. V. D. Land
April 21	Downs	.. Eamont	.. Walmsley	.. N. S. Wales
April 21	Portsmouth	.. David Scott	.. Jackson	.. Bengal
April 21	Portsmouth	.. Brunswick	.. Parker	.. Bengal
April 21	Downs	.. Eleanor	.. Edmonds	.. Bombay

GENERAL LIST OF PASSENGERS.

PASSENGERS HOMEWARDS.

By the *St. George*, Captain Swainson :—Doctors Kay, Clarkson, and Atkinson; Lieutenants Phillips and M'Ked; Mesdames Pinaton, Clarkson, and Atkinson; Mr. Gough.

By the *Ceres*, from Bombay :—Captain Lawrie and lady; Messrs. Waghorn, Nichols, and Field.

By the *Wanstead*, from Van Diemen's Land :—Major Bishop, 40th regt.; Lieutenant Coke, 39th regt.; T. Macleland, and Oliver Sproule, (R.N.,) Esqrs.; and Messrs. Hammond and Brown.

By the *Roxburgh Castle*, from Bengal :—Major Swinhoe; Captains Dowie, Maltby, Barnard, and Dalzell; Lieutenants Lloyd and Dickson; Messrs. Morris,

W. Shand, jun., Welchman, Simpson, and Dyster; Mesdames Nichols, (and two children,) Morris, (and child,) Swinhoe, (and five children,) Lloyd, and Dickson; Miss E. Reid.

By the *Lady Raffles*, from Bombay:—Colonel Bellassis, Sir Alexander Campbell, and Lady Campbell,—landed at St. Helena; Captain Watkins; Lieutenants Weston, Furlong, Christie, Roberts, and Jackson; Dr. Davidson; Master Havelock; Mesdames Williams, Adam, Havelock, Forbes, Denham, Furlong, and Falcon; Misses Havelock, Forbes, Adam, Denham, and Falcon.

By the *James and Thomas*, from Bombay:—Lieutenants Burnett and Knox; William Nicholl, Esq.; Mesdames Nicholl and Burnett.

By the *Stentor*, from Ceylon:—Captain Baker, Royal Artillery; Lieutenants Seddon, Dreschrisay, Smith, and Lambrecht; Assistant-Surgeons Lucas and Brown; and a detachment of invalids.

By the *Claudine*, from Bengal:—Major Barlow, H. M.'s 3d regt.; Captain Heppingstale; Lieutenants Jameson and George; Ensign Thomson, 10th Foot, (died at sea); David Hunter, Esq.; Messrs. Reid and Barrett; Masters Chitty and Manley; Mesdames Meik and Beiney; Miss Thomson.

By the *London*, from China:—Lieutenant-Colonel Belasis and lady, and son and daughter; Mr. Wilcocks.

By the *Amity*, from Ceylon:—Captains Swinburne and Laws; Lieutenant* Chapman, Cowther, Johnson, Cawfield, and Ainslie; Paymaster Brough; Assistant-Surgeon Watson.

By the *Circassian*, from Bengal:—Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart, (from Madras to the Cape); Captains Campbell, H. M.'s Royals, and Driver; Lieutenant Stewart, R.N.; Dr. Thompson; Mr. Brooks; Masters Bowman and Driver; Mesdames Driver, Leggatt, and Bowman, (from Calcutta, died at sea); Miss C. Boroman.

By the *Mountstuart Elphinstone*, from Bombay:—Colonel Slater, 22d N. I.; Major Livingstone, 18th N. I.; Captains Crawford, 6th Foot, and Godfrey, Madras Establishment; Lieutenant James Gordon, Madras Establishment, (died at sea); Rev. D. Young; Thomas R. Goodwin, Esq., late Member of Council, Bombay; Mesdames Warrington, (and children,) and Young; Master Sykes; Miss West, only child of the late Sir Edward and Lady West.

By the *Surrey*, from Bombay:—Major Meredith, and lady and child; Lieutenant Daventry, 41st Foot, (died at sea); Masters Ewart and Smith; Misses Ewart and Smith.

By the *Georgiana*, from Bengal:—Lieutenants R. Lowe, and Hutton; James Ewing, W. F. Clarke, and R. Macqueen, Esqrs.; Masters Clarke and Phillips; Mesdames Ewing, Clarke, and Phillips; Miss Ewing.

By the *Canning*, from China: Dr. Fair Costirzu and lady; John Francis Davis, Esq., and lady; M. S. J. M'Carthy, Esq., and lady and family; Mr. Edenburgh; and Masters Riccard and Marais.

By the *Carnubrea Castle*, from Madras: Capt. G. A. Underwood, Engineers; Lieutenants George Downing and John Grimes; Reverend J. Weatherhead, John Hands, and James Boys landed at St. Helena; J. D. Gleig, Esq., Madras Civil Service; Dr. Samuel Dyer, Supernumerary Surgeon; Mr. Rutherford; Masters John Meads and John Hands; Mesdames General Hall, Dyer, M'Carthy, and Hands; Misses Van Sornoran (two), Hands, Bell, Mead, and M'Leod.

By the *Providence*, from Bengal: Drs. Hutchinson and Humphreys; Messrs. Mundy and Fish; Masters Voss, Hutchinson, Hill, Dawson, Gordon, Mundy, and Sherer; Mesdames Moyle, Sherer, Hill, and Hutchinson; Misses (three) Sheriff, Hill, Mundy, Bell, and Pain.

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EAST INDIA MONOPOLY—THE COUNTRY TRADE.

BESIDES the direct trade to our settlements in India and to the Chinese Empire, which we have shown to be capable of almost indefinite extension, there are other channels of mercantile adventure within the limits of the Company's Charter, well worthy of the attention of the shipping and commercial interests of this country. These are familiarly known in India by the name of the Country Trade, a subdivision of which, viz. the Malay Trade, we have already had occasion to notice in our account of British and American commerce at Canton.

The term 'Country Trade,' in its more limited acceptance, is confined to the intercourse between the principal Presidencies and the inferior ports along the coast of India; in its larger sense, in addition to this domestic traffic, it embraces all the relations of India with the neighbouring countries, including, on the west, the ports of Persia and Arabia; on the east, those of China, Cochin-China, Pegue, Siam, Sumatra, Borneo, Java, the Philippines, and the Moluccas. A brief description of the history, course, and progress of this branch of trade, will, we trust, be interesting to our readers, and will complete the picture sketched in the last six Numbers of 'The Oriental Herald,' of the commercial wants and opportunities of India, China, and the Eastern Islands. We have been anxious to trace this general outline of our prospects in the East, preparatory to the approaching discussions on the policy of renewing the Company's Charter. Those discussions will necessitate a careful inquiry into the details of Indian administration, commerce, and finance, and compel us to a more minute investigation of various items and articles of traffic which we have hitherto, for the sake of perspicuity, arranged and classified under general heads, suggested by the restraints and impediments of the Company's monopoly.

From the time that the Portuguese arrived in India to within a few years of the close of the last century, the trade of Western India centered at Surat, to the north of Bombay, and at Calicut, on the coast of Malabar. The trade of Surat was almost exclusively carried on by two sects of Mohammedans, the Syrians and the Boras, the former of whom were emigrants from Syria, the latter

from the country of the Afghans. That of Calicut was in the hands of another sect of Mohammedans, called the Moplárs, who were descendants of the Arabs. The principal exports were originally of manufactured goods and raw produce to the Persian and Arabian Gulfs; but, about the year 1780, a famine afflicted China, which induced the Government of Pekin to direct, by an imperial edict, that a large proportion of the lands in which cotton had until then been grown, should be devoted to the cultivation of grain. The immediate consequence of this edict was a sudden rise in the price of cotton, and great encouragement to its production in the countries which had relations with China. Surat, for many years, exported annually for that market twenty-five thousand bales; but, owing to the danger of its port during the south-west monsoon, and the decline of enterprise and wealth among the Musulman merchants, the cotton trade afterwards settled at Bombay. After the decline of the Syrians and the Boras, rose the Parsees, a shrewd, active, intelligent race, who speedily engrossed almost the whole trade of Western India, and attained great respectability and opulence. The Parsees, besides their own speculations, shared in almost all the adventures of the Europeans. Of the latter, those who became members of mercantile houses had mostly been pursers of Indiamen, and captains of ships in the country trade, who were induced to form establishments at Bombay by the knowledge of Indian commerce they had acquired in the course of repeated voyages to the ports of India, China, the Arabian and Persian Gulfs, and the Archipelago. The Parsees were, at first, employed by the Europeans as brokers; but they soon became partners in most of their foreign speculations, and many great events contributed during the war to advance the opulence of the merchants of Bombay. Of these, the principal was the sudden rise in the rate of freights, occasioned by the demand for transports, and the deficiency of tonnage required for the Company's China trade, arising from the conversion of ships formerly in their employment into vessels of war. To supply this deficiency, large country ships were engaged at Bombay, at the exorbitant freight of 35*l.* per ton; and the impulse thus given to the shipping interests was the cause of great prosperity at that Presidency. Until the admission of the free merchants in 1813, the trade of Western India continued in the hands of the Moplárs to the south, and the Parsees and Europeans at Bombay. The principal export of the former was of pepper and piece goods; of the latter, cotton wool, grown in the neighbourhood of Surat, in the districts on the Nerbudda, in Guzerat, and in Cutch. Since the year 1813, there has not been much perceptible variation in the nature of the exports of Indian produce from Western India, but a very considerable trade of transit in our manufactures has grown up, and Bombay has, in fact, become the emporium of British merchandise for all the countries lying between Cape Comorin and the Channel of Mozambique.

Bengal, though possessing few good harbours, is very advanta-

geously situated for foreign trade. Between it and the numerous ports and settlements on both coasts of Hindoostan, and particularly the coast of Coromandel, extensive and very profitable commerce was once, and might now be, carried on.

On the East it borders on Assam and the dominions of Ava, the former of which it supplies with salt, and from the latter receives teak timber for ship-building and domestic use. It has also extensive relations with China and the Eastern Islands, for the sale of saltpetre, opium, and piece goods; as also with the Persian and Arabian Gulfs and the eastern coast of Africa. Before the opening of the Indian trade, the exports of Bengal to our settlements on the Eastern coast of Hindoostan, including the Northern Circars and Coromandel, that is, from Palmyras to Cape Comorin, consisted of grain and pulse, sugar, saltpetre, molasses, ginger, pepper, and other articles of superior value, which were exchanged for salt, red-woods, fine long cloths, izarees, and chintz; the balance being remitted in specie, or absorbed by drafts or bills, drawn by the Madras Presidency on the Government of Calcutta. The competition of the Free Traders, by the Act of 1813, has made less alteration in this branch of the country trade than in any other department of Indian traffic. The privileges conceded by that Act were limited to the three ports of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta; and the inconvenience of that restriction in respect of British manufactures was less felt on the Eastern than the Western coast of Hindoostan. The chief impediment to the trade between Bengal, Coromandel, and Malabar is the impolitic prohibition of salt.

'Salt, as every body knows, is made an object of monopoly by the Indian Government.* The salt used by the Indians is of four descriptions: First, there is a little rock-salt used, imported from the Persian Gulf, and the countries on the western frontier of India. The inhabitants of the northern provinces use salt obtained by solar evaporation, from certain salt lakes. In Bengal, the salt commonly used is produced by boiling the dirty and slimy brine of the pestiferous marshes at the estuary of the Ganges. The inhabitants of the southern portion of the Peninsula use fine bay salt, manufactured on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel. The two last only are objects of monopoly; the others, of ordinary, but heavy, taxation. The Bengal salt is procured by a hasty evaporation, through a miserable process, and costs about 53s. per ton. It is computed that about 125,000 labourers are engaged in the manufacture of this commodity, although the whole quantity produced is only 151,000 tons; that is, the labour of one man, from November to June, the whole manufacturing season, is equal to the production of only a single ton of salt. These labourers are in a virtual state of slavery, every man of them being in debt to the East India Company, inextricably and for life, and not daring to engage in

* Vide 'Free Trade and Colonisation of India.'

any other employment, by "express law." A very considerable number, according to the official return, are yearly devoured by tigers, and a much greater carried off by dysenteries and fevers. A small quantity of the fine bay salt of Coromandel and Malabar is allowed to be imported into Bengal by special license, and this also is monopolised. The whole population subject to the monopoly, in Bengal, is estimated at thirty millions: the consumption of salt, therefore, for man, beast, and the arts, is only at the rate of thirteen pounds per head per annum! The effect of the monopoly is, to keep the produce of salt stationary, while it is admitted, that the population, and even the wealth, of the country, is increasing. As to the taxation which it produces, it is sometimes as low as 300 per cent., and sometimes as high as 500; for fluctuation and uncertainty are among the other blessings of the system.

Let us see the advantage that would accrue from getting rid of this nuisance. The price of salt, obtained by the cheap process of solar evaporation, on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, is about 6s. 6d. per ton, or about one-eighth part of the Bengal price. Superior salt to that of Bengal may now be had at Liverpool for 9s. per ton, or nearly one-sixth part of the price of Bengal salt. The Malabar salt is excluded from the consumption of Bengal, because the quantity admissible is expressly limited; and because, before quitting the place of manufacture, it is already taxed through the local monopoly there. As to English salt, it is charged with a prohibitory duty of 8l. per ton; that is to say, a duty of between 1600 and 1700 per cent. on the prime cost. This is encouraging free trade with a vengeance! The contingency was not provided for in the Charter; but the Local Government of India, in great alarm for its privileges, hastened for relief to the home authorities, and speedily obtained it in the prohibiting duty just quoted.

In a free trade, with moderate duties, it is pretty certain that either a better and more economical system for the manufacture of Bengal salt must be pursued, or foreign salt must supersede it: the latter will most probably be the case, on account of the great insalubrity and natural unsuitableness of the situations in which it is manufactured. In this case 125,000 labourers, and a population of probably not less than half a million of people, will be emancipated from a real slavery, and their services will be instantly available, where they are most acquired, in clearing and cultivating the thinly-peopled, unhealthy, but rich and extensive fens which form the estuaries of the great rivers, and which are now nearly in a state of nature. It is unnecessary to say, that cheap salt will be an especial blessing, in a country where the inhabitants, living on an insipid vegetable diet, consider it peculiarly a necessary of life. It will not be rating the increase too high, at eighteen pounds a head per annum, for the present population: it will, in all likelihood, be a great deal more; for not only will the consumption be, as usual, greatly enhanced by a lower price, but the use of foreign salt will, in this case, extend

to countries from which the present supply is excluded by its dear-ness and badness. This will add above 200,000 tons yearly to the import trade of the Bengal provinces, a greater immediate improve-ment in our trading and shipping interests than can well be con-templated from any local measure whatever. It is impossible to imagine countries better circumstanced for a commercial intercourse than Bengal and the southern provinces of our dominions; or that naturally stand in more need of each other's assistance. Bengal is a great grain country, without any natural supply of salt, except the bad and imperfect one furnished by the muddy estuary of the Ganges. The supply of a territory of full one hundred and fifty thousand square miles, and for thirty millions of people, is drawn from about two hundred miles of a noisome, unhealthy, and almost inaccessible coast. The southern provinces are generally sterile, and subject to frequent dearths and famines; but from the soil and climate, they are peculiarly suited for the production of a cheap and ample supply of salt, the very commodity which the former country stands in so much need of. Even under the present restricted sys-tem, they furnish yearly to Bengal about 26,000 tons. The shipping at present engaged in carrying this salt to Bengal, and grain to the Coromandel coast, amounting to several hundreds, are almost ex-clusively Native vessels, of such wretched construction and outfit, that they can make but a single voyage a year. In a free trade England will, no doubt, supply a great deal of the salt required in the Bengal provinces, and her shipping will, at all events, partici-pate in the coasting trade of India, as connected with this branch of trade. From this slight sketch, to the accuracy of which there are thousands to testify, the reader may judge of the extent of the in-jury to fair commerce, and the interests, comforts, and happiness of the Native inhabitants, which is inflicted by the monopoly, and the exclusion of European commerce and settlement. Let him imagine the Legislature of this country confining the manufacture of salt, for the whole consumption of the United Kingdom, to a few miles of damp, rainy, and unhealthy coast, where it would be conducted to the greatest possible disadvantage, and to the exclusion, except in driblets, of the produce of other portions of the United Kingdom, where it could be produced at a sixth or an eighth part of the cost; let him imagine nearly a total exclusion of foreign salt, required in curing fish and meat; let him imagine a monopoly, by the Govern-ment, of the whole consumption of the kingdom, which shall en-hance the first cost four, five, six, or seven fold; let him imagine the best portion of the capital, shipping, and enterprise of the country excluded from the trade in salt,—and still he will have a very inadequate and imperfect notion of the injuries inflicted by the Indian salt monopoly.

Next to the coasting trade to Coromandel, we place that, to the East India Islands and China, through the Straits of Malacca. In this trade, the great article of Indian export is opium. This drug has ever been in great request among the Eastern nations, and

particularly the Malays. The people of China are equally addicted to its use; and, notwithstanding its strict prohibition by the Government, large quantities are annually smuggled to the Celestial Empire by the East India Company.

From the British dominions, and other portions of India, there are exported to China, the adjacent countries on the continent, and the Indian Islands, yearly, about 12,500 chests of opium, or, in round numbers, about 1,750,000 lbs.; this is exchanged, in the countries in question, to the annual value of about three millions sterling. The consumers, besides using opium medicinally, use it also in the same manner in which we use claret, brandy, &c. The good people of England have a prejudice against opium-eating and opium-smoking: they associate these practices with running mucks and other horrid offences, with which they have no more to do than with horse or sheep stealing. The worthy and well meaning abettors of this prejudice should understand that the Chinese, who consume three fourths of all the quantity to which we have alluded, never run a muck, and are the most industrious, the most sober, and, upon the whole, even the most moral people of the Indies. The East India Company, however, takes advantage of the prejudice, such as it is, and, while it pockets about a million sterling yearly in encouraging the alleged immorality, makes it the pretext for continuing a grievous monopoly equally injurious to trade as to agriculture. Opium, under the Native Government of India, was grown indiscriminately wherever there was soil and climate suitable for its culture: in its old provinces, the East India Company forbade its culture, except in two districts; they paid the cultivator about 14*l.* per chest, and this chest they sold at a price which, for some years back, has seldom been under 200*l.*, and occasionally reached 400*l.* The quantity produced under this system had varied very little for thirty years. Matters went on very smoothly, and the monopoly was declared to be perfectly just and judicious, until some unforeseen and untoward events took place. The first of these was the introduction of Turkey opium into China and the Indian Islands by the Americans. The yearly import of this article by these interlopers may be estimated at the value of 200,000*l.* The East India Company took alarm lest any British subject should benefit by this branch of trade; and with the consent of the authorities in England, always readily granted upon such occasions, they imposed a prohibitory duty on all foreign opium of 24*s.* per lb., if imported in British bottoms, and of 48*s.*, if imported in foreign ones; a duty, in the first case, of four and twenty fold the prime cost of the article, and in the second, of double that amount! The effect is as complete a monopoly to the Americans, as the Americans could desire.

The next untoward event was the discovery that opium, as an article of free culture, was produced in certain of the provinces ceded to us lately by the Mahrattas. Nothing could exceed the consternation produced by the unhappy discovery that the new

country was of such peculiar fertility; for none but the most fertile will produce the drug. It was found the free trader gave the cultivator 60*l.* for the same quantity that the Company gave 14*l.* for. The Company resolved upon securing the monopoly; and the consequences are sufficiently amusing and instructive. The cultivators and proprietors of the conquered provinces had swords in their hands, and would not be satisfied to receive 14*l.* for what was worth 60*l.* The Company, therefore, commenced a competition with the private merchant, giving larger prices than ever; and, in the hopeful project of driving all competitors out of the market, expended, in one year, (1822-23,) between 600,000*l.* and 700,000*l.* sterling. Before this undertaking, the whole produce of Malwa, the acquisition in question, was about one thousand chests a year: competition has multiplied it seven-fold in less than five years. We have seen that, in thirty years, the Company, although avowedly desirous, had not, on the monopoly system, been able to raise the quantity in their old provinces by a single chest: this is not all; free competition has not only augmented the quantity, but improved the quality of the Malwa opium. A chest of Malwa opium used to sell in China for 750 dollars only, when Bengal sold for 1000 dollars; it is now in the higher estimation of the two; nay, for that matter, the monopoly system had produced such a deterioration in what used to be the best description of the latter, that, by recent accounts, it was selling at the rate of 140 dollars per chest less than the Malwa. This is enough to put monopolies out of fashion. It need hardly be insisted, that the monopoly, on the part of the state, of a staple produce of the soil of any country, is a violation of the sacred rights of property, and an obstacle as great, thrown in the way of agricultural improvement, as if that state, having the power, were to curse some of the richest portions of the land with sterility. The export and import trade, carried on by the British dominions through this single article, is six millions sterling. What might it not be, if capital and industry had free and legitimate scope? Even the revenue, which for many years has been at best stationary, or, indeed, rather declining, might, through a system of fair and moderate taxation, be improved, naturally augmenting in the ratio of augmented trade and culture. There is certain ground for supposing that this would be the inevitable result, for the consumption yearly increases every where, but especially in China; and of this, if it were an evil, which it is not, the Company must not complain, for they are already the abettors of this policy, and gain largely by their connivance. When the monopoly was complete, the yearly consumption of the last named country used to be reckoned at two thousand five hundred chests, valued at about two millions and a half of dollars; and, on monopoly principles, it was deemed stationary, and fixed for ever. Turkey and Malwa opium having been introduced, it rose, in 1821, to five thousand chests; in 1824, to six thousand five hundred; and in 1826, to upwards of ten thousand, worth eight millions of dollars.

The following is an Abstract of the Returns of Exports from the Presidencies of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, to Prince of Wales's Island, and those to the east of it, in the five years from 1813-14 to 1817-18 inclusive. Also, the Imports during the same period.

EXPORTS.

BENGAL.				MADRAS.				BOMBAY.				TOTAL.			
Years.	Merchandise.		Treasure.	Total.	Merchandise.		Treasure.	Total.	Merchandise.		Treasure.	Total.	Merchandise.		Total.
	Rupees.	Rupees.			Rupees.	Rupees.			Rupees.	Rupees.			Rupees.	Rupees.	
1813-14	21,54,496	—	—	21,54,496	12,06,130	56,664	—	12,62,794	2,70,576	50,756	—	3,21,332	36,31,202	1,07,420	37,38,622
1814-15	25,02,026	16,875	—	25,18,901	13,28,749	—	—	13,28,749	5,03,397	5,20,791	—	10,24,188	43,34,172	5,37,686	48,71,864
1815-16	21,72,720	11,250	—	21,83,970	14,61,130	31,215	—	14,92,345	7,78,112	50,300	—	8,28,412	44,11,962	92,765	45,04,727
1816-17	14,75,600	—	—	14,75,600	14,72,370	25,157	—	14,97,527	2,78,126	—	—	2,78,126	32,26,096	25,157	32,51,253
1817-18	18,84,972	11,250	—	18,96,222	17,08,373	9,616	—	17,17,989	2,65,125	—	—	2,65,125	38,58,470	20,866	38,79,336

IMPORTS.

Years.	Merchandise.		Treasure.	Total.	Merchandise.		Treasure.	Total.	Merchandise.		Treasure.	Total.	Merchandise.		Total.
	Rupees.	Rupees.			Rupees.	Rupees.			Rupees.	Rupees.			Rupees.	Rupees.	
1813-14	7,16,367	6,90,705	—	13,26,072	7,88,016	10,32,874	—	18,20,890	5,79,597	27,344	—	6,06,941	20,83,980	16,69,923	37,53,903
1814-15	5,10,921	9,75,689	—	14,86,610	4,63,796	4,55,209	—	9,19,005	7,65,466	14,910	—	7,80,376	17,40,183	14,45,808	31,85,991
1815-16	9,85,590	2,89,253	—	12,74,843	7,37,281	6,96,043	—	14,33,324	4,80,007	69,715	—	5,49,722	22,02,878	10,55,011	32,57,889
1816-17	8,01,048	4,16,746	—	12,17,794	5,70,584	12,28,730	—	17,99,314	7,36,209	1,100	—	7,37,309	21,07,841	16,46,306	37,54,147
1817-18	3,00,850	6,04,760	—	9,05,610	5,89,091	12,84,005	—	18,73,096	6,91,032	4,369	—	6,95,412	15,80,983	25,84,177	41,65,170

The returns from which the preceding statement is abstracted, are much too voluminous for insertion. In them is specified the annual value for six years of nearly a hundred different articles of export from the three Presidencies to the Archipelago. It is much to be regretted that they do not come down to a later period. In the very interesting and able History of the Indian Archipelago by Mr. Crawford, * a detailed account may be found of the commercial relations between India and the islands. To that work we beg to refer those of our readers who would combine, in this inquiry, entertainment and instruction. We have, however, for the information of those whose Asiatic researches are confined to the perusal of 'The Oriental Herald,' selected those articles of which the greatest value appears to have been exported, and we find that a large proportion of them are the produce of British industry.

Abstract of a Statement of the Value of Merchandise exported from Bengal, Fort St. George, and Bombay respectively, to the Eastern Islands, &c., in the following Years. (Extracted from the Reports of External Commerce from Bengal, Fort St. George, and Bombay.)

Description of Merchandise.	1814-15.	1815-16.	1816-17.	1817-18.
	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.
Sugar, Sugar Candy, Cocoa } Nuts, &c. }	1,71,856	2,57,653	2,86,370	1,02,226
Opium	19,35,017	24,21,702	19,11,288	17,89,350
Indigo	2,68,650	4,32,987	3,93,984	5,872
Copper and Copper Nails . .	45,458	77,569	18,397	20,432
Iron and Steel	1,54,104	1,41,846	1,42,209	1,43,899
Ironmongery, Braziers, &c. .	15,129	34,371	22,028	18,517
Cutlery and Hardware . . .	22,327	7,807	—	—
Glass and Earthenware . . .	17,047	45,195	15,348	35,964
Cabinet Ware, &c.	5,568	16,048	17,750	17,017
Carriages, Saddlery, &c. . .	24,140	35,141	17,307	35,089
Wine, Spirits, &c.	4,25,436	2,93,720	2,17,354	2,67,654
Canvas and Vitrey	98,999	99,093	67,576	69,127
Wearing Apparel, Haberdashery, Hosiery, Perfumery, &c. }	1,07,861	1,10,755	1,15,371	95,026
Woollens	19,620	59,434	13,526	20,054
Cotton and Cotton Yarn . . .	4,02,903	5,57,340	3,14,129	3,76,511
Piece Goods	44,17,503	45,01,842	44,49,921	45,49,702
Sundries (Europe)	84,099	62,763	1,11,998	2,27,113

This abstract is taken from the official accounts presented to Parliament in 1821, and is in complete unison with the description of the intelligent author above mentioned. He says, 'The principal kinds of cotton goods in demand are chintzes, or printed cottons, white cottons, cambrics, handkerchiefs, and velvets. The colours preferred are red and green, and, next to these, yellow and brown.

The patterns must not be large, and the favourite figures are running flowers. The quality most suited to the market, is what costs at Manchester 1s. to 1s. 6d. per yard. The Bandana handkerchiefs, manufactured at Glasgow, have long superseded the genuine ones, and are consumed in large quantities both by Natives and Chinese. Woollens are an article of considerable and increasing demand among the Indian Islanders. There cannot be a greater error than to imagine that this description of fabric is unsuitable to the climate and habits of the people. In countries upon the equator it is an object of comfort throughout the year,—from the frequency of rains, on account of the land and sea breezes, and the prevalence of elevated tracts of land. Of all articles of import into the Indian Islands, iron is the most valuable. It is imported into the Archipelago, wrought and unwrought, and in the form of steel. These countries have hardly any iron of their own; and for this commodity, so indispensable to their comfort, and indeed existence as civilised communities, they are indebted to strangers. Plated ware, glass and earthen ware, fire-arms, ammunition, &c., are all in great request.

The return in merchandise for this export of Indian produce and British manufactures, is of a very various description. Sago, vegetable oils, pepper, coffee, spices, tobacco, camphor, benzoin or frankincense, dragon's blood, gamar, or resin, ebony, cordage, teak timber, are enumerated by Mr. Crawford as the chief vegetable productions. Of the animal products, are horns and hides, ivory, feathers, lac, bees' wax, dried fish, sharks' fins, tortoise shell, pearls, pearl oysters, and shells. The minerals are tin, gold, iron, copper, diamonds, sulphur, and salt. On reference to our abstract of imports, it will be seen, that a very considerable proportion of the returns from the islands consists of treasure. In a direct trade with Europe, these islands do not, at present, possess the materials for a return cargo, and the prospects of English merchants in this quarter cannot much improve until the spice trade is released from the monopoly of the Dutch, and the tea trade from the fetters of the East India Company's Charter.

The trade between the three Presidencies and Canton is also of considerable importance, not only on account of the shipping which it employs, but also as indicative of the wants of the Chinese empire. Having recently noticed the English and American trade at Canton, it is not necessary in this place to say more, than that the cargoes of the country traders are nearly of the same description as those of the Americans; and that, since the opening of the private trade, a large portion of British manufactures entered at the Presidencies have been re-exported to China. For the information, however, of the shipping interests, we submit 'an account of the quantity of tonnage annually employed in the country trade between the different ports of British India and Canton, from the year 1808-9 to 1817-18 inclusive.'

An Account of the Quantity of Tonnage employed Annually in the Country Trade between the different Ports of British India and Canton, from the Year 1808-9 to the Year 1817-18 inclusive.

EXPORTED FROM THE PORTS OF BRITISH INDIA FOR CANTON.										IMPORTED FROM CANTON TO THE PORTS OF BRITISH INDIA.									
Year.		Calcutta.		Port St. George and Ports subordinate.		Bombay.		Total.		Calcutta.		Port St. George and Ports subordinate.		Bombay.		Total.			
		Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
1808-9	15	8,598	2	2,352	31	24,991	43	35,941		19	9,525	7	2,738	11	8,642	37	20,905		
1809-10	13	6,683	1	1,200	15	12,934	29	20,817		12	7,273	3	1,517	16	12,231	31	21,021		
1810-11	11	5,605	3	3,693	14	12,827	28	22,125		12	6,428	2	820	8	5,794	22	13,942		
1811-12	14	7,466	1	80	23	17,789	38	25,335		14	7,112	1	80	7	4,626	22	11,318		
1812-13	7	3,146	5	5,550	13	13,692	25	22,368		12	7,694	1	260	7	4,324	20	12,278		
1813-14	24	13,198	5	5,789	10	10,572	39	29,559		12	5,817	1	375	6	4,476	19	10,668		
1814-15	25	13,298	2	725	12	10,811	39	24,834		11	5,478	1	600	13	8,581	25	14,659		
1815-16	25	13,068	4	4,800	21	17,070	50	34,938		15	5,348	1	342	9	6,216	25	11,906		
1816-17	34	16,519	4	4,671	22	18,022	60	39,212		28	13,891	—	—	—	6,281	39	20,178		
1817-18	36	17,762	2	2,400	19	17,310	57	37,472		29	15,701	4	2,161	14	9,206	47	27,008		

East India House, 26th Jan'y, 1820.

W. McCulloch,
Examiner of India Correspondence.

This trade is carried on by special permission from the Company's Governments; and we learn from Mr. Mitchell,* who was engaged in it during his residence at Bombay, that the grant or refusal of licenses is regulated by the state of the Company's own adventures; that they, in fact, admit or exclude competition just as it suits their purpose. It is a curious fact, that, in an account of the value and

* Minutes of Evidence before the House of Commons, p. 282.

quantity of the cargoes imported from India to Canton, in 1819, taken from the records of the Company's factory, no mention is made of British manufactures. The largest item, however, is the last, viz., 'Estimated value of goods, of which no account can be obtained.' And, in the preceding year, 'Sundry articles, of which it is impossible to obtain accounts.' What the nature of this anonymous merchandise may be, it is not difficult to conjecture; but the motive for the obscurity is not so obvious. Throughout the accounts of the East India Company, there is a studied confusion of the trades to India and China. The ambiguity above-mentioned may possibly be unintentional; but, when the account in which it appears was drawn up, the relative advantage to the Company of disparaging the consumption of British goods in India or China was by no means clear. Were these general terms adopted in prudent precaution, as an apology for concealment? We should have no hesitation in answering our own question in the affirmative, were it not for the respect which is due to the high character of some of the gentlemen who have presided at the Canton Factory. We owe it, also, to the Company to say, that the capricious refusal of a license to the country traders has not, of late years, been a general complaint; and, indeed, we are not aware that the charge has been explicitly preferred by any one but Mr. Mitchell. That gentleman's opportunities of knowledge have not been very recent, nor very extended; in other respects, he is a witness above all exception.

Want of space compels us to omit many facts connected with the growth and condition of the country trade, which are curious and instructive; but we cannot refrain from presenting a short sketch of ship-building business in India, as it exemplifies, perhaps more than any other branch of manufacture, the opportunities of extended commercial intercourse between Bengal and the neighbouring countries.

In the short account we have given of the trade of Bombay, we have noticed the prodigious stimulus given to the prosperity of that Presidency by the sudden demand on her dock-yards during the war. Among the Parsees are to be found some of the best ship-builders in the world, and vessels have been launched by them superior to any constructed in England. Ship-building in Bengal is comparatively of recent date; and, before the year 1780, the country trade of Bengal was supplied by shipping from the ports of Surat, Bombay, Damaum, and Pegue, by ships of European build, and by wretched craft called dowses, belonging to, and navigated by, Natives.* The famine produced in the Carnatic by the invasion of Hyder Ali, first gave rise to this noble and useful art in the Hooghley. The extraordinary demand thereby created for tonnage

* Lambert's 'Commerce of Bengal.'

for the transportation of grain, and supplies of troops and stores, to our settlements in Coromandel, raised the price of freight to such an enormous height, that it roused the attention of almost every person in the remotest degree connected with commerce, to share in the profitable traffic. Ships not being procurable from other quarters, in any proportion to the demand, individuals then began to turn their attention to their construction. The first attempts were made in the Sunderbunds at Chittagong and at Sylhet. These being built of green timber, soon ran to decay, and caused a strong prejudice against Bengal ships. Of late years, however, this business has been confined to Calcutta. The materials employed consist of teak timber from Pegue, and Saul and Sissoo, from Oude, and the forests on the hills which form the northern boundaries of Bengal. Large quantities of timber are also annually brought down through the rivers of Purnea to the Ganges, from the forests of Morang, and from those in the north-west districts of Bahar. Ship-building has now become a very considerable branch of manufacture; but a great number of vessels of small burthen navigate the shallow inlets along the coast, which are still of miserable materials and construction, and might be very advantageously supplanted by the unemployed tonnage of Great Britain.

We had hoped to have been able to complete this account of the Indian country trade by a general view of the commerce between the three Presidencies and the Gulfs of Persia and Arabia. The relations of the coasts washed by those seas, the extensive regions connected with them and Western India, are of ancient date; but their intercourse with Bengal was, twenty years ago, comparatively of minor extent. During that time, the exports from Calcutta have progressively increased, and they now considerably exceed in amount those of the other Presidencies. Our limits, however, oblige us to defer the details of this traffic; and we do so with the less regret, because that portion of it which centres at Bombay has been recently treated in 'The Oriental Herald.' The commerce of the three Presidencies with the Gulfs differs less in quality and character than in extent and amount.

We cannot, however, conclude without again calling the attention of the shipowners, merchants, and manufacturers of England to the vast opportunities of profitable speculation offered by the Indian seas. It is in vain for Mr. Astell, as Chairman of the Company, to meet the allegations of the petitioners for extended freedom of trade with peremptory denials, and by calling upon Parliament and the country to suspend their opinion until the documents which may influence it are before them. If there be any documents at all calculated to damp the expectations of private merchants, those documents are at the India House. Why are they not produced? Why do the Honourable Company withhold the evidences

of their patriotism and of their economy until they are compelled to print them by an order of the House of Commons? Simply because they are well convinced that if time be allowed to scrutinize and investigate them, not even their habits of mystification will enable them to suppress the truth; which is, as Mr. Huskisson truly stated, that in spite of many discouragements, and much indiscretion, the commerce of the United Kingdom, with all the countries east of the Cape of Good Hope, has materially increased since the permission of the private trade, and that it presents at this moment such unquestionable symptoms of permanent prosperity as should induce Government at once to destroy the impediments by which it continues to be embarrassed. We should be very much obliged to any friend to inform us what correspondence has yet taken place between Mr. Astell and Lord Ellenborough? There is a curious precedent for this letter-writing in our nineteenth volume, page 449. Happily, however, for this country, for India, and mankind, the absurdity of that celebrated production has been sufficiently exposed, and, we trust, that an experiment of the same description now would be ridiculed at Whitehall. But, though it is impossible that the Charter should be confirmed on the present footing, it is possible that regulations may be suggested in timidity or diffidence, calculated to cramp and impede the full development of the resources of the East. The evidence taken before the committees of 1820-1 sufficiently proves that the misfortunes of the years which immediately succeeded the last renewal of the Charter, originated in an utter ignorance of the taste and of the wants of the people to whose markets the Free Traders were admitted. It behoves, therefore, all those who hope to profit by increased intercourse with Asia, to inform themselves minutely of the condition and capabilities of the countries from which they are now excluded. Such knowledge will enable them to guard their own interests during the discussion, and to avail themselves of such extended privileges as may eventually be conceded.

To the sovereigns of Leadenhall-street, we respectfully tender this advice,—that they abandon the ground of indiscriminate opposition with all celerity. It is not wise to fret, by peevish contradictions, those who are already suffering by the injustice of their monopoly. To us, it is painful to observe arrayed against us in this great contest, men capable, by their intelligence and their experience, to inform the conscience, and direct the counsels, of Parliament. Our cause is that of truth; their's, that of private interest and patronage. Of the issue we have little doubt; but we cannot refrain from suggesting to them, that the most manly, honourable, and patriotic course would be, to assist, and not perplex, the deliberations of Government. The stupendous engine of Indian government, commerce, revenue, and law, now under their direction, ought not—cannot be hastily or inconsiderately demolished; but it

is idle to conceal from themselves, that, by the conduct which they have hitherto pursued, a spirit of determined hostility has been roused against their whole administration. The discontent with the present system has already assumed the loud tone and impatient character of popular complaint. Men who believe in the existence of abuse, will not be tempted by the contingency of public exaggeration to abate from moderate opposition, until they observe some indications of a disposition to compromise or accommodate. Of this we are convinced, that sooner or later the Proprietors must perceive that they have no real interest distinct from that of the country at large, and that the best course for their functionaries to pursue, is to admit, at once, the necessity of change, and to become auxiliaries to its completion, by facilitating, with all the means at their disposal, the establishment of a wise, generous, and extended scheme of Eastern policy.

FORGET ME NOT !*

FORGET me not—forget me not !
But let these little simple flowers
Remind thee of his lonely lot,
Who loved thee in life's purer hours,—
When hearts and hopes were hallowed things,
Ere pleasure broke the lyre she brought ;
Then, oh ! when shivered all its strings,
Forget me not—forget me not !

We met, ere yet the world had come
To wither up the springs of truth,
Amid the holy joys of home,
And in the first warm blush of youth ;
We parted, as *they* never part
Whose tears are doomed to be forgot :
Oh ! by that agony of heart,
Forget me not—forget me not !

Thine eye must watch those flowerets fade,
Thy soul its idols melt away,
But, oh ! when friends and flowers lie dead,
Love may embalm them in decay ;
And, when thy spirit sighs along
The shadowy scenes of hoarded thought,
Oh ! listen to its pleading song,—
Forget me not—forget me not !

* From 'The Poetical Sketch Book,' a very elegant and interesting volume, just published, by T. K. Hervey, Esq.

VOYAGE ON THE NILE, FROM CAIRO TO THE CATARACTS.

No. IV.

[From that portion of Mr. Buckingham's Unpublished Manuscripts, from which the materials of his Lectures on Egypt were drawn.]

Wretchedness of the Arab Peasantry—Traits of Character—Singular Superstitions.

Ascending the Nile, Nov. 3.

THE fatigue occasioned by our recent excursion, added to a violent head-ache from exposure to the sun, instead of preparing me for the enjoyment of rest, kept me awake until past midnight, when, observing a person approaching the boat from the shore with slow and cautious step, I raised an alarm, at which my Greek servant, leaping hastily from his mat, and seizing his sabre at the same moment, brandished it in a threatening attitude against the moon, exclaiming, with great violence, 'Ladri! Signore, per Dio! Ladri!' I was as much diverted by the cunning of the suspected thief, who, falling on all-fours, crawled off among the grass, as I was impressed with an accurate idea of the Greek's magnanimity, when, with all the bustle and bravado imaginable, he affected a pursuit, taking care, however, by retreating almost as many steps as he advanced, to remain nearly stationary, by which his prey escaped.

The Arab boatmen, who were by this time all stirring, at the alarm, had just discovered that the inhabitants of Gizerta and Meleheah, two small villages in the neighbourhood, were the greatest robbers in creation. They told a hundred stories, all confirmed by their captain, of there being caverns in the eastern hills, in which these robbers concealed the fruits of their plunder, and that, with all their poverty of appearance, they were in reality rich. In short, their accounts so excited my curiosity, that, as the moon was not yet set, and my rest would not be additionally interrupted, I determined to see these notorious villagers, and ascertain whether fame had done no more than justice to their gigantic figures and invincible prowess,—distinctions which, though so unanimously insisted on, I was certainly much disposed to doubt. A hundred pages would scarcely contain the long and serious discussions which arose between my servant and the crew, on the hazard of such an attempt; and nothing but my peremptory command would have induced him to follow me there, though not half a mile from the river.

Poor wretches! distinguished only from their fellows by being more superlatively miserable, we found them sharing the same beds with their cattle, in circular enclosures of reeds, without a wall, a roof, or any of the simplest appendages of dwellings. The half-starved dogs, ready to attack the unguarded passenger, and satisfy

on him their calls of hunger, had roused the peasants from their sleep ; while the women and children, flying in every direction, occasioned us to be taken by the men for robbers in our turn. They had indeed stronger grounds for their suspicion, and greater cause of fear ; for, accustomed to be plundered by the creatures of their governors, and to submit to the heaviest of oppressions without a murmur, they might well fly from the sight of armed men approaching their dwellings at such an hour as this. Their whole life, in fact, affords the fullest illustration of the sense of that scriptural passage which says, ' To him that hath much, still more shall be given ; and from him that hath nothing, even the little that he hath shall be taken away.'

By virtue of the Frank dress, which the Egyptians respect rather than fear, we soon induced them to approach us ; and, giving them our pistols as a token of amity and confidence, our hands were kissed and tranquillity restored. A clean straw mat was instantly produced ; and, being laid before the entrance of one of these enclosures, I seated myself on it at their request, and accepted the offered pipe of the eldest, which, like those of the villagers of El Couedieh, was filled with dried grass for tobacco. Forming a circle around us on the ground, the first question of the people was, what could have been the object of our curiosity in paying them so unseasonable a visit. In reply, the purport of our voyage upon the Nile was explained, and the story of the robber added. They did not attempt to deny the probability of our being right in our conjectures as to the latter ; and when, with an unusual degree of frankness, they demanded what should be done when incessant labour failed to procure them a sufficiency either of food or clothing, the same candour admitted of no reply. They observed to us, that at Gournou, or Thebes, we should see the houses of giants, who were still in existence ! but being rapidly decreasing in numbers, from the extinction of all the women of their race, they had retired into the highest mountains to avoid the Pasha ; but that if any Frank nation were to drive the Turks from the country, they would return and rebuild their palaces by the river's side again. The annual rising of the Nile they attributed to the influence of a venerable old man, whom they styled the Father of the River, and who, living in the mountains, where there were many smaller streams, collected them into one large basin, and, at the return of the season, suffered them to disperse for the watering of the grounds. They added, that, being of a placid and beneficent temper, he was seldom offended ; but that instances had occurred where the extreme wickedness of the people had made him angry, and he had punished them by withholding the supply necessary for cultivating their lands. I was at first disposed to believe that they intended to depict the Deity by such a description, until two of the party assured us that they had themselves seen him in the mountains of the Said, bending beneath the weight of

years, and distinguished by a long white beard; so that, as there are several convents in that neighbourhood, it is more than probable that they had seen one of the Christian Fathers, to whom they attributed this power.

We had remained for upwards of an hour in conversation on a variety of local topics, during which I was as pleased with the singularity of the picture which this midnight party presented, as I was amused by the novelty of the opinions there delivered; when, after they had unanimously ventured to load their oppressors with invective, and implore Heaven, with uplifted hands, to send them Frank governors, one of the most sagacious of them whispered to his neighbour, 'Do you not know that Mohammed Ali is gone to Mecca, and that Ibrahim Bey, his son, is expected to pass this way from Cairo to Siout; who knows but this is one of his spies in disguise, or perhaps himself and some faithful attendant,—for we have all heard of such things in the days of Haroun el Raschid?' As we exhibited no symptoms of having heard this observation, they immediately began a recitation of all that they had before said, and uttered the most elaborate eulogiums on the equitable and even generous and indulgent government of the Pasha! To what a depth of degradation will not the yoke of slavery reduce men! How base and degenerate may we not become, when once the animating spirit of liberty is gone! and what is there too false and vile for men to utter and commit, when the springs of courage and of independence are thus tainted at their very source! The peasants continued gradually to steal off, until only two children were left with us, when, gladdening their little hearts with a few paras, we reached the boat about three o'clock, given up by the crew as robbed or murdered.

Making sail at five o'clock, we reached the village of Bibbey at sun-rise, where the boat was detained to obtain a supply of dourra and sugar-canes for the crew. We inveighed against the measure with real earnestness and apparent anger, having advanced half a month's pay to purchase all the necessary provisions before leaving Cairo, with the sole view of preventing the necessity of delay. As if in derision of our complaints, however, the crew had no sooner completed their supplies, than breakfast and prayers was made another cause of detention, and after this even the lateen yard was lowered on deck for some trifling alteration, a matter so unimportant that we might have sailed to the Mountains of the Moon without it.

The cultivated valley becomes so narrow here, that opposite El Quotbe the Lybian chain of hills approaches within two or three miles of the Nile, and the Arabian hills descend so closely to the water's edge upon the eastern bank, that for several miles there is no vegetation, the stream washing the steep sides of the solid rock. The point of El Madal presents itself at this spot as a bluff cape, forming a singular contrast to the surrounding scenery, but, notwithstanding the melancholy picture which it gives of sterile deso-

lation, it becomes interesting as a relief to the general aspect of the flat banks of the Nile below. Two small villages, Madume and Malhair, are built on the rock itself, their whole riches consisting in a few scattered date-trees, and the small space of mud which the retiring river leaves them for cultivation. Behind them, in the desert sands, are seen several Sheicks' tombs, which offer, by the superiority of their construction, an humiliating contrast to the poverty of the mud-walled habitations of the living.

One of the number of our crew being deficient, the only answer which our inquiries could obtain regarding him was, that he would join us soon, having quitted the boat at Bibbey amid the bustle of the breakfast scene. Accordingly, soon after noon, he was seen running along the western shore astern of us, followed by another man and a little girl, each bearing large dishes on their heads. The boat being steered to the bank, they at length came on board, and I confess covered me with shame for complaining of his desertion. It appeared that this young boatman, having an old and decrepit mother at the village of El Fent, four or five miles from Bibbey, had taken advantage of our detention there to pay her a visit, and remaining with her for a short while, had since run all the way from thence to Malatieh, a distance of not less than ten miles more, to re-embark, accompanied by a younger brother, and a sister of twelve or fourteen years of age. Fearing that the favour would have been refused him if previously solicited, and willing to risk the incurring our displeasure rather than forego this filial duty, he had quitted the boat without leave, so that the contents of the dishes which they now brought were cakes of the sister's making, and presented as peace-offerings to me. This was indeed defeating and disarming all complaint; for when the little girl saluted my hand, and bowing, placed it to her forehead after their manner, I felt myself blush with confusion at having uttered a word of reproof. Piastres would have been a paltry recompence for so much pains; and I knew not how to convince these poor people sufficiently of my disposition to admire rather than condemn the motive of this desertion, when giving to the little girl a silk handkerchief for her mother, and a pair of scissors for herself, the only articles I could find to present them with, she instantly rolled the former round her head as a turban, and kissing my hand twice at parting, ran homeward, admiring the polish of the latter, exclaiming, 'The good English! the good English!' Such anecdotes of manners and feelings require no comment or apology.

Some rafts of jars from Keneh, and a fleet of boats from Sift, passed us in the afternoon, laden with the grain of Upper Egypt, on account of the Pasha, he being in this country the only purchaser from the cultivator, who is compelled to furnish it at the royal buyer's own price. To an advantage, sufficiently high one would conceive to content a common despot, there was added

in this instance, that of possessing also the fleet itself, which, formerly belonging to one of his officers, who had created it by gradual extortion from his dependents, had now, by the death of his faithful servant, devolved to his lenient master.

We had scarcely lost sight of these, before we overtook an unladen boat bound up the Nile; and, as the wind was light, she was towing along the weather shore in the same manner as ourselves. An Albanian soldier, who was the only person on board, sat smoking at his ease, after giving orders to the Arabs of his own boat not to suffer us to pass them, and further exercising his capricious insolence by bidding them to slacken their pace, in order to keep us in humiliating impatience close beneath his stern. Such injustice was really insufferable; but soldiers here are kings, while every other class are expected to bow to them as slaves. Our own boatmen were afraid, and it was with the greatest difficulty that I at length prevailed on them to cut the Albanian off, by getting the weather gage and steering in shore of him, which our shallower draught of water enabled us easily to do. The soldier threatened; but, knowing well the Albanian character, I still persisted; when his tow rope catching the fore part of our yard, and his men refusing either to let it go, or slack it up for us to pass them, I cut it in two with my sabre, ready drawn for the purpose. The Albanian fired; but, this being done in haste, it wounded no one, when I returned him the salute by a ball through the after part of his sail, my pistols being laid on the forecastle in preparation for defence. His boat had, however, now fallen off into the stream of the current, and, having neither wind nor steersman by which she could be managed, the foaming and enraged Arhaut was lost in all that perfection of confusion which sailors describe by the phrase 'a marine adrift.' I had never seen a more complete elucidation of the metaphor than when the naked Arabs were seen leaping into the stream and swimming to the relief of this drifting soldier, forming altogether a scene so ludicrous as to occasion me to forget the risk we had run, in the diversion which it afforded.

At sunset we were abreast of Sheick Embarrak, where the Arabian chain of hills forms another promontory, sloping towards the water in ragged and irregularly lessening eminences, like some of the headlands in the south of Spain, particularly about Cape Palos, while the clusters of full-foliaged trees which appear open off the point from the middle of the stream, are beautifully contrasted with its dull grey hue. An approaching calin, which gave to all these objects a clear reflection from the water, while the richest tints were thrown on them by the rays of the declining sun, heightened the interest of the picture.

* It should be added, that, since the present account was written, the Pasha of Egypt has very wisely relaxed both in his commercial monopolies and political restrictions.

As we moored here for the night, and it was too early to retire, I took with me one of the Arabs and my servant, and climbed the table-land of the eastern hill, where it begins to break off in its descent towards the river's banks. We found it, however, a longer and more tedious task than either of us had anticipated, having stumbled and fallen at least twenty times in the ascent, and not reaching the summit until nearly midnight. But though Cephæus has placed the abode of Antæus, and the scene of his gigantic combats here, between the Nile and the Red Sea, we either were not of his favoured race, or mother earth had lost her virtues; for, when we gained the height, we were bruised, fatigued, and literally spent with the falls and toil of clambering it, envying, indeed, in this respect, the privileged exemption of that hero of antiquity, of whom the Poet, who has placed the scene of his unsuccessful combat with Alcides farther to the westward, says—

‘The teeming earth, for ever fresh and young,
Yet, after many a giant-son, was strong;
When labouring here with the prodigious birth,
She brought her youngest-born, Antæus, forth.
That this her darling might in force excel,
A gift she gave; whene’er to earth he fell,
Recruited strength he from his parent drew,
And every slackening nerve was strung anew.’—*Lucan, Book A.*

It required a long repose, however, to produce on us so beneficial and desirable an effect; so that we remained for some time stretched along upon the earth, before we found a restoration of our vigour.

Though perfectly calm below, there was a strong current of wind from the south-east sweeping the eminence, occasioned, probably, by the superior warmth of the river's banks, and the cultivated land of Faioum to the north-west, the vacuum of the more rarefied atmosphere attracting the colder air of these lofty hills. At this hour, indeed, we felt the air as sharp as that of an English April morning, and of more biting aridity. The atmosphere was beautifully clear, and the bright moon allowed us an extensive view. In the direction of the north-west ran an open valley, which lost itself in distance, and joined the flat line of its horizon with the sky. The prospect towards the Red Sea was bounded by a lofty chain, which, with trifling variations, preserved a north-westerly course; and the southern view was intercepted by mountains running nearly east and west; and within this space, hills rose on hills and buried their steep bases in plains of sand. The scene, however, was full of sadness and dejection; and the stillness of the night gave to this desert picture an aspect of such bitter desolation as filled the heart amid this general silence with inconceivable melancholy. Around us not an object was to be seen in motion, or the voice of any animated being heard. All was buried in a tranquillity so thoroughly profound as to give one an idea of the stillness of annihilation. I had never be-

held Nature in so sad a garb, for he seemed to be deserted even by her aerial children, as if they had flown for ever from her sterile and forbidding frown.

It was past midnight before we reached the boat, and when I retired to sleep, it was with all the gloom of the impressions which our evening's excursion had given rise to still strong upon my mind.

From Sheikh Embarrak to Miniet, Nov. 4.

The stars had scarcely lost their brilliance when I heard the crew in motion, and, awaking for a moment, saw two of them step on shore. Expecting that they were going to cast off and turn along the western bank, as there was yet no wind, I felt no disposition to obstruct their labours; and, not having yet recovered from the fatigue of our mountain ramble, I fell asleep again. The odour of the Reis's morning pipe awoke me, however, at seven: the sun was half an hour high; some of the crew were bathing in the river, others at prayers, my servant preparing coffee, and the boat still fast. I had been deceived, therefore, in my hasty self-congratulations on their new activity, and had given the Arabs credit beyond their due; but, while expostulating with their old commander, the two deserters themselves came running across the sands, and, arriving spent and out of breath, began both at once to tell their story.

Sheikh Embarrak having been born, and always continuing, in a state of idiotism, was so holy that he had never been known to utter any thing in the corrupted dialects of this world; every thing he had been heard to say being so unintelligible that it was considered to be spoken in the mystic language of Paradise. As a peculiar mark of heavenly favour, he was supereminently distinguished from his fellow-saints by having the power to cure barrenness, and to give a numerous family to those who desired it, in consequence of which his favours were eagerly solicited by the faithful, and no saint was more universally courted by people of all conditions than this. Many were the tales which these visitors to his shrine recounted to us of his successful influence in Miniet, Benesouef, and the surrounding country; the saint having sufficient sagacity always to avoid Cairo, and with it the yntagans of the more distinguished and jealous Turks, whose veneration for saints of this description is not so great as among the vulgar.

All this was so consistent with the relations which I had already heard from persons resident in the country, whose veracity could not be questioned, that I did not presume to doubt it. But what had this to do with our delay? I asked. If they remembered the wonders of his life with pleasure, what had they to do with the frail dust of the dead? At length the explanation came. One of these devout youths, it appeared, had been lately married, and the other was intended to be made a bridegroom on his return from our

voyage; so that, as the venerable saint had been elected by universal assent to preside over matrimonial alliances, they had visited his shrine to implore his favour towards themselves and their respective wives. Why, then, had they not accompanied us on the preceding evening, I demanded; that we might have also shared in the benefit of their devotions? They answered that it was a duty which must be performed fasting; and that for ourselves it would have been of little use, because implicit faith was indispensable to ensure the gift of these blessings. Had they then such faith? I asked. Most certainly, was the reply; and could we but see the wife and the betrothed, on our return from Cairo, we should witness with what joy they would learn, both from the husband and the lover, that they had visited Embarrak's tomb. After so candid a recital, I could not chide them, from my heart; for they had certainly acted wisely in preferring to risk my temporary anger rather than incur the permanent displeasure of their wives; who, if they had omitted so favourable an opportunity of invoking the shade of this saint, would, as they said, never have forgiven them.

All the pious duties of the morning being now ended, and the northern airs beginning partially to ruffle the glassy calm of the river, we loosed the sail in a propitious moment, and the mounting sun increased the breeze to fill it. The western bank of the Nile continues to display here the richest cultivated scenes, while the eastern is so encroached on by the strong hills of the Arabian desert, that at Kesle Sheik Hassal their rocks project again into the water, and a few date-trees and clusters of long grass are the only herbage seen; while beyond them, easterly, continue heaps of sand and perforated rock, for several miles.

A water-line having been left by the present inundation, on a perpendicular cliff that was presented to the river by one of these mountains, enabled me to measure its fall with great accuracy, which I found to be seven feet ten inches. Notwithstanding the breeze, we found the noon heat here intense, from the reflection of the sun's rays from the white rocks, and could not but admire the accuracy with which Theocritus has introduced this circumstance among the contrasted sufferings which he enumerates in the lay chanted as a trial of pastoral skill with Lycidas of Crete, to be invoked on Pan if he rejected the Muse's prayer:

'But, if they smile not on the lover's cause,
Be stung by nettles,—torn by harpy claws;
Freeze in mid-winter, near the torrid pole;
On Edon, where the streams of Hebrus roll;
And as an Ethiop burn, while summer glows,
Where the hot Bfenyah rocks o'er Nilus close.—*Idyllium 7.*

At Surarieh, on a narrow slip of soil, between the river and the hill, the sugar-cane is cultivated; and the small island which here

divides the stream of the Nile is a perfect garden. Of such value, indeed, is its rich and productive soil, that, independently of its being cultivated even to the water's edge, the peasants have been unwilling to steal sufficient space for their dwellings to rest on, and have built their villages upon the barren sides of the eastern hills, among the sands, contrasted with which they look like deserted habitations in ruins. At Deir el Adia, where this is particularly the case, the mingled aspect of broken mountains from which large masses of rock have been separated, brown patches of earth, sheets of yellowish sand, scattered palm-trees standing isolated in different spots, and detached groups of mud-walled huts, form altogether a very singular picture of river scenery.

At sun-set, we met what, at a distance, I had conceived to be water-fowl floating down with the stream, but which, on a nearer approach, was found to be a herd of buffaloes descending and crossing the river at the same time. These creatures so delight in the water that they immerse every part of their body beneath the surface, and, their horns being depressed as well as turned backward, no part of them but the eyes is to be seen while swimming.

Improving the advantage of the freshest breeze we had yet been favoured with, and remaining myself at the helm, to prevent the crew from mooring, we reached Miniet about three hours after midnight, and made fast to one of the Pasha's gun-boats there.

SONNET.

I LOVED thee well, when, in thy beauty's blaze,
My young eyes dwelt on thine. The love, the light
Of thy soul's majesty, surpassing bright,
Were Heaven and all to me, in those sweet days.
Lately, I am not now what I was then!
The loneliness of sorrow, and the night
Of misery, have been to me a blight,
Which doth estrange me from my fellow-men.
My life has been in mourning more than smiles;
The spirit's crush, the heart's sad wreck, the tears,
The helplessness of grief, have mocked my toils,
And been to me the 'star-light' of my years.
Then wonder not, if now no more my hand
May touch the lyre, or sweet love, at thy command.

REVENUE OF THE REVENUE OF INDIA: DEWANEE GRANTS

From the grant of the Dewanee, 1780

In the year 1765, the Emperor Shah Alim, sat upon the throne of the Moguls. By an Imperial firman for Bengal, dated the 12th of August of that year, this Prince bestowed upon his faithful servants, and sincere well-wishers, worthy of his Royal favours, the English Company to be held by them, as a free gift and altumgha for ever and ever, the office of the Dewannee of the Khalsa, Shereefa of the province of Bengal, the Paradise of the Earth. The Dewanny of Bahar and Orissa were at the same time given by similar proclamations. As the precise amount of the legitimate authority conferred by this grant has been the subject of much controversy and discussion, it may be useful to state, that Khalsa is a term used to designate lands of which the revenue was paid into the Exchequer, in contradistinction from Jaghire, meaning lands of which the original portion of the Government had been the subject of specific assignment. The Dewan was Prime Minister of Finance and Chief Civil Judge of Bengal; so that, by this edict, the highest attributes of sovereignty, the administration of justice and of the revenue of that province, were made over, in perpetuity, to the Company, in consideration of an annual salary to the Emperor of 25 lacs of rupees. At this time, Nudjam ul Dowlah, a creature of our own, was the nominal Soubahdar, or Viceroy, of Bengal. Having already purchased his elevation to the Musnud by a series of mean compliances on his part, and of disgraceful extortion on ours, distressed by the exactions of those who were sent to invest him with his dignity at Moorshedabad, without armies to support his usurpation or character to resist oppression, a suggestion of abdication had with him all the weight of a command; and having recognised the Imperial grant, he resigned his own authority for a stipend of 5,400,000 sicca rupees per annum. By a separate firman of the Emperor, the Chucklas of Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong, ceded in 1760, by Meer Cossim Ali Khan, and the Zemindaries of the Purgunnahs of Calcutta were at the same time confirmed to the Company; and, on the 30th of September, Lord Clive informed the Court of Directors, that they had become the sovereigns of a rich and potent kingdom.

In 1765-6, the first year of the Company's possession, the settlement of Bengal was reduced by their Naib Subah, or Deputy Soubahdar, to 16,029,011 rupees. The net settlement, however, of that year was 15,048,833 rupees. But in 1766-7, the net settlement of the land revenue only of the provinces of the Dewanee, was 14,536,338 rupees. And adding thereto that of the Purgunnahs and of the Chucklas of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, the total

net land revenue of Bengal amounted in that year to 25,297,406 rupees.

The opinion entertained by the people of this assumption of sovereign power on the part of the Company, and of the ability of their servants to employ it usefully, may be learnt from the following extract from the work called *Seir Matakharat* by Gholaum Hussein Khan. 'Our new rulers,' says this learned Mohammedan, 'are altogether unacquainted with the system of our civil polity, both in respect to the mode of estimating the revenue and to the manner of collecting it. The province and duties of the Zemindar they cannot well comprehend; for, in England, there is no such person. In that country, Subahdarries, Foujdaries, Khaleas, and Jaghires, are unknown. There, the public treasures are not supplied from the produce of the soil. From the information which I have received from some intelligent Englishmen, it appears that, in their country, the money for defraying the public expenses, as well as for the King's use, is chiefly raised by levying duties on the windows of houses, on coaches, on gold and silver plate, and on various articles of merchandise. I am also informed, that the mode of paying the servants of Government, as well as of punishing their misdemeanours, is essentially different from the practice of Hindoostan. In short, it may be said in general, that in almost every custom and institution there is a wide and striking difference betwixt the two nations, and that this difference is of such a nature as renders it a matter of great difficulty to reconcile.'

Of this difficulty the officers of the Company were themselves perfectly sensible; and it is due to the Directors of that day to say, that, except when urged by necessity, or compelled by the unnatural alliance between their commerce and the revenue, which took place soon after the grant of the Dewanny, they evinced every inclination to exert their new authority with caution and circumspection. The internal administration of the provinces of Burdwan, &c., had been in the hands of Native officers since 1760, under the superintendence of covenanted servants of the Company. It was not thought prudent at first to vest the management of the revenue or the administration of justice in the hands of inexperienced European servants. The same Native officers as before were accordingly employed to carry into execution the same system which had thus been transferred to us with the country from its Mohammedan rulers; and, if these officers had been men of honesty and integrity, we might possibly have obtained from them that information the want of which incapacitated us for engaging in extensive reforms. But the same ignorance which induced us to decline more than a general superintendence over the administration of justice and finance, rendered all effective control impossible, and perpetuated misgovernment. The servants of the Company became mere puppets in the courts of justice, mere accountants of the treasury; the subordinate officers

plundered and oppressed the country as their pleasure; and at any time," says Gholaum Hossein, "complaints are made, they are hushed up by Mohammed Reza Khan, who, fearful of accusations being made against himself, practises so many artifices, and sacrifices so much money, that the injured people never obtain redress."

The lands of all our possessions were in those days let to farmers, but on assessments which are avowed to have been mere conjectural estimates. When Zemindars or farmers were suspected of obtaining large emoluments, the Jumma was proportionably increased. Imposts were thus laid on the country at discretion, often too heavy to be discharged; and remissions, on the other hand, granted in equal ignorance of real resources. The farmers, acting on the same principles, found their estimates of profit equally fallacious; and, though Ryots were compelled to yield up their last farthing, wherever it could be extorted, farmers were still unable to discharge their engagements, and balances accumulated in all parts. "It has been the object," Mr. Shore observes, "of this Government to raise as large a revenue as it could, without distress to its subjects. They, on the contrary, equally attentive to their own interests, exert their ingenuity to procure a diminution in the amount of their contributions. Upon these terms, an officer of Government and a Zemindar, or farmer, when a settlement is to be concluded, meet. The former looks to the highest amount of the settlement and collections for former years, and attempts to gain for his constituents what he deems them entitled to; the latter pleads inability and suggests a variety of reasons to show the necessity for lowering the amount. It may so happen that both the demand may be right, and the facts stated in objection be just; that is, that resources may exist which sufficiently counterbalance the affirmed losses, and which the Zemindars or farmers will not discover; or the reverse may be true. In the former case, Government, by insisting on its own terms, gains only what it ought; but, wanting accurate information of the real state of the district, and of the sources from which its demands are to be made good, is exposed to further deficiency from claims which cannot be refuted. In the latter, the Zemindar must either be dispossessed, or become subject to distress from which he is to recover by future exaction."

In 1769 supervisors were appointed to superintend the Native officers, with detailed instructions to inquire into the history, existing state, produce, and capacity of the provinces; the condition of the people, regulations of commerce, and the administration of justice. The result of these inquiries was to represent the internal government of the country as in a state of great misrule, and the people suffering great oppression. The Nizams exacted what they could from the Zemindars and great farmers of the revenue, whom they left at liberty to plunder all below, reserving to themselves the prerogative of plundering them in their turn, when they (the

farmers) were supposed to have enriched themselves with the spoils of the country. In 1772, the Government of Mr. Hastings took the entire management of the provinces into their own hands. A Board of Revenue was established at the Presidency, the four junior members of which constituted a Committee of Circuit, to carry into execution the arrangement then adopted in the provinces. The supervisors were turned into collectors, with suitable Native establishments; and the lands let, on leases of five years, to the highest bidders, who could, at the same time, produce security for the payment of the rent. The avowed object of this recourse to open competition was to ascertain the real value of the country, from the want of other means to acquire it. But the event disappointed the expectations both of the Government and of the farmers themselves. The remarks of the Court of Directors on this quinquennial settlement will best explain the state of the country at this juncture,—that is, after it had been twelve years under our management,—as well as the general effect of our administration.

‘We have already,’ say they, ‘intimated our opinion that arbitrary increases prove generally fallacious. We shall now add, that the disappointment to us is not the only evil. The country is drained by farmers, or by the Tehsildars, Sezwels, and Amceems of Government, none of whom have any permanent interest in its prosperity. The Zemindars are discontented, many of them deprived of their lands, overwhelmed by debt, or reduced to beggary; the attention of the officers of the revenue is bewildered in the development of obscure accounts, a door is open for corruption and chicane; and, in the end, the justice of Government is driven to the necessity of granting remissions to repair the wrongs its own rapacity had created, which gives the people fair reason to conclude that there is no steadiness in our Government.’

‘These observations are proved by the voluminous proceedings of all our Revenue Boards, and by the incredible amount of remissions and balances which stand upon our records. Those for the five years’ settlement formed by the Committee of Circuit, with the flattering prospect of an increasing Jumma, amount to upwards of one hundred lacs (ten millions) of sicca rupees; and we find that, of late years, the deficiencies of each year have been greater than was formerly the case, which we attribute more to the arbitrary increases of the Jumma, and the unsteadiness of our system, than to any want of exertion or ability in our servants.’

‘On the expiration of these quinquennial leases, the lands were again let to farmers, under the general superintendence of provincial councils. A preference was now given to the Zemindar, if he would engage for the amount of the former settlement, or such amount as should be required by the provincial councils; and, instead of produc-

ing security, it was stipulated, that, in the event of failure in payments, his lands should be sold to liquidate out-standing balances. On these principles, annual settlements were made for the three following years; but the revenue fell short of what had been realised under the former agency, and a new plan was accordingly introduced.

In 1781, the lands were, again let to the Zemindars by the Committee of Revenue, on nearly the same terms as before, except that an increase on the former Jumma, of more than twenty-six lacs of rupees, was proposed to be effected. The settlements of the Committee were annual, but with an assurance to the Zemindar farmer, that, in instances where the revenue was regularly discharged, he should have the option of continuing under the same assessment. This assessment, however, appears to have been fixed at the highest amount of the actual collection in any one year, from 1771 to 1780 inclusive, which the Court of Directors thought a very inequitable standard. The consequence was, that up to 1783, the outstanding balances of revenue amounted to the very large sum of 7,100,000 sicca rupees, all of which remained uncollected in May 1785.

It thus appears, that the lands in Bengal were uniformly let to contractors, or farmers of the public revenue, from the earliest time of the Dewanny grant until within a few years of the introduction of the permanent settlement. The fact, indeed, deserves particular notice. The Musulman system having been uninterruptedly continued, with all its abuses and all its obstructions, it was conceived throughout this period that Native farmers would be better acquainted with the true value of the lands than their rulers; and farms were accordingly resorted to, because no other means offered or could be devised for ascertaining the real resources of the country. Dr. Smith, in treating of this mode of financial administration, says, 'that farmers of the public revenue have no bowels for the contributors who are not their subjects, and whose universal bankruptcy, if it should take place the day after the farm expires, would not much affect their interest. Even a bad sovereign (he adds) feels more compassion for his people than can ever be expected from the farmers of his revenue.' With the mere substitution of European principals for Nazims, the whole system was thus purely Mohammedan, conducted on the same principles, and the revenue realised through the same means, as had been employed by our Mohammedan predecessors. The financial administration was every where one of pure discretion: our practice for ever at variance with our professions. Regulations were enacted; but these were either useless or disregarded, the will of agents in local authority being paramount to all law. Change after change was attempted; and offices multiplied, with a view to effective superintendence and control; but they were productive only of disquiet to the inhabitants, and vast expense to the state. Ryots, left to the mercy of their oppressors, were frequently loaded with fresh taxes or cesses, generally imposed

at intervals of two, three, or four years; and, if at all tolerable, they would rather submit than venture to complain. But where successive impositions became too heavy for endurance, either the Ryots absconded, or the local officers granted them fresh lands at a more favourable rate, without, however, remitting the other imposts, the fresh lands, in process of time, being also subject to the additional cesses, or Abwabs. In this way, farmers, Zemindars, and others, having established an influence and power within their respective circles, which set courts, and collectors, and principal councils at naught, were left in reality with as much liberty as ever to plunder all below them; and the people were exposed to all the calamities resulting from breach of trust, abused patronage, perverted justice, and unrestrained oppression.

It were needless to enter into any lengthened description of the effects produced by this varying and uncertain system of conjectural assessment. Not only were all the evils of the Mohammedan management retained, and its extortionate practices continued, but they were rendered infinitely more grievous to the people and ruinous to the country, than the worst oppressions under their former governors. However rapacious may have been the collection of revenue in force before the Dewanny grant, the taxes, when once levied, were employed in a mode much more beneficial to the inhabitants than they were by us. The luxury of the imperial court, and of the vice-regal durbars, was the cause of much prosperity to the numerous manufacturers and artisans who once abounded in Bengal; but, when the English company succeeded to the office of Dewan, the Mogul himself, and his Soubahdars, were reduced to mere pensioners of state; English covenanted servants took the place of the Nazims, the public establishments were conducted on a scale of the utmost parsimony, and the taxes were no sooner levied than they were employed in the purchase of the investment. That the Directors were really anxious to promote the prosperity of their subjects in the early periods of their dominion, is clear from the whole course and tenour of their correspondence; but their most benevolent intentions were constantly frustrated by their commercial embarrassments, and their duties to their Indian subjects uniformly sacrificed to their engagements with English creditors. Necessity compelled them to realise the revenue from the Zemindars by arbitrary measures which their conscience disapproved, and the Zemindars avenged themselves on the weak and unprotected Ryots. The result was, a total destruction of the most ancient and respected families in the country, together with an uncertainty of title and confusion of rights which it is impossible adequately to describe.

Permanent Zemindarry Settlement of Bengal.

Such was the state of things when Mr. Pitt's India Bill, 24 Geo. III., c. 25, passed into a law. The 39th section of this Act was as follows :

‘ And whereas complaints have prevailed that divers Rajahs, Zemindars, Polygars, Talookdars, and other Native landholders within the British dominions in India, have been unjustly deprived of, or compelled to abandon and relinquish, their respective lands, jurisdictions, rights, and privileges; or that the tributes, rents, and services required to be by them paid or performed for their respective possessions to the said United Company, are become grievous and oppressive: And whereas the principles of justice and the honour of this country require that such complaints should be forthwith inquired into and fully investigated, and, if founded in truth, effectually redressed, Be it therefore enacted, that the Court of Directors of the said United Company shall, and they are hereby accordingly required, forthwith to take the said matters into their serious consideration, and to adopt, take, and pursue such methods for inquiring into the causes, foundations, and truth of the said complaints, and for obtaining a full and perfect knowledge of the same, and of all circumstances relating thereto, as the said Court of Directors shall think best adapted for that purpose; and, therefore, according to the circumstances of the respective cases of the said Rajahs, Zemindars, Polygars, Talookdars, and other Native landholders, to give orders and instructions to the several governments and presidencies in India, for effectually redressing, in such manner as shall be consistent with justice and the laws and customs of the country, all injuries and wrongs which the said Rajahs, Zemindars, Polygars, Talookdars, and other Native landholders may have sustained unjustly in the manner aforesaid, and for settling and establishing, upon principles of moderation and justice, according to the laws and constitution of India, the permanent rules by which their respective tributes, rents, and services shall be in future rendered and paid to the said United Company, by the said Rajahs, Zemindars, Polygars, Talookdars, and other Native landholders.’

On Lord Cornwallis's arrival in India in 1786, it was found that the country was by no means in a state to admit of the intentions of the Legislature, and the instructions of the Court of Directors, being carried into effect. His Lordship, therefore, determined to continue the annual farming system through the agency of the collectors, still hoping that the requisite information for enabling Government to conclude a settlement of the revenue for a period of ten years, with an ultimate view to perpetuity, would at length be procured. In this, however, he was grievously disappointed. Every day brought to light some fresh illustration of the mischiefs attending the existing policy, without affording any certain data for future arrangements; nothing was clear but that the country was exhausted, the Zemindars discontented, the people oppressed; and when his measures in respect to the decennial settlement, in 1789, were taken, much remained to be ascertained with regard to ancient laws and usages, to the nature of landed tenures, the resources of the coun-

try, and the relative situation and condition of the persons concerned in the production of the revenue; all which the statute above mentioned required to be attended to. The system adopted by Lord Cornwallis was as follows:

1. The lands in Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa were divided into estates, and parcelled out in absolute right to Zemindars, who were thus raised from their former state of hereditary collectors or farmers of revenue, to figure in future as a landed aristocracy. It was at the same time fixed, or rather estimated, that, after deducting the expense of collection, one-half or two two-fifths would be left as before to the Ryots,—the remaining half or three-fifths constituting the rent of the estate, of which ten-elevenths were seized by the Government as a tax, and one-eleventh left to the Zemindar.

2. The Jumma was fixed, never to be increased, remissions were declared inadmissible, and good and bad years were expected to balance each other.

3. To each estate were attached certain portions of waste or uncultivated lands. The assessment on the estate being permanent, any benefit which the Zemindar might derive from the cultivation of his waste, was exempted from contribution to the revenue.

4. The judicial powers of the revenue officers were annulled. A complete code for the administration of justice was introduced; and separate Courts of Civil and Criminal Judicature were appointed for the provinces, subject to the Presidency of Fort William. The Collectors were empowered to proceed against the Zemindars for arrears of revenue by summary process, that is, in default of payment, by imprisonment, by confiscating the estate, and bringing it to sale for the satisfaction of the Government demand. The Zemindar, on the other hand, could only proceed for arrears of rent against a Ryot, by a regular and tedious process in the local or Zillah Court of the district to which he belonged.

In 1794, the power of imprisoning the defaulting Zemindars was abolished; and the Collector, on failure of one *monthly* instalment, could bring the estate to sale immediately, instead of waiting till the end of the year.

In 1799, the summary power of recovering rents from the Ryots was restored to the Zemindars: in consequence of which, it is stated that greater punctuality has prevailed in the realisation of the revenue, but with severities amounting often to torture of the poor wretches who had to pay it. In comparison with this practice, the custom of imprisoning the landholders was mild and indulgent; and it is said to have occasioned more distress and beggary, and a greater change in the landed property of Bengal, than ever happened in the same space of time in any other age or country.

5. For the protection of the Ryots against oppression, on the part of the Zemindars, farmers, and others, sundry rules and regu-

lations were passed in 1793 and subsequent years. Among other provisions, pottahs, or written leases, were ordered to be granted to them, specifying and limiting in all cases the amount of demandable rent. Experience, however, has proved this arrangement to have been shamefully neglected or scandalously abused. In many instances it was ascertained that Zemindars were unwilling to grant pottahs, and the Ryot as unwilling to receive them,—the object of the former being to exact the utmost farthing, and the latter being afraid of binding himself by a deed beyond what he might be able to pay. The consequence was, either that pottahs were disregarded, or, when given too frequently, made the instruments of extortion and abuse.

Of the Zemindary Settlement it may be observed, that the advantages proposed by its introduction were, as briefly stated in a letter from the Court of Directors of the 1st of February, 1811,* 'to confer on the different orders of the community a security of property which they never before enjoyed; to protect the landholders from arbitrary and oppressive demands on the part of Government, to relieve the proprietors of small estates from the tyranny of the powerful Zemindars, and to free the whole body of merchants and manufacturers, and all the lower orders of the people, from the heavy impositions to which they had long been subject.'

In these principles, (says Mr. Rickards,) every one must applaud the intention of the original projector of the scheme; and it is but justice to the Court of Directors to add, that the whole of their printed correspondence on this head, indicates an anxious desire to see these principles carried into full effect. Their letters abound with excellent instruction, sound philosophical views, a constant desire to promote the general welfare, and more especially to guard the lower classes against oppression; but the system of land taxation which we had adopted from our predecessors, the amount of that tax, and the machinery by which it was realised, opposed insurmountable obstacles to the accomplishment of the Court's benevolent views.

In the official documents printed of late years, and entitled 'Selection of Papers from the Records at the East India House,' the practical inconveniences of the Zemindary Settlement are fully detailed, and may be classed under the following heads:

1st, The system was adopted without any thing like correct knowledge of the resources of the country.

2d, It was adopted in equal ignorance of the rights of the different classes of proprietors or occupants of land.

3d, A multitude of claims and disputed titles arose to be adjusted after the country had been partitioned to Zemindars, and which materially tended to disturb the original arrangement.

* Selections from India Records, vol. 1., p. 3.

4th, Through the operation of the new system of judicature which accompanied the introduction of the Zemindary Settlement, the greater part of the original Zemindars were dispossessed of their estates, and reduced to beggary; whilst the forfeiture, sale, and division of these estates occasioned dilemmas and confusion, which the Court of Directors, in repeated dispatches, acknowledge to have greatly deranged the order, and disturbed the quiet, of society.

5th, When, to avoid the continuance of this evil, a power was granted to the Zemindars to recover, by summary process, arrears of rent from Ryots, the latter had to endure all the severities and oppressions from which the system was intended to relieve them.

6th, The appropriation of waste and uncultivated lands, from which, and from the tax on estates being fixed in perpetuity, the Court of Directors have always apprehended inconvenience, lest this limitation and the irrevocable pledge to maintain it should deprive Government hereafter of the means to meet increased public exigencies.

These inconveniences could not have occurred, had the survey and assessment accounts of villages and districts been what they professed to be, accurate registers of local and personal rights, titles, boundaries, cultivation, and produce of lands. We have here, on the contrary, the plainest proof of their worthlessness. Had these registers been accurate as they always pretended to be, we should not have had to lament our ignorance of the real value of estates, the consequent monstrous inequality of assessment, or the task, (in which, however, we ultimately failed,) of adjusting disputed claims and titles of which nothing was known previous to the partition and declaration of permanency.

'The advocates of this system,' says Mr. Rickards, 'have already contended, and will no doubt repeat the argument, that the Zemindary Settlement, at least in Bengal, has produced the most beneficial effects; and that the proof of it lies, first in the more certain and regular realisation of the revenue, and next in the increased cultivation and wealth of the provinces. That these results may have been experienced of late years in Bengal, I mean not to deny; but I cannot in any respect ascribe them to the permanent settlement, the operation of which hitherto has been one continued series of almost un-mixed evil. The advocates of the Zemindary Settlement will not pretend that it has restored the beggared Zemindars of 1790, &c. their estates, or that their original dispossession was an act either of mercy to them, or creditable to the justice of the British Government. Although the revenue be now more regularly and certainly collected, these advocates cannot deny the load of proofs contained in the printed papers at the India House, of the excesses committed by Zemindars, commissioners of distraint, and others to accomplish it, and which has occasioned an acute and intelligent observer* to describe

* The author of 'The Law and Constitution of India.'

the system as transferring the miserable Ryots like herds of cattle into the hands and bondage of a class of persons proverbial throughout India as oppressors and extortioners, I mean the Zemindars.'

Neither can they deny the worst of all its reproaches, the enormous amount of the land-tax, upwards of fifty per cent. of the gross produce of the soil, the grand source of oppression and confusion, and to which every thing was sacrificed, nor the entire neglect, if not violation, of the rights and privileges of the minor occupants, the real proprietors of estates; by a hasty transference to others of what belonged not to us to bestow. 'The abject slavery of the cultivating classes, could only spring from the necessity of absolute submission, submission not to the revered representative of an ancient family, but to the upstart of the hour, to the Bengal Baboo, the new Malek, the absolute lord of the soil, who has no feelings in common with the people whom he fancied he had purchased, whose knowledge of the regulations told him he could, not only without violation, but with all due conformity to the words, (not indeed to the intent,) of them, destroy the happiness of his slave for ever, by banishing him from the village of his birth, the companions of his youth, the associates of his manhood, the support of his old age. Those ephemeral lords of English creation were not indeed vested with the power of life and death, not with the power of tormenting the body; but the happiness of the people was placed entirely at their mercy, and their minds were subdued. Instead of the manly spirit of former times, which a very small portion of independence will nourish, the Native of Bengal knows now, (1825,) that even the privilege of residing in his native village, he owes to his subjection.*'

As to the symptoms of increased wealth and extensive cultivation in the Bengal provinces, it would be quite surprising were it now otherwise. If we reflect on the vast increase of the external trade of Bengal since 1813, and consequently of the natural productions of the country to supply foreign demand, we can be at no loss to account for the improvements on which its advocates insist. 'I (says Mr. Rickards) am one who always anticipated those results from the opening of the trade; and if with the prospects of future benefit to be derived from a still freer commercial intercourse with Britain, we couple the advantages which will accrue to individuals from the possession of untaxed wastes, we may ultimately be led to pardon the difficulties and apprehensions which the appropriation of these wastes has hitherto occasioned. We may even excuse the inequalities which we now know to have occurred in the original assessment of estates, and rather be led to admire the dispensations of a gracious Providence, which can thus in mercy to erring mortals extract good out of evil, and by the augmentation and diffusion of individual wealth, cause one of the greatest errors of the settlement at its first introduction, to result at length in positive benefit to the community at large.'

* 'Law and Constitution of India.'

SLAVERY AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

(Continued from page 333.)

IN resuming our survey of the state of slavery in South Africa, we shall next adduce the testimony of a writer who published a small volume in 1821, entitled 'Notes on the Cape of Good Hope, made during an Excursion in that Colony in the year 1820.' This volume, though published anonymously, we know, from good authority, to be the production of a highly respectable barrister of Lincoln's Inn. The author's residence in the country was not, indeed, of sufficient duration, nor his means of observation sufficiently extended, to enable him fully to appreciate all the evils of the slave system, or to understand very distinctly the actual condition of the slave population; but his evidence is honest, and consequently valuable as far as it goes.

A residence of a few months in Cape Town, and an excursion or two into the neighbouring districts, will (as we know from experience) scarcely enable the most inquisitive traveller to get more than a glimpse of the secrets of the 'house of bondage.' While received with the frank and flattering hospitality which an English gentleman with good recommendations never fails to experience from the colonists, (whether in the Cape or in other slave settlements,) it is not very easy, in truth, to keep one's mind unbiassed by the natural influence of such civilities. It is felt to be ungracious, almost dishonourable, to pry very closely into the state and sentiments of our host's dependants, or narrowly to question his domestic or farm bondmen respecting their treatment and general condition; and, should we even happen to observe any thing that offends our European feelings a little, the continual accounts we receive from our good-humoured entertainers of the dishonesty, profligacy, sullen obstinacy, and shameful ingratitude of the slaves, gradually dispose us to make allowance for some severity of discipline on the part of the master, and to palliate, if we cannot altogether approve, the harsher traits of his conduct that occasionally fall under our notice. The colonist, on the other hand, aware of the 'prejudices' (as he calls them) of Europeans on such subjects, is anxious not to shock the feelings of the stranger from a land of freedom. Like many a well-bred man in common life, who, though captious and tyrannical in his domestic circle, has yet self-restraint and tact enough to conceal from the guest he respects the less amiable features of his character, the slave-holder is careful not to disgust his visitors, and especially visitors from England, by any obtrusive exposure of the more revolting accompaniments of the system of slavery: these are judiciously thrown into the background. And thus it is that cursory travellers allow themselves to

be deluded in regard to the real character and consequences of slavery; and thus such writers as the author of '*Six Months in the West Indies*,' and others of the same stamp, contribute, by flimsy and fallacious statements, to delude the public, and to counteract, in some degree, the progress of correct information and of right feeling on this important question.*

* In this class of superficial observers, we are constrained to number the celebrated Mr. Robert Owen, of Lanark, who, in a letter written on board his Majesty's packet *Spray*, January 17, 1829, two days' sail from Vera Cruz, makes the following statement, which has been quoted in the last number of '*Blackwood's Magazine*,' with great triumph, by Mr. M'Queen, of Glasgow, as important evidence in corroboration of his assertion, that the situation of the slaves in the West Indies is, on the whole, '*preferable to that of labourers in this country.*'

'I was anxious,' says Mr. Owen, 'to see the state of slavery in Jamaica, which I had an opportunity of witnessing at Kingston. After conversing with several of the domestic slaves, and seeing the proceedings of a large number in the market-place for *two hours*, and meeting great numbers coming from the mountains and others parts of the country, as I was going to the Admiral's and the Bishop's residences, some distance in the interior, I have no hesitation in stating *most distinctly* that their condition, with the exception of the term slavery, is, in most respects, *better* than that of the working classes in Great Britain, and that a very large portion of the operatives and labourers would most willingly *exchange situations with them!*'

Now is not this a presumptuous opinion for a man to give with '*no hesitation*,' who could not have spent in the island more than the twenty-four hours during which the Mexican Packet lay at anchor at Port Royal; who merely talked with a few domestic slaves, witnessed the proceedings of those in the market-place for '*two hours*,' and made an exploratory excursion to the residences of the Admiral and the Bishop, '*some distance into the interior*,'—and that '*distance*' (for we happen to know the spot quite as well as Mr. Owen, and will not permit him or his friend, Mr. M'Queen, to impose on the public by loose generalities) was just *one mile* to the Admiral's, and just about *one mile farther* to the Bishop's!—this portion of the '*interior*' being, moreover, a barren waste, where never yet a sugar-cane grew, where no cultivation of any sort exists, and where it was quite impossible that he could see any thing whatever of the condition or treatment of the plantation slaves, or be better qualified to inform the public on this point than if he had never left England. But Mr. Owen is only one of a numerous class of travellers.

Conversing on this subject a few days ago with General Miller, the distinguished Peruvian Commander, whose '*Memoirs*' respecting the wars of South America have recently so much interested the public, he mentioned the following circumstance from his own experience, in illustration of the topic in discussion. During a short residence in Jamaica, a few years ago, he happened to spend several weeks in the house of a wealthy colonist, a timber merchant, at the town of Lucea. His host, who was naturally a kind and good-tempered man, appeared to manage his numerous slaves without harshness or severity, and would often expatiate to General Miller on the favourable points of their condition, alleging that *his* slaves were never ill-treated, and that slaves in

These remarks are only applicable to the author before us, however, in a limited degree. He did not see much of the more revolting features of slavery; and, being partially imposed on by external appearances, he estimates the condition of the slaves at the Cape too favourably: but still he is too intelligent and acute an observer to overlook altogether the real character and results of the system; and in describing the Sunday dances of the slaves in Cape Town, to their rude African music, which some travellers have spoken of as proofs of their indulgent treatment and happy condition, he says, with more just observation,—‘A week of unremitting toil, and the tyranny of an unfeeling master, are all forgot in the tumultuous delight of the Sunday-dance to these simple instruments. This is the only indulgence and relaxation which is permitted to the slave. It is, therefore, eagerly anticipated and prosecuted with proportional ardour, when the moment of enjoyment arrives.’—‘This dancing,’ he adds, ‘is certainly not an exhibition of grace and elegance; it is not even a display of that vigour which the elasticity and buoyancy of youth may produce. The spirit which actuated Goldsmith’s pair,

“—— That simply sought renown,
By holding out to tire each other down,”

is not known among them; probably, a week of toil may have

the West Indies, generally, were much better off, and, on the whole, much happier, than most of the labouring classes in Europe. Nor did this assertion, seem, at first sight, quite inadmissible; for the slaves had apparently no care for the future; and, when seen in their hours of relaxation, displayed, at times, a good deal of noisy mirth and animal hilarity. One morning, however, General Miller happening to go into the timber yard, where the slaves were employed, at a very early hour, he found a young man, the nephew of his host, cruelly beating these ‘happy peasantries,’ without provocation, as it afterwards appeared, and merely from a spirit of wanton tyranny; which, however, the slaves dared neither resist nor complain of. On his mentioning this fact to the owner, the old man shrugged his shoulders, and owned that such abuses did occasionally occur, notwithstanding all his anxiety to prevent them! And thus, after all his eulogies of the kindness of masters, and the happiness of slaves, it became obvious, from the condition of his own establishment, that even where the resident owner happens to be himself a man of kindness and benevolence, he cannot secure, under this vitiated system of society, such treatment to his bondmen as even working cattle are considered entitled to by men of common humanity.

While quoting the evidence of General Miller upon slavery, we may add that he commanded, in South America, a regiment of blacks, composed entirely of emancipated Negro or Creole slaves; and that, after witnessing the conduct of these men through all the trying vicissitudes of the revolutionary wars of Chili and Peru, this intelligent officer declares them to have been in every respect, as regards bravery, discipline, high feeling and patient endurance, equal to the best and bravest troops in either the royalist or patriot armies.

exhausted that springiness.' He then makes the following general remarks:

'Without entering into the long-debated question, how far the colony at large would be benefited by the total abolition of slavery, I cannot say that the condition of the slaves at the Cape struck me as being peculiarly miserable. It is as much the interest of the master to keep his slave in good condition, as his horse. As the property is valuable, they invariably have the best medical attendance in sickness, and such comforts as are necessary in that situation. Though their toil is incessant, and their indulgences much fewer than those of a European labourer, they have not, in general, the appearance of being over-worked; for they are early inured to hardship and spare living. If they are sunk below the level of their fellow-creatures, we may perhaps argue, that they cannot be supposed sensible to the pain of degradation, when they have never enjoyed a more elevated state; or to feel the want of liberty, when they have not known, or ever aspired to, the character of freemen.

'In fact, only suppose the sensibilities of his nature deadened, and the difference in the condition of the slave and of the white labourer is hardly perceptible. The portion of both is a life of unremitting toil, servitude, and dependence; and if we reflect that the slave has no apprehension of want, that he has no harassing solicitude on the score of providing for his offspring, but is always sure of a subsistence, which the other equally toils for in the sweat of his brow, and oftentimes in torturing uncertainty, the balance will be still more equal. This, however, is not admitting a right in any human being to fit his victim, by early and continued degradation, for wearing his chains; a slight extension of such a privilege might justify the Eastern despot in furnishing his seraglio with its mutilated attendants. In a moral point of view, the consequences of slavery are more striking. It is necessary that the slaves should be depressed in the scale of human beings by ignorance; for knowledge would awaken the energies of the soul, and "tell them they are men;" but that a large portion of our fellow-creatures, whose menial offices and occupations are precisely similar to those of our own countrymen, should be devoted to superstition, and debarred from all moral improvement, is a singular feature in the state of servitude. Why a population of blacks are to be shut out from the light and advantage of Christianity, detached from the common chain of human beings; why they are not to know the social ties of kindred, to solace themselves, like the other wretched ones of the world, by the anticipation of future happiness,—is a mystery I cannot explain. If slavery be incompatible with such things in its present ameliorated state, it is indeed a bad cause.

'When the Spaniards first became acquainted with the natives of America, we are told that they looked upon them as animals of

an inferior order, and it was with difficulty that they could be persuaded that they belonged to the human species. It required the authority of a Papal bull to counteract this opinion; and to convince them that the Americans were capable of the functions, and entitled to the privileges, of humanity. Though that age of darkness has passed away, one would imagine that this preposterous opinion still prevailed in Southern Africa.

This practice is contrary to the invariable rule observed in the Spanish, Portuguese, and French colonies, by which every master is compelled to procure religious instruction for his slaves; and this seems to be according to the true spirit of Christianity, (see Epistle to Philemon, *passim*.) Indeed, the diffusion of Christianity has unhappily been made a plea for this odious traffic.

The slaves are by far the most numerous class of domestic servants at the Cape, and the women are invariably used as the nurses and companions of the young children of the family. The influence of these persons upon the young mind is well understood, and occasions the strictest scrutiny into character, in our own country. What, then, must be the pernicious effect of early and continued intercourse with a class of beings so degraded and demoralised? Much of the laxity in morals, and that general tone of levity observable among the upper orders of society, may be traced to this source; and, while slavery exists in its present form and extent, it seems in vain to hope for any thing like virtuous principle and morality amongst the lower orders of society.

Instances of cruel treatment are, I believe, rare, especially since the great increase of English in the colony. However, it must be confessed, that a notion universally prevails, that slaves are not to be treated with kindness; and, perhaps, a saying that is said to pass current in the French West Indian islands will serve, with tolerable accuracy, to express the general opinion here; viz.

“Battre un nègre, c’est le nourrir.”

On the general tone of these observations, we are not disposed very rigidly to animadvert; yet we must not allow them to pass altogether without comment. The author says the condition of the slaves at the Cape did not strike him as being ‘peculiarly miserable.’ If he means by this expression to estimate their condition as slaves, compared with that of the slaves of our sugar islands, we admit the correctness of his phraseology: but if, (as seems to be the fact,) he speaks of them as compared with free labourers, we affirm that it is entirely false; and this, even on his own data, it will be easy to demonstrate. He admits, that ‘their toil is incessant, and their indulgences much fewer than those of a European labourer;’ that ‘they are early inured to hardship and spare living;’ ‘depressed in the scale of human beings by ignorance;’ ‘debarred from all moral improvement;’ ‘shut out from the light and advan-

tage of Christianity; 'detached from the common chain of human beings; and forbidden 'to know the social ties of kindred,' and to solace themselves, like the other wretched ones of the world, by the anticipation of future happiness; and that, in short, they are degraded and demoralised class of beings, and looked upon almost 'as animals of an inferior order.'

Now, if this be not a condition 'peculiarly miserable,' we cannot well conceive what meaning the writer attaches to his own expression. And were we even fully to admit (what, however, we cannot do without considerable deduction) the advantages he throws into the opposite scale, they could not, if impartially weighed, render the decision for a moment doubtful. For what does the whole amount to? That the slaves have 'medical attendance in sickness, and such comforts as are necessary in that situation; that 'they have not, in general, the appearance of being overworked; that 'they cannot be supposed sensible to the pain of degradation,' or to feel the want of liberty,' (false positions both;) that they have 'no apprehension of want,' no harassing solicitude on the score of providing for their offspring, and are 'always sure of a subsistence.' In every one of these points, the domestic animals, which the slave (that human beast of burden, with 'the sensibilities of his nature deadened!') feeds at his 'owner's' stall, are at least his equals or superiors. How, then, can any man of right feeling, or enlarged reflection, view the lot of such a class of beings, merely because they have still reserved to them a few of the ignoble privileges common to them with the cattle, as other than a condition 'peculiarly miserable?' This were, indeed, a wretched philosophy!

'Was man ordain'd the slave of man to toil,
Yoked with the brutes, and fettered to the soil;
Weigh'd in a tyrant's balance with his gold?
No!—Nature stamp'd us in a heavenly mould!
She bade no wretch his thankless labour urge,
Nor, trembling, take the pittance and the scourge!'

We now turn to 'The Quarterly Review,' No. 50, where the volume we have just been remarking upon, is criticised in an article written in a tone of great dogmatism, and with extraordinary pretensions to superior correctness of information. The writer of this article takes the author of 'Notes on the Cape' severely to task for what he has said about the state of slavery—a point on which he affirms that the traveller 'has been most egregiously misinformed.' 'In no part of the world,' says the critic, 'are slaves treated so well and worked so easily' as at the Cape. 'So far indeed,' he continues, 'are the slaves from being subject to "unremitting toil and tyranny," that they may rather be described as indolent and pampered. Mr. Semple (many years a merchant at the Cape) describes them as well-treated, well-clothed, and well-fed.' And he proceeds to state, that 'any instances to the contrary, are rare exceptions to their general condition; that 'there is no prohibition whatever to

their becoming Christians,' and that, ~~in fact~~ all who choose it marry.' This well-informed reviewer adds, in a note, that in consequence of the influx of European labourers, manumission will, he doubts not, take place to a very great extent, and 'that twenty years hence there will probably not remain a slave within the colony!'

Assertions at once so confident and so preposterously incorrect would be unworthy of notice, if they appeared in a publication of less authority and of less extensive circulation than 'The Quarterly Review;' and it is, indeed, much to be regretted, that the conductors of that work had not submitted this article to the correction of Mr. Barrow, before they injured the character of the Review by giving it insertion. Mr. Barrow would have told the writer, as he told the public long ago in his valuable work on the Cape, that, although the domestic slaves of Cape Town are generally well fed and clothed, and not severely treated, 'yet such are the bad effects which the condition of slavery produces on the mind,' that it is only whilst 'under the severe hand of a rigid and cruel master' that they become useful servants. He would have told him, likewise, that while the domestic slaves of Cape Town (or, to be quite correct, he might say the younger female slaves—and especially those who are *good looking*), were thus petted and pampered, the country slaves, outnumbering those of the town in the ratio of at least five to one, 'are not nearly so well treated,' and that 'they are ill-fed, ill-clothed, work extremely hard, and are frequently punished with the greatest severity—sometimes with death, when rage gets the better of prudence and compassion.*'

Mr. Barrow would have corrected this too-confident critic in other important points, and furnished him, we doubt not, with those sound and sagacious views in regard to the influence and effects of slavery, which may be found in our last article on this subject, as extracted from his excellent work. And in regard to the encouragement of Christianity among the slaves, Mr. Barrow, if he was not himself previously aware how the case actually stood, could have referred him to his intelligent friend the 'Civil Servant,' who, in *his* work published by Mr. Murray two years subsequently, mentions that 'marriages are *not* permitted between slaves, or between a slave and a free person; nor is the practice of Christianity encouraged by the master, or any of its commandments, excepting the sixth and eighth, taught to the slaves,' &c. (See p. 330.) And, finally, the 'Civil Servant' would have informed this rash reviewer, that, instead of the extinction of slavery by manumissions in twenty years, the excess of births over deaths and manumissions, in the very year this review was written, amounted to 488, and that, at this rate of increase, the slave population of the colony would, 'in

* Barrow's 'Travels in Southern Africa,' vol. ii. p. 109.

all human probability, double itself in about twenty-five years; so that, in the year 1846, the colony might look to the number of nearly 70,000 as its slave population!

The limits prescribed to us do not admit of our prosecuting this subject farther at present, but we shall revert to it probably in the ensuing Number. If any of our readers think that we are spending too much time in the investigation of the progressive state of slavery in a colony far from being the most important either in its general capabilities or in the extent of its slave population, we reply—that, as the Cape is, of all our settlements, the one where slavery is said to assume its mildest form, it is important to examine that system closely where its natural character is exhibited apart from the peculiar circumstances which, in the Mauritius and our other sugar colonies, so fearfully augment its horrors;—and it becomes doubly important, when we consider that, of all our settlements, the Cape is the one where the curse of slavery may, under good management, and with the blessing of Providence, be the most readily and effectually got rid of.

THE WANDERER'S RETURN.

AMID the loved scenes of his early years,
Where his bright dream of youth had pass'd away,
When mirth led forth the hours in rosy play,
Again he stood:—all Nature now appears
Deck'd in the self-same hues of loveliness
She wore in that young season of delight;
The hills stand forth in all their native might,
And the green meadows, 'neath the sun's caress,
Look beauteous as of yore.—Here did he part,
Full of high hopes, from those his spirit loved—
Where are they now?—Oh! he was strangely moved—
He of the wounded soul and wither'd heart:
The visions of the past upon him rush'd,
And from their sear'd abodes the willing fountains gush'd.

L.

ON TAXES, OR PUBLIC REVENUE.*

It has long been a subject of much controversy and discussion among political economists, on what class of society the ultimate burthen of taxes should rest. The French economists, with Quesney at their head, contended that, as agriculture was the only species of industry which added any thing to the exchangeable value of the subject upon which it is employed above what was necessary to repay the wages of labour and the profits of stock, taxes must ultimately be incident on land, and payable out of the 'product net,' or rent of its proprietors. Ricardo, on the other hand, with his disciple, M'Culloch, make all taxes ultimately incident on the profits of stock. If the theory of Quesney were just, it followed that the simplification of our financial systems might immediately be effected by the direct taxation of the land proprietors; and if that of Ricardo were admitted, much trouble would be saved by levying revenue at once on the merchants, manufacturers, and others, whose capital is actually employed in producing and bringing to market.

A work has recently appeared under the title of 'Taxes, or Public Revenue,' the object of which is to refute the principles of both these schools, and to establish a new theory in their place. The author disclaims all pretensions to originality in fixing the burthen on any particular class, and professes to make an equal distribution among all. 'My system of political economy,' says he, 'will probably be well received and found useful among plain practical statesmen, but it will perhaps be thought a good deal too simple for the schools. To the latter I beg leave to offer a review of the two theories of Quesney and Ricardo; to the former I offer, with deference, the system itself.' We cordially wish for the author as gratifying a reception for his work as he can possibly desire; but we regret that he has been induced to give it to the world before he had completed his own design. The 'review of the system of Ricardo' is totally omitted; and the outline of his own, to say the least of it, is very indefinitely sketched. It is no excuse for such imperfections, in a work of this description, to say that this is only a preliminary essay, to be followed by a more extensive treatise; and though we agree with the editor, that the increasing popularity of the science called Political Economy, makes it imperative on every friend of mankind to disseminate, without delay, any new discovery calculated to correct its errors or confirm its truths, yet, if the new discoveries are deficient in that *lucidus ordo*, that neat symmetry of parts which are the almost invariable accompaniments of truth, men in general are slow to recognise a quality not denoted by its usual characteristics. There are, however, many

* On Taxes or Public Revenue, the ultimate incidence of their payment, their disbursement, and the seats of their ultimate consumption. By an Officer in the Military and Civil Service of the Honourable East India Company. Smith, Elder, and Co. London, 1829.

passages in the book which prove the writer to be a man of extensive and varied information; and the occasional references made to the present condition and past history of nations, evince a depth of research and a power of exposition which induce us to lament the premature appearance of a publication which the devotion of a little more time might have considerably improved.

The author of '*Taxes, or Revenue*,' is an officer in the East India Company's service. Having passed seventeen years in India, he has had abundant opportunities of estimating the influence of our revenue system on the circumstances of that country, and he frequently illustrates his positions by describing its injurious effects. We have often had occasion to remark on the miserable listlessness and inactivity which have paralysed the industry of our Eastern territories, since they were transferred to us by their Mohammedan rulers. The decay of trade and manufactures, the desolation of opulent cities, the irregularity and carelessness of husbandry, which immediately succeeded the Dewanny Grant, would have been indifferently compensated by the parsimonious establishments of Europeans scattered over the country, even if those establishments were supported by European funds, and were ten times more numerous than they are at present. The system of economy which the embarrassments of the Company have always compelled them to adhere to, is inconsistent with any liberal encouragement of the numerous artificers who once found employment in anticipating the wants and purveying to the luxuries of their Musulman rulers. All the embellishments and gratifications of English life in India are imported from Europe; and, excepting the produce of the soil, our wealthy residents have few demands which the Natives are in a condition to supply.

'In India every little village is a seat of demand for agricultural produce, as will be described in another part of this work; but the great seats of demand, which are alone to be considered in this place, are scarcely any of them founded upon revenues derived from the employment of instruments in manufactures, commerce, &c. They are almost all founded upon revenue derived in taxes, and tribute from distant places; and composed of the public establishments of Government and their dependants in different capacities. The increase of demand at such seats arises from an increase of these establishments, and a diminution from a decrease; and, as all their luxuries, and the greater part of their conveniences, are supplied from the industry of distant places or countries, they have little influence on the wages of labour in their vicinity, except as they raise the price of land produce in their increase, and reduce it with their decrease.

'As these seats of demand are augmented by increased public establishments, and recourse becomes necessary to more distant lands, the price of land-produce increases; and the rents of land increase the more that the wages of labour have increased less than in seats

of demand differently constituted. In other countries, good roads, canals, bridges, and other facilities of distribution, follow an increase of population and demand, at any particular seat, whether that increase arises from one species of revenue or the other; and, by reducing the costs and difficulties of conveyance, the price of produce is prevented from rising so much as it otherwise would do with the necessity of recourse to more distant lands. But, in India, this is rarely the case. As demand increases, and recourse becomes necessary to lands more and more distant, no improvements are made in the means of transport; and the price increasing with the increasing demand, the value of the nearer lands augments, whether that value be taken in rents by the proprietors or in taxes by the Government. Nor is the increase of demand at such seats in India ever prevented from causing a corresponding increase of price, by land produce being made the channel of remitting to them private incomes or public tributes, as had been the case in Rome, and is perhaps still the case in some parts of the world. The public revenue by which these establishments are supported, is all levied from the distant places which contribute it, and paid to those who receive it in money; and with this money is purchased what free competition brings to the market. The price is prevented from rising neither by a remittance of revenue in land produce, nor generally by the formation and improvement of great works to facilitate distribution; and while the price of produce increases with every augmentation of establishments and demand, the rents of the land from which these seats are supplied must increase.

‘This reasoning will probably be thought to account satisfactorily for a great portion of those revolutions in the value of landed property in India, which have been so often seen and so often lamented. Seats of demand for agricultural produce are very suddenly formed and augmented by our public establishments; which are, in the present state of society and industry, almost the only centres of demand for the surplus produce of the land in India. As these seats of demand, however, are seldom formed or augmented by an addition to their collective numbers, their increase in one place must imply their diminution in another. Inasmuch as they increase the demand for said produce, raise the price, and augment the value of land in the place to which they are removed, they must diminish the demand for, and the price of, land produce in the place from which they are taken, and consequently reduce the value of land. Thus very great and very sudden revolutions are produced in the value of landed property, and in the condition of the people in the different parts of our Eastern dominions. The seats of demand in India may be compared to the sand-banks of her great rivers; they are in a state of continual revolution and change. Those parts in which seats of demand for land produce are formed or augmented, rapidly improve, while those from which they are removed, or in which they are reduced, go as rapidly to decay; not unfrequently to the surprise of the Government, which had calculated on results

totally different, and supposed that it was removing an oppressive burthen when it was taking away a source of prosperity. The same effects had always been following the same causes, under different dominions in India, because all great seats of demand had always depended entirely upon great public establishments—political, civil, military, or ecclesiastical; and they have, for more than half a century, been following the same causes under our dominion, without the connexion between them having been distinctly and clearly explained in any publication with which I am acquainted. There can be no doubt, that such an explanation would have been of great practical importance both to the Government and to the people of India; for, without clearly understanding this connexion between great seats of demand in the value of land, we must be perpetually liable to errors of the greatest moment, as well in our political as in our financial measures, in the administration of a country where all their seats depend upon our public establishments, or upon public establishments at our disposal. From the time when the Mohammedans, in the thirteenth century, drew into circulation and employment the precious metals, which, flowing in a perpetual stream from the West, had remained a useless deposit in the temples for more than three thousand years, the seats of demand for surplus agricultural produce in India made some progress in changing their character. From depending entirely upon revenue drawn by the sovereigns, or feudal chiefs, for the support of military and ecclesiastical establishments, many seats of demand had come to depend upon incomes derived from employment in arts, trade, manufactures, and commerce. In Europe, when the great territorial lords were prevented, by the vigorous administration of a few enlightened sovereigns, from plundering each other, and from exacting all the surplus produce of their own lands to support licentious and idle militia, industry extended, and the episcopal sees, and the residences of the great officers of state, became the seats of arts, manufactures, and commerce, and the demand of these seats became in time independent of military and ecclesiastical establishments. So it was in Southern India, or India south of the Nerbudda river, while it was divided into independent Mohammedan sovereignties, and exhibited a picture of Spain under the Moors; and so it was in other parts of India, as Malwa, Guzerat, and other places, in which independent Mohammedan sovereignties were established; and so in Bengal, and other parts, in which governors were sovereigns in every thing but the name. Improved tastes gave active employment to the people; and the exercise of their physical and mental powers, upon objects of luxury and convenience, conferred an independent claim upon what they required of the surplus produce of the land. The tastes differed, but they all gave this employment. The tastes were in some parts, as in Bengal, for foreign and domestic luxuries, which, like those of Europe, soon perish and disappear in their enjoyment. In others, they were for great works, useful and orna-

mental, which, though used and enjoyed, last through ages, and, after the lapse of centuries, excite the wonder of the traveller. The one was like the taste of the Egyptians and other nations and states of antiquity, and that of the commercial states of Italy: the other, like that of the manufacturing and commercial states of modern Europe. As far as they gave equal employment to those who depended upon the surplus produce of the land for subsistence, and had nothing to offer in exchange but the use of the mental and physical powers, they were both equally useful.

‘The Mahratta power originated in the invasion and desolation of the independent sovereignties of Southern India, by the Emperor Aurungzebe, and rose gradually and simultaneously with ours, amidst the anarchy and civil wars which followed his death and continued under his imbecile successors. We flatter ourselves with having conquered India: we have been merely the most successful competitors for dominion where all dominion had ceased, and have merely been employed in collecting the scattered fragments of a general wreck. We have not yet applied our knowledge to form any thing out of these collected fragments; and though they are all at our disposal, they are but fragments still, which another tempest may scatter. The few seats of great and independent demand which escaped the ravages of the civil wars in which our power rose, we have consumed by slow degrees. The Mahrattas destroyed them by their misrule, and by their want of taste for that luxury, convenience and magnificence, which, under the Mohammedans, gave active employment to the mental and physical powers of those who had nothing else to offer for the surplus produce of the land they required for their subsistence. We have destroyed them by our colonial, commercial, and manufacturing prejudices, and by other means that will be considered in a subsequent chapter; and between us we have reduced nearly all the great seats of demand for agricultural produce to their primitive state of Hindoo simplicity, and dependence upon military and ecclesiastical establishments.

‘It is not my object to enlarge upon the practical application of my reasoning to our Indian administration, as this will be the subject for future chapters, and would extend this to too great a length. I may, however, here state that when we have had a cession of territory from a Native prince or chief in lieu of money subsidies, we have generally chosen it from its fine condition; and this fine condition has commonly arisen from the great effectual demand for land produce, furnished by the great military establishments maintained within them under the former Government, establishments that consumed not only all the surplus produce of such territories, but that of lands far beyond their boundaries. The territories ceded to us are commonly upon the frontiers of the state from which we receive them; and this circumstance, which makes them more eligible for us, has commonly occasioned their being made the seats of great

military establishments, which by their demand for agricultural produce, have extended the cultivation and increased the population and industry of these territories. But as these territories border upon our own, the great establishments by which they have been occupied and defended, are no longer necessary for military purposes. No danger can be apprehended from without; and to prevent internal disorder, the few troops that we are willing to maintain are thought to be more necessary within the territories reserved by the Native state. Our administration of such newly acquired territories, therefore, begins commonly by reducing or removing the whole or nearly the whole of such establishments. Before, however, they are removed, or that our intention of removing them has been promulgated, a settlement of the land revenue is made for a period of years; and this is probably rated upon a calculation of the average money rents, paid to the former Government for a certain number of years preceding the transfer. Or, calculating upon the increased tranquillity and security that cannot fail to follow the removal of such large military establishments, and the consequent increase of labour and stock applied to the lands, the farmers and cultivators may be prevailed upon to engage at this rate for the first year, and for every succeeding year, of the settlement at an increased rate, or what is technically called a *Rusudie Juma*. This arrangement, completing the long impatiently urged measures of disbanding and removing public establishments, and reducing local expenditure to the lowest possible scale, is carried into effect. But an effect not calculated upon soon manifests itself in the most unequivocal symptoms. A very deficient market, or no market at all, is found for the surplus produce of the land which the farmers and cultivators are very willing to give the Government in rent or revenue; but finding no market in which they can exchange that produce for money, they find themselves unable to pay money to the state. Government will, however, take nothing but money in rents and revenue; and, unless it brings back the public establishments, increases in some other shape the local expenditure, or reduces the assessments, lands are soon thrown out of cultivation, farmers and cultivators are thrown into gaol for defalcation or contumacy, or they desert to other countries with all their moveable stock, and the assessment inevitably reduces itself, by rapid degrees through a period of disorder, wretchedness, and depopulation.

The fidelity of the picture here sketched of the combined effects of our financial system, and the grudging scale of expenditure on which our revenues are dispensed, cannot be surpassed. What pretence have we to expect the smallest attachment to our Government, until some means are adopted to revive the sources of employment which we have permitted to run dry? If it be true that no improvement can take place in one division of the country except by the impoverishment

of another, if every thing be precarious and uncertain except the insupportable burthen of our taxation, if the proceeds of our assessments are always miserably inferior to the estimate, and remissions must incessantly be made,—surely it is high time to raise up some middle class capable of at once supplying the necessities of the treasury and stimulating the industry of the people,—a race not ‘of birds of prey and passage,’ continually shifting their haunts, and escaping with their plunder, but of intelligent and enterprising settlers, who may, in time, bear in their habits and pursuits some resemblance to English artisans and yeomanry. The great seats of demand in England are totally independent of Government establishments. Why should it not be so in India? Merely because an absurd and irrational jealousy has prevented the development of the resources of that country, and opposed to every scheme of projected improvement a silly apprehension of tumult and disorder.

But let any man whose mind is not warped by prejudice or interest, compare the state of things represented in the foregoing extract, with the condition of Hyderabad while the house of the *Palmers* flourished—of the districts of Bengal in which indigo is cultivated—or of the settlements of Mr. Brown in the province of Malabar. Here he will find content and happiness and industry prevailing, and, instead of a depressed and impoverished peasantry, dependent on the mere local expenditure of Government, a community, the divisions of which mutually assist each other, and diffuse plenty and comfort through the land. It is idle for those who support the present system to say, that it was not invented by us, but bequeathed by our predecessors. Even if that position were admissible, it could not justify their conclusions. Misgovernment cannot be warranted by precedent—there is no charter for abuse. The time is fast approaching when some attempt must be made to change this deplorable state of things; to relieve the miserable peasantry from the intolerable burthen of our extortionate assessments; to diffuse a taste for the luxuries and accommodations of life, and a capacity for their enjoyment; to enrich England by the improved produce of Indian husbandry, and India by the influence of English skill, ingenuity, and enterprise.

MRS. LUSHINGTON'S JOURNEY FROM CALCUTTA TO EUROPE.*

WE well remember the time, nor is the date a distant one, when a journey from India to Europe, 'by way of Egypt,' was considered a bold and perilous enterprise, from the accomplishment of which even the most intrepid of our own 'lordly sex' might derive no slight addition to his travelled consequence. But those days, we apprehend, are past. Here is a delicate lady, (an elegant and accomplished one too,) who, instead of returning home by the usual monotonous and tedious track round the Cape of Good Hope, sets out with her husband from the banks of the Ganges, like some 'gay ladye' of the days of chivalry, in an enchanted ship which moves through the ocean without the aid of either sail or oar; and after touching at Trincomalee, Point de Galle, and Bombay, and carrying off the Ex-Governor Mr. Elphinstone in her train, passes through the perilous straits of Babel Mandeb, and over the coral reefs of the Red Sea, and gains at length the classic shores of Egypt at Cosseir. Then, leaving her vessel for a land conveyance, she takes her passage across the Desert in an Eastern vehicle called a '*tukhte rowan*,' which neither moves on wheels, nor is borne on the shoulders of men, nor on the backs of cattle, but is carried forward in a mode peculiar to itself between the earth and the heavens,—as those who trust not our report may satisfy themselves, by looking at the lithographic frontispiece of the pleasant book which details all these strange adventures, and which has just issued from the aristocratic counter of the shrewd and successful bibliopole of Albemarle-street, at the reasonable rate of eight shillings and sixpence.

In traversing Egypt, the land of magic and of monumental marvels, the adventures of our 'ladye errant' (if in all honour and courtesy we may venture so to call her) are, as the reader may well suppose, still more exciting and diversified. Alighting from her aerial car, or '*tukhte rowan*,' (which, sooth to say, the fair voyager found almost as perilous and far more jolty than the back of a genie or a hippogriff,) she steps down in the midst of the wild and barren desert; but, instead of such a scene as Burckhardt and other travellers have described, 'abounding in sand and hunger and thirst,' she finds an elegant pavilion pitched among the black-browed rocks, and a banquet, consisting of the richest viands and the choicest wines, spread, as if by enchantment, for the celebration of an anniversary fête on New-Year's Day, 1828.

Advancing in the lady's train, we visit with her the stupendous

* 'Narrative of a Journey from Calcutta to Europe, by way of Egypt, in the Years 1827 and 1828. By Mrs. Charles Lushington.' Murray. London, 1829.

ruins of the temple of Carnac; descend by torchlight into the tombs of the Pharaohs, at Biban-ool-Moolk; examine the curious ancient paintings, 'as vivid as those of any modern artists,' in the mausoleums of Psammis and Ramses III.; take a view of the Memnonium, Medinet Haboo, and 'the two colossal statues seated on the plain, like brother genii, in solitary grandeur;' and, pitching our tents for a whole fortnight among the ruins of Thebes, visit its various antiquities at perfect leisure, until, as the author expresses it, 'the colossal statues become like old friends, between which we use to sit down and take our refreshment, enjoying the heavenly climate; and, while repeatedly examining the majestic Carnac, gratify our imaginations by reposing in the hall of Sesostris.'

While here encamped, too, she gives audience to a deputation of turbaned Turks, and witnesses the opening of a mummy on the hills of Goornoo, in an apartment of which 'the window shutters, steps, and floor were composed of mummy coffins, painted with hieroglyphic figures, perhaps 4,000 years old.'

Embarking upon the bosom of ancient Nile in a barge, (of which the description, we must own, does not precisely accord with that of Cleopatra's galley,) our traveller and her gallant train float down the majestic stream, visit the temple of Dendera, and the grottos of Beunibassen; and, landing at Grand Cairo, survey in succession whatever is most interesting in that city of wonders and its monumental environs.

But it is time to lay aside the strain which we have unconsciously fallen into, and have perhaps indulged too long, and accompany the truly accomplished author through the remainder of her journey in the simple and unaffected style which is characteristic of her very interesting volume.

Mrs. Lushington gives a very good and graphic description of the general appearance of Cairo, of its confused and crowded streets, and motley population, and of all that is most remarkable in its edifices; but we shall select in the first place a few characteristic extracts respecting Mohammed Ali, not the least interesting certainly of Egypt's modern wonders. The following is a specimen of the Pasha's mode of administering justice:

'It was generally stated that, since Mohammed Ali had felt himself secure in the Pashalic, he had ceased to be cruel; seldom, of late years, taking away life, and never with torture; and if the subordinate Turks were as well disposed as himself, the Arabs, notwithstanding the oppressive taxes, would feel their property more secure. One instance of his prompt justice excited much astonishment; yet a more deliberate method would not probably, with such a people, have produced an equal effect. A Cacheef, who had not long been accustomed to the Pasha's rule, punished one of his own servants with death. The chief was called before Mahomed, who

asked him by what authority he had committed this outrage. He replied that the man was his own servant. "True," retorted the Pasha, "but he was my subject;" and with that he passed sentence, and had the unfortunate Cachef immediately beheaded—an effectual warning to the rest of the grandees present. The above act of severity has saved the lives of many of the Arabs who, in former times, would have been sacrificed by their Turkish masters on the most trifling pretences.

The next specimen, although our author mentions it as the only instance of the Pasha's rigour which had occurred for a long time, and though she adds that his recent lenity seemed verified by the miserable appearance of the executioner, who was begging in the streets, is enough to show that this despot's lenity is little better than that of an old over-gorged and crafty tiger, who cares not to dye his claws in blood more frequently than his needs require, but whose ferocious habits and appetites are still apt to be awakened by the slightest opposition to the most unreasonable of his humours:

'A few months ago he had ordered that the dollar should pass for a fixed number of piastres, and it was mentioned in his presence that the rate was not strictly followed. His Highness expressing some doubts of the fact, the head interpreter observed, carelessly, that a Jew-broker, whom he named, had, a few days before, exchanged dollars for him at the rate asserted.—"Let him be hanged immediately," exclaimed the Pasha! The interpreter, an old and favourite servant, threw himself at his sovereign's feet, deprecating his own folly, and imploring pardon for the wretched culprit; but all intercession was in vain—the Pasha said his orders must not be disregarded, and the unfortunate Jew was executed.'

Nevertheless Mohammed Ali, as is well known, has caught enough of the manners of a European politician to restrain his Oriental propensities, when it is his interest to do so. This he has evinced on many occasions, and the following may be added to the number:

'One Sunday he received intelligence that a small fort at the entrance of the harbour had been taken possession of by certain Franks, and that the Turks belonging to it had been made prisoners. Some consternation prevailed among his people; but, instead of being angry, he laughed heartily; and swearing by his two eyes, (his favourite oath,) that they must be English sailors, he directed his interpreter to write to their captain, to order his men on board ship again. Upon inquiry it proved as the Pasha had anticipated; the men had landed, got drunk, and crowned their liberty by seizing on the fort and confining the unfortunate Turks, who, indolently smoking their pipes, never could have anticipated such an attack in time of profound peace.'

In order to finish at once our extracts respecting this celebrated Egyptian Potentate, we anticipate, by a chapter or two, the author's route. The following observations occur at Alexandria:

'The agitation excited by the battle of Navarino seemed to have totally subsided, and it was curious to see English and French frigates lying peaceably alongside a Turkish man-of-war, which bore evident marks of the dreadful conflict in which the forces of the three nations had so recently been engaged. The magnanimity evinced by the Pasha, when he first heard of the event which destroyed his navy and humbled his power, was highly honourable to his character. He had not finished the perusal of the unwelcome tidings, when he desired Mr. Wolmas to assure the Franks that they should not be molested, and that they might pursue their occupations as heretofore, in perfect security.

'But notwithstanding the kindness which the Pasha manifests towards the Franks, he is not popular with those in Alexandria, in consequence of the dulness of trade, resulting from his monopolies. Neither has he friends among the Turks or Arabs, the former complaining that the new system of tactics has thrown them out of employment, while the latter hate him for forcing them into the military service. On the whole, the best informed persons said that the state of his government rendered him very anxious, especially as he had already incurred the displeasure of the Porte, by repeatedly urging the Sultan to acquiesce in the demands of the allies. His country, too, was nearly ruined by the Greek war, not only from the vast sums he had expended in his co-operation with the Porte, but also from the depopulation occasioned by the hosts of troops whom he had been compelled to send into the Morea, thereby draining his provinces of their cultivators.'

We should do great injustice to the author, however, were we to limit our extracts to such passages as the preceding. Mrs. Lushington's descriptions of scenery, whether natural or architectural, are uniformly excellent. The following sketch appears to us very striking:

'While I was leisurely travelling along, thinking only of our arrival at Luxor, one of the party who had preceded us, called to me from a rising ground to turn to the left, and having gone a few hundred yards off the road, I beheld, unexpectedly, the temple of Carnac. It was long after I reached my tent ere I recovered from the bewilderment into which the view of these stupendous ruins had thrown me. No one, who has not seen them, can understand the awe and admiration they excite even in unscientific beholders. When I compare the descriptions of Denon and Hamilton, I find them essentially correct, yet without giving me any adequate idea of the glorious reality. They fail in describing what has never been, and what I think never can be, described.—No words can impart a conception of the profusion of pillars standing, prostrate, inclining against each other, broken and whole. Stones of a gigantic size, propped up by pillars, and pillars again resting upon stones, which appear ready to crush the gazer under their sudden fall; yet, on a

second view, he is convinced nothing but an earthquake could move them; all these pillars, covered with sculpture, perhaps three thousand years old, though fresh as if finished but yesterday, not of grotesque and hideous objects, such as we are accustomed to associate with the ideas of Egyptian mythology, but many of the figures of gods, warriors, and horses, much larger than life, yet exhibiting surpassing beauty and grace. As I had seen none but English and Welch ruins, and some of the caves at Elephanta and Salsette, I might have doubted my own judgment, had I not found every one else, learned and unlearned, struck with the same admiration.

Her description of the paintings in the Tombs at Biban-ool-Moolk, and the temples of Medinet Haboo, and Dendera, are equally good and forcible: but we cannot find room for all we should like to extract; and for the sake of variety, select the following glimpse of Egyptian rural scenery:

'The soil of Egypt may truly be called luxuriant, and the surprising variety of the crops gave a pleasing novelty to our rides. Plains of the richest clover, in which the cattle revelled uncontrolled, besides fields of wheat, maize, beans of the sweetest scent, indigo, cotton, flax, (and I must not omit the blue lupine, which is here used as an article of food,) were to be seen extending in every direction. Still, amidst all this fruitfulness, I could not help remarking the loneliness of Thebes itself, (if I may so denominate Carnac and Luxor,) and how few animals and birds, pigeons alone excepted, broke the universal stillness. To my eye, accustomed to the swarming multitudes of Calcutta, the paucity of inhabitants here was very conspicuous. The absence, also, of all fishermen on the Nile was yet more remarkable. On the Ganges, hundreds of fishermen may be observed, and vessels are frequently obliged to alter their course, to avoid injuring the numerous nets; but at Thebes I never perceived any persons engaged in that employment, and the Nile flows silently and tranquilly along, undisturbed by a single boat. Meditating on this diversity, my imagination, rapidly passing over the occurrences of many weeks, transported me back to India, and forced upon me the contrast of Calcutta; the city of palaces, in the very pruriency of traffic and population, with the once magnificent Thebes, the city of a hundred gates, devoid of inhabitants, without commerce, and lying waste, in all the desolation of ruined majesty.'

On visiting Shoobra, the country-seat of Mohammed Ali, in the vicinity of Cairo, after describing the general appearance of the buildings and the magnificent suite of apartments appropriated to the chief lady of the harem, Mrs. Lushington proceeds:

'The gardens of Shoobra, with their golden fruit and aromatic flowers, having already been described by former travellers, I shall pass on to the magnificent pavilion, which constitutes the chief embellishment of the place, and which was completed only a

few weeks before my visit. This pavilion is about two hundred and fifty feet long by two hundred broad. On its sides run four galleries, or colonnades, composed of elegant pillars of the finest white marble, (of an order resembling the Composite,) surrounding a sunken court of six feet deep, paved throughout with the same beautiful material. At each corner of the colonnade is a terrace, over which water passes into the court below in a murmuring cascade, having on its ledges figures of fish, sculptured so true to nature that with the flowing stream they appear to move. The whole supply of water rises again through a fountain in the centre, and re-appears in a beautiful jet-d'eau, lofty, sparkling, and abundant. One seldom sees an exhibition of this character without apprehending a failure of water; but here the works are fed by the Nile, and the spectator is aware that its exuberance will not cease.

In fine weather, the Pasha occasionally resorts to this splendid fountain with the ladies of his harem, who row about in the flooded court for the amusement of his highness, while he is seated in the colonnade. Great is the commotion when the ladies descend into the garden. A signal is given, and the gardeners vanish in an instant. We were all struck with the ruddy cheeks and healthy appearance of these men. They were principally Greeks; and the gay colours of their fanciful costume—each with a nosegay or bunch of fruit in his hand—combined with the luxuriant scenery around, gave them more the semblance of actors in a ballet representing a fête in Arcadia, than the real labourers of a Turkish despot.

We shall conclude our extracts with Mrs. Lushington's account of her ascent of the great Pyramid of Ghizeh; an enterprise sufficiently formidable to have shaken the nerves and endangered the necks of many former travellers of the sex which arrogates to itself (though on grounds which begin, we fear, to look rather questionable,) a monopoly of courage and cool intrepidity.

After crossing the river, a gentle ride of three hours brought us to the Pyramids of Ghizeh. The ascent of the great pyramid, the only one that can be called accessible, had been so differently represented, that I could form no just idea of its facility or difficulty. Savary talks of the great pains and many efforts necessary to effect it, and mentions that, after having descended, without falling into the abyss below, he looked up to the pyramid with horror. Count de Noé, again says, that he arrived at the summit, "*avec la plus grande peine, épuisé de fatigue, et dans un état d'étourdissement difficile à décrire.*" Dr. Clarke relates that one of his military companions was so overcome by the arduousness of mounting the pyramid, that he abandoned the attempt in despair, until his friends, returning from the top, urged him to resume his efforts, which were at last successful. On the other hand, Major Sherer asserts that the pyramid is ascended without further inconvenience than is caused by the great height of the steps, and that there is no sort of

danger. Dr. Richardson goes still further :—"Lady Bémoré," he remarks, "ascended it with the most perfect ease, and none of the party experienced the smallest difficulty or vertigo. Indeed, every step recedes so much from the one below it, and affords such excellent footing, that the mind has the most perfect conviction of security, and I am disposed to think that giddiness has but rarely occurred to those who have attempted to climb this lofty pile." The reader, therefore, will, I think, not be displeased, after these contradictory testimonies, with a faithful description of my experience in achieving the same enterprise.

'On my arrival, I saw some persons nearly at the top, and some just commencing the ascent. They were all at the very edge, and certainly, their apparently perilous situation justified me in the conviction that I should never be able to mount. However, determining to make the attempt, I commenced outside from where the entrance has been formed, and walked along the whole length of one side of the square, about forty feet from the ground, to the opposite corner; the ledge being narrow, and in one place quite broken off, requiring a long step to gain the next stone. As the pyramid itself formed a wall to the right hand, and consequently an apparent defence, I felt no want of courage till I reached the corner where the ascent is in many places absolutely on the angle, leaving no protection on either side. About this time, I began to be heartily frightened; and when I heard one gentleman from above call to me to desist, and another tell me not to think of proceeding, right glad was I to return, and to attribute my want of success to their advice rather than to my own deficiency of spirit. Each of the gentlemen as they descended told me the difficulty and fatigue were great, and they evidently were heated and tired; but, at length, in answer to my question a hundred times repeated, of do you think I *could* go? they proposed to me to try at least, and kindly offered to accompany me. Away I went, and by the assistance of a footstool in some places, and the aid of the guides, and the gentlemen to encourage me, I succeeded in arriving half-way, all the time exclaiming I should never get down again; and, indeed, my head was so giddy that it was some minutes after I was seated, at the resting-stone half-way, before I could recover myself. Being a little refreshed, I resumed the ascent, but the guides were so clamorous that I turned back, finding their noise, and pushing, and crowding, as dangerous as the height. The gentlemen at length brought them to some degree of order, partly by remonstrance and partly by carrying the majority to the top, and leaving only two with me. This quiet in some degree restored my head, and the footing, as I advanced, becoming more easy, I reached the summit amidst the huzzas of the whole party... It was a considerable time, however, before I gained confidence to look around, notwithstanding I was on a surface thirty feet square.

' The prospect, though from so great an elevation, disappointed me. I saw, indeed, an immense extent of cultivated country, divided into fields of yellow flax and green wheat, like so many squares in a chess-board, with the Nile and its various canals which cause their luxuriance, and a vast tract of desert on the other side; I must, however, acknowledge that this scenery I enjoyed on recollection, for I was too anxious how I was to get down, to think much of the picturesque. A railing even of straws might give some slight idea of security, but here there was absolutely nothing, and I had to cross and recross the angle, as the broken ledges rendered it necessary; for it is a mistake to suppose there are steps; the passage is performed over blocks of stone and granite, some broken off, others crumbling away, and others, which, having dropped out altogether, have left an angle in the masonry; but all these are very irregular. Occasionally the width and height of the stones are equal, but generally the height greatly exceeds the width; in many parts, the blocks are four feet high. Once the stone was so high, that, as I slipped off, I feared that my feet would shoot beyond the ledge on which they were next to rest, and which certainly was but a few inches wide. Another time I was in great peril: I had stretched one foot down with much exertion as far as it could reach, and as the other followed, the heel of the shoe caught in a crevice of the rock, and I had nearly lost my balance in the effort to extricate myself. In a few places the width of the ledges enabled me to use the footstool, which considerably diminished the fatigue, but the greater number were far too narrow for its three feet to rest upon, and I thought it too insecure to allow an Arab to support it with his hands, while I stepped upon it.

' After all this, it may be supposed I was glad when I had accomplished the undertaking; for, to tell the truth, the greatest pleasure I felt in ascending the pyramid, was to be enabled to say at some future time that I had been at its summit. I cannot, however, understand on what ground it can be asserted that the ascent or descent is not attended with danger. I may not be considered a competent witness, but it was the unanimous opinion of the gentlemen who mounted with me, that in many places if a person made a false step he would be dashed to pieces. Two of our party paced one side of the pyramid simultaneously, and both made the length two hundred and sixty yards. The area of Lincoln's-Inn-Fields has been adduced as a means of judging of the bulk of this pyramid; and I heard at Alexandria of a calculation made by a Frenchman, that it contains stone enough to build a wall round the whole of France, ten feet high, and one foot broad.

' Though we have taken all our extracts from that portion of the volume which relates to Egypt, there are many passages, in other parts of it, which, had our limits allowed, we should gladly have inserted also. The continuation of the author's journal through

Malta, Sicily, Naples, Rome, and by Mont St. Bernard to England, is equally lively, and, though upon such beaten ground, scarcely less interesting.

On the whole, we have no hesitation in recommending Mrs. Lushington's Journal to our readers as a pleasing and interesting little volume. It is introduced by a modest preface, which claims for the work much less consideration than every intelligent reader will willingly allow it. The style is throughout easy, expressive, and unaffected; and, though upon such well-known routes much new information could not reasonably be expected, there is really comprised in these pleasant pages of 'light reading,' as the author terms them, an extent of sound general observation, and of various and useful knowledge, that is not always to be found in works of much more pompous pretensions. But to those who intend to pursue the same route either in going out to India or in returning, this Journal will be most valuable, and, whatever other books they carry with them, ought not to be omitted,—being, in fact, chiefly intended and adapted for such readers. The shape in which it has been brought out, combining cheapness with elegance, is also worthy of approbation, and adds another proof to many that have lately appeared, that our first-rate publishers have at length clearly discovered that the middle classes of society are their best customers, and that it is to *their* means, rather than to the extravagant taste of luxurious indulgence, that the fashion and price of works of general literature ought to be adapted.

SISMONDI ON THE PRESENT RUSSIAN WAR WITH TURKEY.

(Concluded from page 291.)

WE have already seen how very erroneous the calculations of politicians have been as to the resistance of the Turkish Empire. Turkey in Europe has not been conquered in one year; nor will it be in several. Neither will the struggle terminate with the conquest of this part of the Ottoman dominions, should it even take place; it will, on the contrary, become more difficult and expensive as the Russians advance into the mountains of Asia Minor. The Russian Empire, drained of men and money; will, perhaps, be obliged, before the completion of its gigantic enterprise, to make peace, at intervals, with the rest of the Turkish Empire, which will soon be succeeded by fresh wars. The Russians will not stop on their career, nor will the Turks surrender. The former, if they be indeed infected with the lust of aggrandisement, will have much more temptation to extend their conquests in the beautiful countries they shall have reached, than in the cold, desolate regions of the north of Europe. Can they possibly hesitate between Asia Minor and Prussia? Their course is henceforward turned eastward, and will successively bear upon Turkey, Persia,

and Thibet ; Europe will be freed from their influence for at least a century to come, and that period contains many more chances of partition than of consolidation for this colossal, but badly organised and incompact empire, composed as it is of nations differing so widely in manners, language, and religion. Besides, are we still to estimate the power of states from the extent of their territory ? Russia, whose population doubles itself in fifty years, with room enough to continue this rate of increase for ages to come,—whose riches and commerce make rapid strides, and who daily augments her means of war and military discipline,—is, in fact, much more formidable to the liberty of Europe by remaining at peace than by scattering her resources abroad : her disproportion to the surrounding states would increase much more by repose than by conquest. The Turkish war has dissipated that illusory power which had been added to her real strength by the prodigious success which, fifteen years ago, climate alone gave her. It has taught Europe that the Russians, though strong in defence, would be little likely to subjugate their neighbours ; that success, which they could not command in the East, would be still less likely to attend them in the West, where numerous armies, strong fortresses, the military genius of the people, and the powerful resources of the Governments, would readily oppose insurmountable obstacles.

The conquests made by Russia in the last century exceed in extent the whole Turkish Empire. She possesses, in fact, between Asia and America, 728,000 square leagues, which, for an age to come, will positively add nothing to her power. These countries, it is true, only contain three millions and a half of inhabitants ; whereas the Turkish population, in 136,000 square leagues, is supposed to be twenty-five millions. But the former are under subjection, the latter would long be hostile ; were Turkey ever conquered, the Russian forces would still be long occupied in restraining them. Spain, on her part, at one time possessed 468,000 square leagues in America, without adding to her real power ; and England is not the more dangerous to the independence of Europe from having a territory in India more extensive than all Turkey, and containing a civilised and completely subdued population, exceeding that of the whole united colonies of all other nations.

The war will, we have little doubt, if prolonged, bring about, at length, the dissolution of the Turkish Empire ; but it does not appear to us by any means probable that it will end in the subjection of this empire to Russia. The Russians themselves seem not to wish it : they know full well the dangers threatened by the disproportionate extent of their dominions with their actual strength. The Russian nobles well know, that, were Constantinople to become their capital, their vast domains around the Pole would lose their population and their value, that they themselves would become strangers to their Court, and their influence diminish with their

fortunes : they do not wish to exchange countries, but to enrich the one they have ; they wish to introduce commerce and civilisation ; they desire certain openings for their produce, and a free communication with the Mediterranean. The great rivers of their country run towards the Black Sea ; and, according as it is open or shut, the produce of their estates rises in value or sinks almost to nothing. The tyranny which oppresses Turkey, ruins them ; but the conquest of Turkey would not put an end to this tyranny. They would gladly see Turkey split into independent states, rich and not powerful, who would have occasion for them, who would show them deference and respect, and would enrich them by their commerce. It is said that it was in conformity with these wishes of the nobles, and, at the same time, to preserve those servile principles dear to all Governments, that Russia proposed to the other Powers to form the provinces of Turkey in Europe into so many principalities, under Hospodars.

The result at once easiest to attain, most conformable with the interests of civilisation and with the peace of Europe, would, in the present crisis, be the independence of all these provinces. But, though the Russian Czar may wish to retain these new states in condition of habitual restraint and fear towards himself, it should, on the contrary, be the wish of every other European Power, that the oppressed people, by a common effort called into being, should be under a wise, just, and stable Government, in order to acquire true independence. The Powers of Europe long ought to have been preparing for events, which begin to unfold themselves, in spite of them : had they not obstinately shut their eyes in fear of the future, they might have disarmed the approaching crisis of its chief terrors.

In this spirit,—making, thus, the first step towards the arrangement of Oriental affairs, and with a view to the general interests of civilisation,—France has influenced England, though very reluctantly, to join with her in the succour of Greece, and to assist her in regaining her freedom,—a policy at once the most prudent and most generous ; and France is now again called on to struggle with her ally. That regenerated Greece may be as great and powerful as possible, whatever is bestowed upon her, will be taken from the arms and influence of the Russians ; in her is prepared a future guardian to the northern entrance of the Mediterranean, to succeed the lost power of the Turks.

The question now agitated of the limits to be given to Greece, is almost as much European as Grecian. To be independent, the new nation must be strong, that she may not have occasion for a patronage which might place her at the mercy of any neighbouring Power. Her population should be homogeneous, that she may not be torn by civil war : she should be compact, and surrounded by a good military frontier, that she may not in her infancy have con-

tinual recourse to the guarantee of her protectors. Were all to be comprised who speak the language—Thessaly, Macedonia, Cyprus, Rhodes, part of the coasts of Asia Minor, would enter into Greece; but Greece so formed, spread over too large a space, and weakened by its expansion, could never defend itself. It were even much better that emancipated Greece should become an asylum to the Greek inhabitants of the provinces still in servitude, and should recruit by immigration her diminished population. If, on the other hand, the niggardly plan be adopted, which has been suggested, of limiting Greece to the Peloponnesus, and some of the islands, we should be obliged to be constantly on the watch to defend the extensive coasts of the Gulf of Lepanta and of the Morea, against the marauding visits of small craft; and peace would never be restored to the most warlike portion of Greece, where the Anatolian mountaineers are always in force. The Greeks themselves will, no doubt, wish their frontier to be extended to the banks of the river Sperchius; at all events, the chain of mountains, extending from the Gulf of Arta to Thermopylæ, comprises, if united with the Eubæan continent and the islands, all of Greece which is illustrious, armed, compact, or easy of defence.

The Russians must be well aware, that their existence in Europe, as a first-rate Power, depends upon the efforts they may make in the ensuing campaigns to recover their former reputation. They must show whether their station ought to be above or below the Turks; or they will sink below any other Power. There is now great cause to suspect all the former statements relative to the Russian military force, and to believe that the Generals appropriated the pay of many soldiers who existed only on their muster-rolls. No one, however, thinks of questioning either the bravery of the Russians, the great populousness of their empire, or the aptitude of the whole vassal race to be quickly trained and taught. It is therefore probable, that at the opening of the ensuing campaign, the Russians will make their appearance with a force far superior to that brought forward on the preceding one, and that they will avoid their past errors. The Turks, on the contrary, are probably exhausted by their exertions; and, if the energy displayed by them in the past year was unexpected, still more unlikely is it that this sudden explosion of fanaticism should become a lively and steady flame. Fresh opportunities will therefore occur for the liberation of the people under Turkish servitude. It is true that their faith in the protection of the Russians is, as it were, annihilated; but, on the other hand, the war can hardly fail to render the despotism of the Turks still more ferocious. Despair will almost infallibly drive the nations groaning beneath her yoke to rebellion. This moment should be seized by Europe to prevent their throwing themselves into the arms of Russia, and to confirm their independence. What course may be adopted by the great Powers, is still hidden by the veil of futurity: but the sooner they adopt a general

plan to hasten the instruction of those formerly conquered by the Turks, to consolidate their infant Governments, and enable them to defend themselves, the more humane and generous will this plan be, the greater prosperity and independence will it ensure to those whom they release, and the greater obstacles will it present to the future encroachments of Russia; the stronger also will be its pledges for the balance of power, and of profit to the industry and trade of all concerned; the more disinterested, finally, will it appear, and the better will it forward the interests of those who adopt it.

If the Turkish Empire should fall into dissolution, the elements of many great nations may rise from her ruins. The Moldavians, the Wallachians, the Bulgarians, the Servians, the Bosnians, the Albanians, the Greeks of Macedonia and of Thessaly, and the Thracian Turks, may either exist separately, or unite with one another to form more powerful states, agreeably with their several relations of race, religion, manners, and language, or with the natural defences presented by their frontiers. Turkey in Asia is, in like manner, inhabited by different tribes enemies to each other. Armenians, Druses, Turcomans, Koords, Maronites, Syrians, and Bedouins, are there mingled with the Turks; Egypt is advancing to independence, and the several Governments in Africa have nearly attained it. They are all at present in a state of suffering, and mutually pillage and murder each other, while they may all become civilised, happy, and rich; and Europe, instead of confirming the yoke which bears them down, would assist in their organisation.

Instead of this wise and generous policy, we have, however, too much reason to expect the prevalence of entirely opposite councils. The newspapers of a certain party in England wish us to believe, that their Ministry has already adopted a menacing tone towards the Emperor of Russia, and that, while it suffers itself to be bullied by Don Miguel, it demands of Nicholas to recall his armies. They, at the same time, announce a league between England and Austria to make war with Russia. The English are probably influenced, in this conclusion, by long-cherished passions and prejudices; but, whenever they shall begin to negotiate, their warlike ardour will cool: before a single soldier is marched, subsidies will be demanded by the Austrians, and their mode of employment will soon be manifest. It is well known how Austria is in the habit of treating her allies, how she has treated Poland, Venice, and the Mediatized Princes of the Empire. She is to-day indignant at the want of respect towards Turkey; to-morrow she will require her portion of the spoils: let them cede to her Servia, Bosnia, and Dalmatia, and let England discharge the expense of their occupation, and she will then be ready for an alliance with the Russians.

The more the Turk is assisted, the less will he do for himself; and the moment reverses commence, projects of partition will be set on foot. These projects, tempting to the common run of states,

men, constitute the chief danger to the future peace of Europe. They will excite jealousies, rivalries, and wars. Each partitioning Power will be open to attack through the province which she may have appropriated to herself; instead of gaining strength, she will weaken herself. The nations taken from the Turks will always profit by the exchange; but they will not the less wish for something superior: they will gain no accession of population, wealth, or energy, nor will they acquire the consequence they ought to possess in the great scale of Europe. The Servians, Bosnians, and Albanians, formed into independent states, and properly governed under the joint protection of the Powers which may undertake the pacification of Europe, would find resources in their patriotism for resistance against the Russians; whilst, if given to Austria, they will be ever ready to rebel at the commencement of the first war, and to unite themselves with Russia. And thus will it be with every other nation, whether of Europe, Asia, or Africa, to whom, instead of national independence, new masters only are given.

We are aware that there is a class of men, by whom different language will soon be held, who already exclaim against the abuse of right in the stronger, in thus disposing of the weaker, and who affirm that one state should never interfere with the interior arrangements of another, and can never, without an encroachment upon national right, interfere in the formation of its constitution, or in changing the one it may have. This principle of non-interference, together with that of legitimacy, has been lately proclaimed to the world; and the one has not been better respected than the other, or rather, they have never before been so grossly violated. Their only results have been a wavering, weak, and contradictory policy, which the late events in Portugal should surely cause to be abandoned. From the earliest existence of public authorities, nations have incessantly attempted a dominion over each other, and to create an influence under designs and pleas furnished by their internal policy. Poland was partitioned upon the pretext of its troubles; Holland was deprived by Prussia of the constitution which had been freely given her, to favour the House of Orange; America was freed in spite of England; all the coalitions against France were directed, at one time, against the participation of the people in the government, at another, against the elevation of new men in the place of the ancient dynasty; all the wars of France had for their object the placing of the neighbouring Governments in conformity with the principles which directed herself. After the fall of Napoleon, a Congress of Sovereigns re-organised the interior administration of every nation; the liberal constitutions of Naples, Piedmont, Portugal, and Spain, were by these sovereigns suppressed by open force; and when, after these every-day occurrences, they tell us that they have no right to interfere in the interior administration; that they have no right to oblige Ferdinand or Don Miguel to keep

their oaths to their people; that they have no right to prevent Mahmoud from cutting the throats of such of his subjects as differ from him in faith; they would seem to confine themselves to the right of doing evil, without the power of ever doing any good.

In fact, as the better understanding of hereditary right, and the better appreciated feeling of the importance of the people, have rendered wars of succession very rare; as the progress of political economy has caused the renouncement of commercial war; and as the power of public opinion no longer allows wars of mere plunder and conquest,—wars of intervention are almost the only ones now to be expected. An incurable jealousy and mistrust exists, and must exist, between progressive and retrograde Governments. The latter incessantly labour to draw back the neighbouring nations; well aware that, unless repressed, the example will involve themselves. Free states have, on the other hand, had experience of the danger to themselves of neighbouring tyrannies. They are enemies perpetually on the watch to overwhelm them on the first favourable opportunity. War is kindled between these two parties; or, at the most, it is suspended by treaties, founded only upon the convenience of those who have signed them, not upon fixed and lasting principles, such as ought to be recognised in the unlimited sovereignty of every nation over what respects only itself.

Is it then to be said that public right is without regulation or principle? Undoubtedly not. As friends of liberty, we have our rule, which we fearlessly avow; it is the same which we acknowledge, not as the principle, but as the standard of morals, private as well as public; it is the search after the greatest benefit to the greatest number. The law, which in its operation reaches the object, must be just and wise, whatever may be the motive, or by whatever revelation it touch the conscience: a political act, a war, a treaty, an interference in the destiny of our neighbours, are justified when having this tendency. Our opponents cannot be subject to the same principles as ourselves; they sometimes admit certain abstract principles, which we have also sometimes had the candour to receive from them; but they at the same time reserve the faculty of interpreting them their own way. In the same manner, two rival sects occasionally adopt the same motto, when selecting such unmeaning words that either may attach the sense that may be convenient; but when it is necessary to act, our opponents will invariably follow an opposite principle to ours, they will always seek the advantage of the few at the expense of the many. This may be seen at the bottom of their thoughts in the tone which they affect at present, while speaking of the Peninsula and of the East; in the barefaced contempt which they show for morality, philanthropy, and for what they term a mild and sentimental policy; in the triumph with which they celebrated the King of England's speech to Parliament, as truly English, and altogether devoid of

consideration for the interests of humanity. These self-constituted and ostentatious champions of the altar and the throne, these defenders of religion and private morals, affect so much contempt against those who believe that morality should also influence policy, they so loudly pronounce them to be rogues seeking to make dupes, that their assurance sometimes alarms us, and makes us inquire if their deplorable system can possibly be true. What! we may not for self-advantage commit a private wrong, but a public one we may! It would be wrong to rob or murder our enemies, but there are no sufferings which may not be inflicted upon a nation, provided it be advantageous! We may insure the continuance in slavery of all the Eastern nations, the dissipation of their property, the stagnation of their industry, and annual decrease of their population, provided that England benefits by it! It would be wrong to poison a man, or corrupt the morals of a child, but we may poison all Turkey, Portugal, and Spain; we may there corrupt the morals of men, of children, nay, of generations yet unborn; we may, for one advantage there, support a government which will never allow these great countries to produce a single virtuous man!

This utter subversion of public morality has never been more imprudently advocated than by the English Tory papers. The liberty of the press having in that country rendered public discussion customary upon all subjects, they dare there say that which base men elsewhere *do* without avowal. These papers declare that England has an interest, and therefore a right, to preserve the Turkish Empire entire in its state of barbarism and anarchy, in order that the trade, carried on by some Englishmen in the Levant, should not be disturbed. We feel so deep a contempt for the grovelling minds who reason thus, who find a pound sterling outbalance the lives of thousands, that we scorn to prove to them that their folly equals their barbarity, and that for the benefit of their trade in the Levant, the interest of the many is what they should most wish to encourage.

Others, looking to a more important interest, consider Turkey the bulwark of India, and predict the loss of the Company's possessions, if once the frontiers of Russia should extend to them. If it be really so, what a disgrace to England! What! she at this time governs or protects one hundred millions of subjects or allies in India, and fears their contact with Russia! She has so badly governed them, it appears, that she cannot calculate upon their resisting the ardent feeling to be excited by seeing the condition of Russian subjects. If England were what she ought to be in India, if she governed her millions as the most enlightened and freest nation of Europe ought to do, it should be for Russia to tremble at being placed in contact with them. It should be for her to fortify the passes of Thibet, to render the deserts of Bucharia impenetrable, that not a single Russian should witness the safety,

prosperity, intelligence, and happiness enjoyed by the subjects of England, and that the Russian Empire should not be shaken by a single touch from the talisman of liberty! For ourselves, we shall rejoice at this danger to the Company, if really menaced by it; for it is a necessary warning to the English to bestow upon India a legal, improving, and protecting Government; it is a necessary warning that they should suppress that association of imperial merchants, which at once disgraces their good sense and their good faith, which impoverishes them to ruin their subjects, which finishes by corrupting them in corrupting the millions of human beings under their sway.

For our parts also, we not only do not scruple to assert that morality should hold dominion over policy as well as over the other interests of life, and that it is in fact the only rule that can satisfy the conscience; but we maintain that it is also the only one which ever in the end agrees with national interest. We will go further and say, that no man, ever admired by the world for greatness of character, has been entirely unmindful of this fundamental rule. Political actions, particularly war, have certainly something inherently so harsh and inhuman, they burst so many ties, and cause so many private evils, to reach a general good, that much delicacy of conscience or sympathy for the evils created must not be expected from those who direct them. These barbarities, these crimes of detail, have thus warped the judgment of those who pretended to give the laws of policy, not understanding how morality could still find a place in such an assemblage of evil.

But great politicians and great Generals are elevated to a point embracing a more just and more extensive prospect. Even those who may be hardened to miseries, which they command, and those who, to cause a greater suffering to their adversary, inflict much on their partisans, may stand in need of some great moral idea to calm their mind and satisfy their conscience; and if they shut their eyes, it is in the belief that the end justified the means. Napoleon, even when he appropriated to himself the whole powers of the State, when he overthrew the guarantees of the people, when he multiplied the miseries of war, had ever in his thoughts this equality of law—this march of intellect, this participation, though incomplete, of all in the Government,—in short, of that rational and just code which he carried from people to people; he believed that the great body of the inhabitants, not only of France, but of all the countries for any time under his Government, were sensible of the advantages he had procured them; so much so, that in 1815 he was heard to say: *Qu'il pournait les faire tourner, comme il avait fait tourner la France.* He also believed an explanation for his conduct was to be found in that moral principle, 'The greatest benefit to the many,' from which he pretended never to deviate; and to the end of his life he laid claim, not solely to

the admiration of posterity for his talents, but to its calm judgment upon the benefits which he bequeathed to it. Thus, also, his great adversary, however constantly he may be praised by the papers, which pretend to interpret his feelings as having been purely English, for having been ever ready to sacrifice a whole world to the glory of the English name, has an inward feeling superior to this narrow egotism. In spite of 'The Standard' and 'The Morning Journal,' in spite even of the Duke of Wellington himself, if national prejudice have at any time induced him to calumniate himself, we believe that this fortunate General wished by his virtues to serve humanity at large; and we dare answer for him, that whatever may have been his errors of judgment, posterity will only set a value upon what he believed he was doing for the sake of the whole human race.

L. C. L. DE STAMORDI.

THE BENGALÉE; OR, SKETCHES OF SOCIETY AND MANNERS IN THE EAST.

It is impossible to speak too highly of this elegant and unpretending publication. It is written very much in the style of 'L'Hermite de la Chaussée d'Antin,' and other works of the same character, which have recently obtained so much popularity in France. The object of the author is to present a picture of society and manners in the East Indies; and we do not remember to have met with any book of which the plan is more ably executed, or in which instruction and entertainment are more agreeably combined.

'The Bengalee' is a collection of interesting tales and poetical satires. The latter are far above mediocrity; and of the former it is not too much to say, that they are all most pleasing, and some of them of the very highest merit. We are quite sure that no one can read 'First Love,' 'Mary Ashforth,' 'The late Marquis of Hastings,' 'The Mofussil,' 'The Bareillee Chair,' 'An Indianman,' 'Death on Shipboard,' without heartily assenting to this praise. Every parent whose son is destined for India, should provide him with the wholesome advice contained in this work; young ladies, too, may find in it some valuable suggestions; those who dwell with pleasure on Indian reminiscences will read it with delight; and no admirer of pathetic narrative, or skilful description, can fail to be gratified by its perusal. Want of space alone prevents us from verifying this opinion at present, by selections from 'The Bengalee.' Reserving these for a future opportunity, we insert this notice in justice to our readers, and as a tribute of our admiration of the high principles and superior ability of its amiable author.

ON THE MANUFACTURE OF FIRE-ARMS.*

THE work before us, on the Manufacture of Fire-arms, acquaints us with a fact of which few general readers could be aware, that in so vital a circumstance as a nation's defence, an empire of such commercial magnitude as England is, and possessed of such colonial wealth, had not, till lately, within itself resources commensurate with its own demands for defensive warfare.

The manufacture of fire-arms in this country appears to be of comparatively modern introduction. The charter of the Gun-makers' Company, in the city of London, dated 13 Charles I., 1638, would seem to make it of some importance at that time; but it was not until the recent and rapid rise of Birmingham as a manufacturing place, in the midst of the coal and iron districts, that Government looked to the country's industry and the country's resources for the supply of this part of the necessary material of war. In the time of William III., the fire-arms required for the use of our forces were generally, if not wholly, imported from Holland. At that period, the old pattern musquet, or the match-lock, was superseded by the invention of the flint-lock of the form now in use; and, as this was much superior to the old pattern, it was immediately adopted by all the European nations. Europe being engaged in a general war, and the manufacturers of fire-arms, both in London and on the Continent, not being able to supply with sufficient promptitude the demand for arms of the new pattern, Birmingham, then rising as a manufacturing town, caught the king's attention, and, from that time, the making of fire-arms became incorporated with its general industry.

During the last century, it does not appear to have been the practice of the Ordnance Department to give orders for fire-arms, except when this country was engaged in hostilities. In consequence, our arsenals and depots at the commencement of war were in a state of complete destitution. M. Dupin, in his elaborate work on 'The Military Forces of Great Britain,' states, that 'the magazines of the Ordnance were in such a state of exhaustion, at the close of the first war against the French republic, that the Ministry were, for some time, in consternation and uncertainty, whether they should have the power of arming all the men who were summoned to the defence of the kingdom from invasion. It was on this account that a portion of the militia and volunteers were, in the

* 'Observations on the Manufacture of Fire arms, for Military Purposes; on the number supplied from Birmingham to the British Government, &c. &c.; and upon the obstacles to the Free Export of Arms.' Longman. London, 1829.

first instance, armed with pikes. At the epoch of which we speak, the Ordnance had scarcely 150,000 firelocks for the regular army, which amounted to 177,000 men.

As the greatest exertions of the manufacturer could not furnish the requisite supply with sufficient promptitude, the Government was obliged to conclude bargains in all haste, at a disadvantageous rate, with the greater part of the nations of Europe, for nearly 993,000 firelocks, which cost about 700,000*l*.

The provision of arms was yet more scanty in 1793 than in 1808. In this, as in the subsequent period, Government had recourse to foreign nations, for a supply of the greater part of the material of ordnance, and particularly small-arms. On the declaration of war, in 1793, there were not 47,000 muskets in the Tower of London; nor above 13,000 in the armouries of all the other forts. If we compare this want of prudence with the foresight of the French Government, the contrast is very striking. The 'Memoire' of General Gassendi informs us, that France held, in 1771, a provision of 558,000 muskets; in 1789, this amount had increased to 700,000; in 1811, without including the arms of the French troops and foreigners in pay, there was a reserve of from 500,000 to 600,000.

When the English Government did avail itself of the home manufacture, the system of the Ordnance Department appears to have been a contract, with one or two individuals, for the number of arms required. As this arrangement rendered it necessary that the Board of Ordnance should send down viewers from the Tower to inspect the articles when made, it proceeded, in 1798, to erect a proof-house and view-rooms of its own at Birmingham, and entered into engagements directly with the individuals manufacturing the different materials, as the barrel, lock, bayonet, &c., and with the gun-maker whose business it was to set them up complete. The materials, after undergoing the proper inspection and proof, were delivered to the setter-up in Birmingham; in the Tower of London, or in the City, and, after inspection, received into store.

Similar arrangements were adopted by the Irish Ordnance Department, previous to the Union of the two Kingdoms, so that Birmingham manufactured almost exclusively for the whole Empire. As late as 1804, till the Tower establishment was formed, all the small-arms requisite for the British troops were, at all events, manufactured in establishments belonging to private individuals; and it was generally in London and Birmingham that this branch of industry was carried on.

In 1808, when the English decided upon taking a powerful part in the continental war, both by their own troops, and by the people whom they endeavoured to raise *en masse* against France, one manufactory only of small arms, entirely at the charge of the state, was established at Lewisham; and its extent is not to be compared

to that of several private works of the same nature in London and Birmingham. Between the 10th of July, 1808, and the same day in 1810, Birmingham alone had fabricated 575,480 musquet barrels, and 470,018 locks.

The comparison of England with France at this period, merits remark. The town of St. Etienne, where the greatest of the iron workshops of France are situated, produced, in the interval between 1808 and 1810, 180,000 fire-arms; in England, the royal establishment at Lewisham supplied 40,000. But to show to what an extent Government were otherwise supplied, the fifteenth Report of Military Inquiry gives the return of arms fabricated in England, and received into the magazines of the Ordnance, from the 1st of April 1803 to the 31st of December 1809, at 1,304,784. If we deduct from the total number of fire-arms supplied, the 293,000 purchased on the Continent, it would appear that 1,011,734 arms were fabricated at Birmingham, London, and at the royal manufactory within this period.—In addition to the materials supplied, 457,548 of these arms were set up complete in Birmingham alone.

‘To prove to what extent the British Government put in execution the gigantic plan of being the depôt, the manufactory, the place of arms, and the centre of the European war, it is sufficient to take a glance of the following table :

Arms furnished to the Allies and National Troops of Great Britain, from 1803 to 1816 inclusive.

To the Allies	2,143,643
To the Regular Troops	349,882
To the Regular Militia	59,405
To the Local Militia	151,969
To the Volunteers	307,583
To the Navy	215,233

Total 3,297,715

At the close of the war, in 1814, the Ordnance Department entered into engagements with the manufacturers in Birmingham for supply of muskets of the new model, to be made in certain proportions, within three years. These were completed in August 1817, since which time, no fire-arms have been fabricated in Birmingham for the Government.

‘From this statement it appears, that more than two-thirds of the fire-arms, made for the Board of Ordnance during the war, were fabricated at Birmingham. And, besides the number of arms set up in Birmingham, there was a considerably greater number of materials supplied, particularly the barrels and locks, by the manufacturers of these articles in Birmingham, than the total number of arms fabricated. So that, in addition to the arms in store at the close of the war, these materials had so accumulated, that there

are in the Ordnance stores, we believe, not less than from 5 to 600,000 of them. Most of these are in the Tower of London, and some few in the establishment belonging to the Ordnance department at Birmingham.

If a comparison were instituted with the tables furnished by the French Government during the war, it would be seen that the number of arms fabricated in England exceeded by upwards of 900,000, those supplied by the French manufacturers; and that the barrels and locks furnished by private individuals in Birmingham, exceeded by 500,000 or 600,000 those of the ten Government manufactories of France. There is a remarkable difference between France and England in regard to their local resources for the supply of arms. England concentrates all her energies in one town in the centre of the kingdom, whereas the manufactories of France are spread over the whole extent of the country, on the banks of the Rhine, at the foot of the Pyrenees, and amidst the Alps.

In the memorial of the Board of Ordnance laid before a Committee of the House of Commons in order to explain the extraordinary expenditure incurred by this department, there are some interesting details showing the necessity, during the late war, for this vast accumulation, on account of the audacious ambition and military genius of a man who held received opinions and ideas in contempt.

'The English musquet, during the greater part of the last century, was considerably heavier than the one now used by our troops. The musquet used by our armies during the late war, was of the pattern which was adopted about the middle of the last century by the East India Company, for their forces in India.'

This is an interesting fact to Oriental readers, and Monsieur Dupin passes an eulogium on its efficacy in the hands of a British soldier, which is as honourable to French candour as it is creditable to British valour.

We have but one extract more to make, and then we conclude our observations on the manufacture of fire-arms.

'It is,' says Monsr. Dupin, 'an opinion generally entertained in England, and with reason, that the Government should not establish manufactures, except it be when the branches of industry, indispensable for the public service, are not sufficiently practised by private persons, to supply the sudden or regular wants of the country. The Department of the Ordnance has deviated from these wise principles, upon the subject of the fabrication of arms. Notwithstanding the plausible accounts laid before the Commissioners of Military Inquiry, in justification of the change, we may be permitted to think, that, far from having attained real economy, the Government must end by suffering greater expenses than if the supply had been confined to a free competition of private industry.'

TRAVELS OF IBN BATUTA,*

The learned men of Europe appear to be at length convinced that the languages of the East contain many literary treasures too valuable to be neglected. A Society has been formed in England, the object of which is to procure translations of the best oriental works in science, history, and the belles lettres; and the *Travels of Ibn Batuta*, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, through India, China, Tartary, and various other countries of the East, have been fixed upon to commence this singularly interesting series of works.

Ibn Batuta was a Mohammedan dervish of Tanjiers, in Africa. He left his native city in the year of the Hejira seven hundred and twenty-five, (A. D. 1324-5,) for the purpose of performing the pilgrimage to Mecca. The Arabic work from which the present translation has been made is only an abridgment of the original travels; but whether judiciously executed or not, cannot now be determined, as the larger manuscript appears to have been lost. In one thing we must certainly applaud the judgment of the abbeviator; he has passed very rapidly over the better known portions of the author's route, and entered into more detail when speaking of the remoter and less known regions visited by the traveller. In this we cannot perhaps do better than follow his example; and, therefore, omitting all mention of his adventures in Egypt, Syria, Arabia, and Persia, we transport ourselves at once into Tartary. His description of this country, and the manners of its inhabitants, is curious and interesting, though perhaps it does not greatly add to our knowledge. In fact, modern travellers have so industriously examined and described the various countries of Asia, that novelty in a writer who preceded them by several hundred years is scarcely to be expected. Yet, in many instances, Ibn Batuta describes peculiarities and traits of manners not noticed, or noticed but imperfectly, by succeeding writers. He visited the East at a time when Europe sent forth few travellers; and the principal value of his work may perhaps consist in its enabling us to contrast the manners which prevailed at that period in Asia, with those which now obtain there. To those who desire to contemplate the progress of nations in the track of civilization, this is no small recommendation; for thus voyages and travels afford the most important aid to history. An opinion very generally prevails in Europe that that portion of mankind

* The *Travels of Ibn Batuta*; translated from the original Arabic Manuscript, now preserved in the Public Library of Cambridge. With Notes illustrative of the History, Geography, Botany, Antiquities, &c., occurring throughout the work. By the Rev. Samuel Lee, B.D., Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge, &c. &c. London: Printed for the Oriental Translation Committee, 1829.

which inhabits the Asiatic continent is exempted from those laws of nature which impel men to change continually, either for the better or for the worse ; and that accordingly they remain, in appearance, costume, and manners, the same from generation to generation. This is an absurd mistake. The opinion holds only of the Arabs ; for even the Hindoos, who were attempted to be fixed in an immutable position by an iron legislation, have submitted to the invincible force of time and circumstances, and changed materially for the worse. The principle of mutation has been no less powerfully at work among the other nations of Asia ; and the travellers who, by their descriptions, enable us to mark the changes that have occurred, are deserving of high praise. Even the meagre relations of Carpini and Rubruquis become valuable when thus considered ; and the travels of Marco Polo, besides the interest they possess as a personal narrative, are of the highest importance to the historian.

Our limits unfortunately preclude the possibility of our comparing the relations of Ibn Batuta with those of more modern travellers. We shall therefore strictly confine ourselves in the present article to the pictures he has drawn of the different nations among whom he resided ; though this may perhaps, after all, be the most judicious course we could adopt, as the religion, peculiar habits of thinking, and personal character of the traveller, confer upon his relations a quaintness and vivacity altogether delightful. He makes no secret of his own follies or foibles. He never for a moment sets himself up as a hero. In one passage he informs us how much he was terrified by some imminent danger which threatened him ; in another how many wives he married in such or such a place ; how and why he divorced or forsook them ; and how many children he had in various parts of the world. That he should travel upon the bounty of princes and nobles, in other words, as a genteel beggar, is no reproach to a Mohammedan Dervish. It is the custom of his country, the privilege of his class. It was not, therefore, to be expected that Ibn Batuta, who belonged to this holy order of men, and who, though he did not work miracles himself, was fully persuaded that miraculous powers were the inheritance of his order, and was acquainted with several persons who were in the habit of working miracles, should regard the benefits conferred upon him by the great and powerful in any other light than as tributes paid to the sanctity of his fraternity. Accordingly he relates, with the greatest complacency, that one prince presented him with a horse, richly caparisoned ; another with three thousand dinars of gold ; a third with a dress of honour ; a fourth with a female slave ; and when, as happened to him in Africa, he had the ill-fortune to meet with a prince devoid of generosity, he scolded him for his niggardiness, and inquired, with triumphant reproach, what he supposed he should say of him when he returned to his own country.

When this most naïve and entertaining traveller arrived in Crim Tartary, Mohammed Uzbek was Khan of that portion of the Tartar race inhabiting the plains of Kipchak. After travelling through the country for several months, 'I arrived,' says he, 'at a station to which the Sultan with his retinue had just come before us: at this place, which is termed the urdu, or camp, we arrived on the first of the month Ramadan. Here we witnessed a moving city, with its streets, mosques, and cooking-houses, the smoke of which ascended as they moved along. When, however, they halted, all these became stationary. This Sultan Mohammed Uzbek is very powerful, enjoys extensive rule, and is a subduer of the infidels. He is one of the seven great kings of the world; which are, the Sultan of the West, the Sultan of Egypt and Syria, the Sultan of the two Iraks, the Sultan of the Turks Uzbek, then the Sultan of Turkistan and Mawara El Nabar, the Sultan of India, and the Sultan of China.

'It is a custom with Mohammed Uzbek to sit after prayer on the Friday, under an alcove, called the "golden alcove," which is very much ornamented: he has a throne in the middle of it, overlaid with silver plate, which is gilded and set with jewels. The Sultan sits upon the throne; his four wives, some at his right hand, others at his left, sitting also upon the throne. Beneath the throne stand his two sons, one on his right, the other on his left; before him sits his daughter. Whenever one of these wives enters, he arises, and, taking her by the hand, puts her into her place upon the throne. Thus they are exposed to the sight of all, without so much as a veil. After this, come in the great Emirs, for whom chairs are placed on the right and left, and on these they sit. Before the King stand the princes, who are the sons of his uncle, brothers, and near kinsmen. In front of these, and near the door, stand the sons of the great Emirs; and behind these, the general officers of the army. People then enter according to their rank, and, saluting the King, return and take their seats at a distance. When, however, the evening prayer is over, the supreme consort, who is Queen, returns; the rest follow, each with their attendant beautiful slaves. The women who are separated on account of any uncleanness, are seated upon horses; before their carriages are cavalry, behind them beautiful Mamlukes. Upon this day I was presented to the Sultan, who received me very graciously, and afterwards sent me some sheep and a horse, with a leathern bag of kimiz, which is the milk of a mare, and very much valued among them as a beverage.'

While in this country, he endeavoured, according to custom, to collect as much information as possible concerning the neighbouring regions. The Orientals have a romantic way of describing what they see or hear. Extraordinary phenomena make a profound impression on them; and their fancy, ever more active than their judgment, is apt to give a colouring, whether they will or not, to whatever they write concerning such things. Indeed, in all rela-

tions where the author has to speak of any thing new, and ingenuously describes the impressions which circumstances make upon him, a tinge of romance is always visible. The same things appear different when contemplated from different points of view, of which the reader who is familiar with descriptions of our own manners by foreign writers, must be abundantly sensible. It is interesting to compare the following relation of Ibn Batuta, with the modern descriptions of Siberia :

‘ I had formerly heard of the city of Bulgar, and hence I had conceived a desire to see it; and to observe, whether what had been related of it, as to the extremity of the shortness of its nights, and again of its days in the opposite season of the year, were true or not. There was, however, between that place and the camp of the Sultan, a distance of ten days. I requested the Sultan, therefore, that he would appoint some one who would bring me thither and back, which he granted.

‘ When, therefore, I was saying the prayer of sun-set, in that place, which happened in the month of Ramadan, I hastened; nevertheless, the time for evening prayer came on, which I went hastily through. I then said that of midnight, as well as that termed El Fitr; but was overtaken by the dawn. In the same manner also is the day shortened in this place, in the opposite season of the year. I remained here three days, and then returned to the King.

‘ In Bulgar, I was told of the land of darkness, and certainly had a great desire to go to it from that place. The distance, however, was that of forty days. I was diverted, therefore, from the undertaking, both on account of its great danger, and the little good to be derived from it. I was told that there was no travelling thither except upon little sledges, which are drawn by large dogs; and that, during the whole of the journey, the roads are covered with ice, upon which neither the feet of man, nor the hoofs of beast, can take any hold. These dogs, however, have nails by which their feet take firm hold on the ice. No one enters these parts except powerful merchants, each of whom has perhaps a hundred of such sledges, as these, which they load with provisions, drinks, and wood: for there we have neither trees, stones, nor houses. The guide in this country is the dog, who has gone the journey several times, the price of which will amount to about a thousand dinars. The sledge is harnesssed to his neck, and with him three other dogs are joined, but of which he is the leader. The others then follow him with the sledge; and when he stops, they stop. The master never strikes or reprimands this dog; and when he proceeds to a meal, the dogs are fed first: for, if this were not done, they would become enraged, and perhaps run away and leave their master to perish. When the travellers have completed their forty days or stages through this desert, they arrive at the land of darkness; and each man, leaving what he has brought with him, goes back to his appointed station.

On the morrow they return to look for their goods, and find, instead of them, sable, ermine, and the fur of the *sinjab*. If then the merchant likes what he finds, he takes it away; if not, he leaves it, and more is added to it: upon some occasions, however, these people will take back their own goods, and leave those of the merchants. In this way is their buying and selling carried on; for the merchants know not whether it is with mankind or demons that they have to do; no one being seen during the transaction. It is one of the properties of these furs, that no vermin ever enters them.

It appears that Mohammed Uzbek Khan, who reigned at this period over the Tartars of Kipchak, had among his wives a daughter of the Emperor of Constantinople. This lady, drawing near her confinement during the period of Ibn Batuta's visit, desired to be permitted, according to previous agreement, to spend the time of her seclusion in her father's palace. The Khan consented, and the princess departed for the Capital of the Roman Empire with a vast retinue, and in all the barbaric splendour which the treasury of her husband could supply. The Dervish requested and obtained permission to be numbered in the suite of the Tartar queen, and set out in her train to visit the city, which had once been the metropolis of the world. We shall not pause to recount his adventures on the journey, or to describe the ceremonies and pageants with which the Grecian princess was received on her return to the house of her fathers. The traveller remained about a month at Constantinople, and then returned to Tartary; from thence, after a short delay, he departed for Hindoostan, where he was received, and magnificently entertained, by the Emperor at Delhi.

It was in this country that the fortunes of Ibn Batuta reached their zenith. He rose rapidly to the rank of magistrate, acquired a magnificent fortune, a splendid house, and wives and slaves in abundance. But his propensity to visit the saints of Islamism, whose conversation appears always to have possessed irresistible charms for him, here proved nearly fatal to him; for having visited one of these personages who fell under the suspicion of treachery to the Emperor, Ibn Batuta lost all his honours, and narrowly escaped with his life.

While holding the office of magistrate at Delhi, he acquired the knowledge of numerous particulars relating to the history of Hindoostan, and relates several curious anecdotes of its princes, among which the most curious is that of the Emperor Balaban:

'The history of his beginnings is surprising, which is this: When a child, he lived at Bokhara, in the possession of one of the inhabitants, and was a little despicable ill-looking wretch. Upon a time, a certain Fakier saw him there, and said, "You little Turk!" which is considered by them as a very reproachful term. The reply was, "I am here, good Sir." This surprised the Fakier, who said to him,

"Go and bring me one of those pomegranates," pointing to some which had been exposed for sale in the street. The urchin replied, "Yes, Sir;" and, immediately taking out all the money he had, went and bought the pomegranate. When the Fakeer received it, he said to Balaban, "We give you the kingdom of India." Upon which the boy kissed his own hand, and said, "I have accepted of it, and am quite satisfied."

"It happened, about this time, that the Sultan Shams Oddin sent a merchant to purchase slaves from Bokhara and Sarmarkand. He accordingly bought a hundred, and Balaban was among them. When these Mamlukes were brought before the Sultan, they all pleased him except Balaban, and him he rejected on account of his despicable appearance. Upon this, Balaban said to the Emperor, "Lord of the world! why have you bought all these slaves?" The Emperor smiled, and said, "For my own sake, no doubt." The slave replied, "Buy me then for God's sake." "I will," said he. He then accepted of him, and placed him among the rest; but, on account of the badness of his appearance, gave him a situation among the cup-bearers.

"Some of the astrologers, who were about the king, were daily in the habit of saying to him, "One of the Mamlukes will one day overcome thy son, and take the kingdom from him." To this the Emperor, on account of the justice and excellency of his own character, paid no regard, till they also told it to the Queen-Mother; who soon made an impression on his mind respecting it. He accordingly summoned the astrologers before him, and said, "Pray can you tell which of the Mamlukes it is, who is to take the kingdom from my son, if you see him?" They said, "We have a mark whereby we can distinguish him." The Emperor then ordered all the Mamlukes to be present; who came accordingly, station after station, as commanded. Upon these the astrologers fixed their eyes; but did not discover the person looked for, until the day began to draw towards the close. At this time the cup-bearers said one to another, "We are getting rather hungry; let us join and send some one into the street to buy us something to eat." They did so; and Balaban, as the most despicable, was sent to make the purchase. Balaban accordingly sallied forth, but could find nothing in that street which would suit him; he then went on into another, during which time the turn of the cup-bearers came on to be presented. But, as Balaban was not forthcoming, they took a little pitch and whatever else was necessary for their purpose, and daubing it over a child, took him with them in the place of Balaban; and, when his name was called over, this child was presented; and the business of the day was closed, without the astrologers finding their mark upon any one; which was a providential circumstance for Balaban.

At last Balaban made his appearance, but not till the business of the day was over. The cleverness of Balaban was afterwards

noticed, and he was made head of the cup-bearers. After this he was placed in the army, and soon became a general officer. After this the Sultan Jalal Oddin married his daughter, which was before he had been made king. But when he was, he appointed Balabdi to the office of Nawab or Viceroy, which he filled for twenty years. He then killed his master, and seized the empire.

The star of Ibn Batuta, after having been obscured for a time by the clouds of adversity, again shone forth more brightly than ever. He regained the favour of the Emperor; and an embassy from the Emperor of China arriving about this time at Delhi with rich presents, our illustrious dervish was appointed, with several others, to carry the Emperor of India's presents, in return for those he had received, to the city of Khan-Balik, or Cambala. He accordingly departed upon his honourable mission; and, to adopt the phraseology of the East, after journeying many days, he arrived with his numerous retinue, and the splendid presents of the Emperor, at a certain city, named Kul. In the neighbourhood of this city, the Hindoos and the Musulmans were carrying on a war against each other. Our dervish, however, who never lost an opportunity of enjoying himself, one day ventured out of the city into one of the gardens in its vicinity.

'While we were in the garden,' says he, 'some one cried out, that the Hindoos were making an attack upon one of the villages: I accordingly rode off with some of my companions to their assistance. When the infidels saw this, they fled; but the Moslems were so scattered in pursuing them, that myself and only five others were left. Some of their people saw this, and the consequence was, a considerable number of cavalry made an attack upon us. When we perceived their strength we retreated, while they pursued us, and in this we persevered. I observed three of them coming after me, when I was left quite alone. It happened at the same time that the fore feet of my horse had stuck fast between two stones, so that I was obliged to dismount and set him at liberty. I was now in a way that led into a valley between two hills, and here I lost sight of the infidels. I was so circumstanced, however, that I knew neither the country nor the roads. I then set my horse at liberty to go where he would.

'While I was in a valley closely interwoven with trees, behold! a party of cavalry, about forty in number, rushed upon me and took me prisoner, before I was well aware of their being there. I was much afraid they would shoot me with their arrows. I alighted from my horse, therefore, and gave myself up as their prisoner. They then stripped me of all I had, bound me, and took me with them for two days, intending to kill me. Of their language I was quite ignorant: but God delivered me from them; for they left me, and I took my course I knew not whither. I was much afraid they would take it into their heads to kill me. I there-

fore hid myself in a forest thickly interwoven with trees and thorns, so much so, that a person wishing to hide himself could not be discovered. Whenever I ventured upon the roads, I found they always led either to one of the villages of the *insidels*, or to some ruined village. I was always, therefore, under the necessity of returning; and thus I passed seven whole days, during which I experienced the greatest horrors. My food was the fruit and leaves of the mountain trees. At the end of the seventh day, however, I got sight of a black man, who had with him a walking-staff shod with iron, and a small water-vessel. He saluted me, and I returned the salute. He then said, "What is your name?" I answered, "Mohammed." I then asked him his name: he replied, "El Kalb El Karih" (i. e. the wounded heart). He then gave me some pulae, which he had with him, and some water to drink. He asked me whether I would accompany him. I did so; but I soon found myself unable to move, and I sunk on the earth. He then carried me on his shoulders; and, as he walked on with me, I fell asleep. I awoke, however, about the time of dawn, and found myself at the Emperor's palace-gate. A courier had already brought the news of what had happened, and of my loss, to the Emperor, who now asked me of all the particulars, and these I told him. He then gave me ten thousand dinars, and furnished me for my return.

The embassy at length arrive on the coast of Malabar, and embark in a number of junks for China; but the ships are wrecked, the ambassadors, with the exception of Ibn Batuta, are all drowned, and the Emperor's presents lost in the sea. The traveller, fearing after this disaster to return to Delhi, sails away to the Maldiv Islands, of which he gives a most romantic and charming description. He found the inhabitants to be Mohammedans, and tells the following story of their conversion to Islamism, which reminds us strongly of the classical story of Perseus and Andromeda:

'The cause of these islands becoming Mohammedan was, as it is generally received among them, and as some learned and respectable persons among them informed me, as follows. When they were in a state of infidelity, there appeared to them every month a spectre from among the genii. This came from the sea. Its appearance was that of a ship filled with candles. When they saw him, it was their custom to take and dress up a young woman who was a virgin, and place her in the idol-temple which stood on the sea-shore, and had windows looking towards him. Here they left her for the night. When they came in, the morning, they found her vitiated and dead. This they continued doing month after month, casting lots among themselves, and each, to whom the lot fell, giving up and dressing out his daughter for the spectre. After this there came to them a western Arab, named Abu'l Barakat the Berber. This was a holy man, and one who had committed the Koran to

memory. He happened to lodge in the house of an old woman in the island of Mohl. One day, when he entered the house, he saw her with a company of her female inmates weeping and lamenting, and asked them what was the matter. A person who acted as interpreter between him and them said, that the lot had fallen upon this old woman, who was now adorning her daughter for the spectre; or this it was she was crying: this too was her only child. The Mogrebine, who was a beardless man, said to her, "I will go to the spectre to-night instead of thy daughter. If he takes me, then I shall redeem her; but if I come off safe, then that will be to the praise of God." They carried him accordingly to the idol-house that night, as if he had been the daughter of the old woman, the magistrate knowing nothing whatever of the matter. The Mogrebine entered, and sitting down in the window, began to read the Koran. By and by the spectre came, with eyes flaming like fire; but when he had got near enough to hear the Koran, he plunged into the sea. In this manner the Mogrebine remained till morning, reading his Koran, when the old woman came with her household, and the great personages of the district, in order to fetch out the young woman and burn her, as it was their custom. But when they saw the old man reading the Koran, just as they had left him, they were greatly astonished. The old woman then told them what she had done, and why she had desired him to do this. They then carried the Mogrebine to their king, whose name was Shanwan, and told him the whole of the affair; and he was much astonished at the Arab. Upon this the Mogrebine presented the doctrine of Islamism to the king, and pressed him to receive it; who replied, "Stay with us another month; and then, if you will do as you now have done, and escape from the spectre with safety, I will become a Mohammedan." So God opened the heart of the King for the reception of Islamism before the completion of the month,—of himself, of his household, his children, and his nobles. When, however, the second month came, they went with the Mogrebine to the idol-house, according to former custom, the King himself being also present; and when the following morning had arrived, they found the Mogrebine sitting and reading his Koran; having had the same rencontre with the spectre that he had on the former occasion. They then broke the images, raised the idol-house to the ground, and all became Mohammedans. The sect into which they entered was that of the Mogrebine, namely, that of Ibn Malik. Till this very day they make much of the Mogrebines, on account of this man. I was residing for some time in these islands, without having any knowledge of this circumstance; upon a certain night, however, when I saw them exulting and praising God, as they were proceeding towards the sea, with Korans on their heads, I asked them what they were about; when they told me of the spectre. They then said, Look towards the sea, and you will see him. I looked, and, behold, he resembled a ship filled with

candles and torches. "This," said they, "is the spectre; which, when we do as you have seen us doing, goes away and does us no injury."

From the Maldiv Islands Ibn Batuta sails to Ceylon, and various other countries, and at length arrives in China, where he has an audience of the Great Khan, and relates the history of the loss of the Emperor's presents. In one of the cities of China he finds a Mohammedan fakeer, whom he had formerly known in India; and his pathetic description of their meeting reminds us, as the translator justly observes, of the affecting scene between Jacob and Rachel at the well:

"It was strange enough that, one day, when I was at a feast, which they had made for me, in came one of the great Mohammedan fakeers, whom they welcomed by the title of the Sheikh Kawan Oddin. After the salutation, and his joining our society, I was wondering at his appearance, and had looked on him for some time, when he said, "Why do you continue looking at me, unless you know me?" I then asked him of his native place. He said it was Subta (Ceuta). I said, "Well, I am from Tanjiers." He then renewed his salute and wept; and at this I wept too. I then asked whether he had been in India. He said, "Yes; at the palace in Delhi." When he said this, he came to my recollection; and I said, "Are you El Bashiri?" He said, "Yes." He had come to Delhi with my uncle, Abul Kasin El Mursi, when he was young, and before a beard had appeared on his cheek. He was then one of the most clever at retaining the Koran by memory, and of those termed benchers. I had mentioned him to the Emperor of India, who accordingly wished to retain him in office. But this he did not accept of. His wish was to go to China. The Emperor had given him three thousand dinars, and he had then set out for China. In China he was put in office among the Mohammedans, and became possessed of great wealth. After this, he sent me several presents. His brother I met, some time after, in Sudau; what a distance between these two brothers!"

Shortly after this he leaves China; and, after numerous adventures in various other countries of the East, returns to Tanjiers, after an absence of nearly twenty years. Here his travels terminate.

The style of the translation is remarkable for its extreme simplicity, which, in many instances, degenerates into downright poverty of language; but, in others, successfully represents the quaint and naïve phraseology of the Orientals. It, in fact, bears many marks of negligence, which are sufficiently accounted for by the hurried manner in which the translation has been executed.

HEADS OF MR. BUCKINGHAM'S LECTURES, WITH A SKETCH OF HIS LIFE, TRAVELS, AND WRITINGS.

[THE great interest excited in every city and town in which these Lectures have yet been delivered, has led to a desire, on the part of many of the Subscribers to this Work, that the following Sheets should have a permanent place in one of its volumes. And as the matter it contains will be entirely new to the large number of readers who have recently become Subscribers, in consequence of the rising interest thus excited on the great object to which its pages are devoted, there is the less need of apology for what may appear to be repetition to its earlier supporters. It is of course desirable that all parties should be gratified, as far as may be found practicable; and as there are yet a vast number of towns and districts in England, Scotland, and Ireland to which this Work now reaches, where these Lectures will be delivered in the course of the present and ensuing year, the incorporation of these Sheets in the regular Number of this Work, besides gratifying many who have expressed the desire adverted to, will spread the information it contains in those more remote quarters also, where it is most important at the present moment that it should reach.]

It is not unreasonable that those who are invited to read or to hear the facts and arguments which any advocate of a great public question may venture to lay before them, should ask for some proof of his claims to their attention, and demand the exhibition of his credentials before they consent to honour him with their confidence; and being myself quite as desirous of granting, as others can be of asking, such reasonable concessions, I proceed to give a Sketch of the most material grounds on which I consider my claims to general confidence to be established. It will of necessity be very brief, and merely an outline—for the history of forty years is not easy to be condensed into a few pages;—but when I add, that I shall be always ready to afford to any one who may deem it worth his inquiry, the more detailed information he may seek, by a personal interview and verbal conference, I hope I shall sufficiently acquit myself of my duty by the union of these two modes of communication.

At the very early age of nine years, I embraced, with the most enthusiastic ardour, the maritime profession; and embarked in one of his Majesty's Packets for a foreign station. Before I completed my tenth year, I was captured, and, as a prisoner of war, passed several months in confinement at Corunna: and, before I completed my eleventh year, I had been marched, with the rest of the officers and crew of the ship in which I sailed, a distance of many hundred miles bare-foot through Spain and Portugal, from Corunna, through St. Iago di Compostella, Vigo, Oporto, Coimbra, and Santarém, to Lisbon.

Subsequent to this, I visited other countries in the same profession; and obtained a maritime command at the early age of twenty-one. In this capacity I performed several voyages to the West Indies, the two Americas, and the Mediterranean Sea, including Gibraltar, Malta, the Greek Islands, and Smyrna in the Levant: in which, uniting as I did, the occupation of Seaman and Merchant, and conducting not merely the navigation but the commerce of the

voyage, I had abundant opportunities of becoming acquainted with all the facts and circumstances bearing in any degree upon either; of which I very sedulously availed myself: and to show the manner in which this information was used, I need only refer to the early pages of *THE ORIENTAL HERALD*, where, in a series of papers, entitled 'Unpublished Manuscripts of a Traveller in the East,'* will be found a very copious detail of my principal Voyages in the Mediterranean: and a Report on the Commerce of Smyrna, including a detailed history of all its peculiarities, with a minute description of its Exports, Imports, Duties, &c. &c., which may fairly challenge comparison with any similar paper, for fullness, clearness, and fidelity.†

In the year 1813, having formed the intention of resigning my command, and settling at Malta, as a general merchant, I sailed from London with that view. The attractions of Malta as a place of settlement for that purpose, consisted in its being the great central magazine or depôt, from which the continent of Europe, then under a rigorous blockade against all British manufactures, by the decrees of Napoleon Buonaparte, was supplied with every description of merchandise, both in English goods and colonial produce; and also in its being the great prize-port, into which all captured vessels were brought for adjudication and sale, by decrees of the Vice-Admiralty Court, of which Malta was the chief station.

Uniting as I did, in my own person, a thorough knowledge of all mercantile matters, connected either with Colonial produce or British manufactures; being equally well acquainted with the value of ships and marine stores; and speaking familiarly the several languages of which Malta was the seat, namely, Arabic, Greek, French and Italian;—there was every prospect before me of a successful mercantile career, by a settlement in that island, at that particular period.

On arriving off the port of Valetta, however, it was found that the plague, which had not been known there for upwards of a century, raged with such violence as to induce the Governor to prohibit the landing of any individuals, and indeed to prevent any personal communication with the shore. The cargoes destined for this depôt were accordingly landed in magazines near the sea, and the ships proceeded to other ports; the one in which I was embarked going on to Smyrna.

I remained there a sufficient period to be a considerable loser by the calamitous events that occurred at Malta, in consequence of the long-continued and devastating pestilence which afflicted that island; and at length proceeded to Alexandria in Egypt, to look around

* See *Oriental Herald*, vol. vi. p. 15. 243. 456; vol. vii. p. 46. 497; vol. viii. p. 471; vol. ix. p. 83. 268. 509; vol. x. p. 72. 294. 473; vol. xi. p. 91. 331. 545.

† See *Oriental Herald*, vol. x. p. 72. 473.

that country for fresh sources of enterprise. The cordial reception given to me by the British residents there, soon obtained me the notice and attention of the Egyptian Pasha, Mohammed Ali, the present ruler of that interesting country. He was at this period just beginning to perceive the advantage of encouraging the settlement, in Egypt, of persons of skill and capital, from every quarter of the globe, for the purpose of improving the resources of his dominion; and, extending his views also to external commerce, I had the pleasure of passing many successive evenings with him in his Divan, after all his public officers, excepting only his confidential Secretary, were dismissed, and there, with a set of Arrowsmith's charts, which I exhibited to him, explaining the relative positions and productions of various countries—the winds, seasons, monsoons, currents, rocks, shoals, &c., as well as the theory and practice of navigation and hydrography:—all of which afforded him such delight, that we often sat together until near the dawn of the following morning: and I at length succeeded in having transcribed, upon a duplicate set of Arrowsmith's charts traced by my own hand for the purpose, all the information of importance, written in the Arabic language and character.

One of the undertakings which I subsequently proposed to accomplish for him, was the re-opening of the ancient canal which formerly connected the Red Sea with the Mediterranean;* and another was the transporting across the Desert of the Isthmus, before the canal should be opened, two beautiful American brigs then lying in the harbour of Alexandria, which he was anxious to get into the Red Sea, but feared the East India Company would prevent his sending them round the Cape of Good Hope.† But at this period, the war against the Wahabees occupied almost the exclusive attention of all parties in Egypt, and ultimately compelled the Pasha himself to repair to the seat of hostilities in Arabia; while those to whom he confided the government of the country in his absence, were far less able than himself to appreciate the value of such works as these.

From Alexandria I proceeded to Cairo; and from thence ascended the Nile into Nubia, beyond the Cataracts, being prevented from penetrating farther in consequence of an almost total blindness, occasioned by a long and severe ophthalmia, one of the plagues that still afflict Egypt. On my descent I halted at Keneh, and crossed the Desert to Kosseir, on the shores of the Red Sea. In the course of this journey, I encountered, nearly in the middle of the Desert, a party of the mutinous soldiery of the Egyptian army, returning in a state of revolt from Kosseir, by whom I was stripped, plundered, and left entirely naked on the barren waste, at a distance of sixty

* For a collected view of all the best information on this subject, see 'The Oriental Herald,' vol. v. p. 1.

† These are both adverted to in the Preface to the 'Travels in Palestine,' the first of my published works.

miles, at least, from any habitation or supply of food or water. The narrative of this disastrous journey would alone make a volume, if extended to all its details: I must here content myself with saying, however, that by perseverance I succeeded in reaching Kosseir, though under circumstances of the most painful and distressing nature; and that, to add to my sufferings, I was obliged to retrace all my steps, and return again to Keneh on the Nile, from the impossibility of prosecuting my route farther in that direction.*

I descended the Nile to Cairo, from thence traversed the Isthmus of Suez, explored all the surrounding country, and visited every part of Lower Egypt and the Delta, habited as an Egyptian, speaking the language, and mixing freely with the people of the country.

It was at this period that a proposition was made to me by the English merchants then resident in Egypt, to undertake, on their account, a voyage to India by way of the Red Sea; first, to survey its hydrography, till that period most inaccurately known, and thus to judge of the practicability of its coasting navigation by English ships; and next, to ascertain how far the merchants of India—but those at Bombay more especially—might feel disposed to renew the commercial intercourse which formerly existed between India and Egypt, for the supply of all the higher parts of the Mediterranean.

I readily acceded to this proposition, and set out for Suez accordingly, profiting by the departure of a large caravan then conveying the pilgrims of Africa, collected at Cairo, to the great Temple at Mecca; and bearing also the Harem of Mohammed Ali Pasha, consisting of fifty or sixty of the most beautiful women of Asia, to his camp in the Holy Land.† The voyage was continued, under most disastrous circumstances, to Jedda, from thence to Mocha, and ultimately to India.

The merchants of Bombay being, however, unwilling to resume the commerce with Egypt, except under securities which it was hardly probable they could obtain, I considered my mission at an end; and, after communicating the result to the proper quarter, my

* The idea having been first started in 'The Athenæum' of producing a volume, similar to the *Annals*, for the benefit of the distressed foreign refugees in England, to which the leading literary men of England should be invited to contribute their assistance gratuitously, I selected, from my unpublished manuscripts, an account of this Desert Journey, written a few days after its termination, and devoted it to this purpose. I subsequently obtained the consent of that excellent statesman and accomplished scholar, Sir James Mackintosh, to charge himself with the editorship, in which it has been since arranged that Mr. Campbell the poet should be also associated, for the purpose of rendering his valuable aid. I have, therefore, great pleasure in taking this opportunity of drawing public attention to a work, the benevolent object of which, it is hoped, all classes and parties will feel disposed to promote.

† An account of this Journey across the Isthmus was furnished, from my unpublished manuscripts, at the request of the editor of 'The Friendship's Offering,' for 1827, for the pages of that beautiful and interesting Annual, where it will be found.

attention was turned to some maritime or mercantile occupation in India itself. This was soon obtained; for I had scarcely been a week on shore, before I was appointed to the command of a fine new frigate, just launched for the Imam of Muscat, an independent Arab prince, who had commissioned her for a voyage to China. I was invested with the command, and was actually engaged in rigging and fitting her out, when, not less to my regret than surprise, I received a letter from the Government of Bombay, dated May 10, 1815, which is so short that it may be given entire:

'SIR,—I have received the orders of Government to call upon you to give security to proceed to England, in such ship and at such time as may be appointed by Government, it being understood that you have no license or authority to remain in India. I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,
'J. H. STEPHENSON, Company's Solicitor.*'

To this I replied, by recapitulating all the circumstances under which I reached India: explaining, that when I left England I had no intention of coming thus far; that I neither knew the fact of any license being necessary, to give an Englishman the *privilege* of visiting any part of the King's dominions; nor even, had I known this fact, should I have applied for it, as I considered Malta the boundary of my voyage. I therefore asked the Governor's indulgence to remain in India, under the special license which he had the power to grant, until the pleasure of the Court of Directors in England should be known; and, in addition to this public demand, the greatest private interest was used to obtain the indulgence required. But the orders of the Directors in England were so peremptory, commanding the instant banishment of any individual, however useful or honourable his pursuits, who ventured to set his foot in India without a license, that the Governor dared not depart from them. This indulgence was accordingly refused: but, in an interview which I afterwards had with the Governor, Sir Evan Nepean, he himself said to me, 'My dear sir, what a pity it is that you are not an American—and I think you might very well pass for one—for then you might remain in India, and visit any part of it, without license from England, or even leave from me.' To show also that this my *first* banishment from India, and deprivation of a very honourable and lucrative command, in the service of an independent prince, which any American, French, or other foreign officer might enter without the power of the English to hinder, was not occasioned by any supposed hostility on my part to the India Company, or by any thing objectionable in my character or views, I shall subjoin the whole of the letter of the Governor of Bombay to his Chief Secretary, in reply to his application on my behalf for permission to return to England by way of Egypt, as I had already been refused

* Brother of the Banker, Rowland Stephenson, whose frauds and escape have lately excited so much attention; but, unlike this brother, a most upright and honourable man.

permission to go by way of Bengal, which I had wished; as the most expeditious of the two:

'DEAR WARDEN,—I can have no objection to Mr. Buckingham returning to England by the way of Mocha. He came hither, I understand, by that route. But I have an objection to the allowing him to go to Bengal, or to any other part of India, being determined to discourage all attempts which may be made by persons to settle in India without the license of the Company. To the individual himself I have not the slightest degree of objection. On the contrary, he appeared to be a sensible intelligent man; and I shall by no means be sorry to see him return with the Company's license, believing, as I do, that he would be of use to the mercantile interests, in opening the trade of the Red Sea. Yours, &c.

E. NEPEAN.'

I was accordingly, without the least fault alleged against me, but even with these eulogies bestowed on my character and my views, punished with the deprivation of an honourable command, the loss of a certain fortune from this lucrative service, (which my licensed successor actually realised, to the extent of three lacs of rupees, or 30,000*l.* sterling, in three years,) and subjected to transportation, as if my very touch were sufficient to contaminate a land—which we Englishmen call our own, as being won with the blood and treasure of our countrymen, and under the protection of our national flag—while foreigners alone are *free* in it, and every Englishman is virtually a slave! *

I returned to Egypt in company with Dr. Benjamin Babington,† by a second voyage through the Red Sea, in which I collected ample materials for a new hydrographical chart of all its coasts; and communicated the result of my expedition to the British merchants at Alexandria. It was then resolved to obtain from Mohammed Ali the securities which the Indian merchants desired; and accordingly, a Commercial Treaty was entered into, between the Pasha, the British Consul, and myself, each of whom pledged himself to certain engagements, calculated to afford reciprocal protection and profit.‡

As this was considered to clothe me with a new character, and invest me with new powers, it was agreed that I should proceed again to India, as the ambassador or envoy of Mohammed Ali, the viceroy of Egypt: being made the bearer of letters and commissions from him to the Government of India, as well as of this tripartite treaty to its merchants. I accordingly left Alexandria in the close of the year 1815, for the coast of Syria,§ landed at Bairoot, proceeded

* The whole of the official correspondence relating to these transactions will be found at length, in the Appendix to the First Volume of the *Oriental Herald*, p. 3 to 5.

† See his evidence as to this voyage in 'The *Oriental Herald*,' vol. xi. p. 405.

‡ The original Arabic version of this Treaty is in the possession of Sir Charles Forbes, Bart., M.P.; and the French version of it will be found in 'The *Oriental Herald*,' vol. ix. p. 505.

§ It is here that my published *Travels* first commenced; in the volume entitled *Travels in Palestine, through the Countries of Bashan and Gilead*, beginning at Alexandria, and ending at Nazareth. It is dedicated to the Marquis of

by Tyre, Sidon, Acre, and Jaffa, to Jerusalem;—was compelled, by various circumstances, but more especially the disturbed state of the country, to traverse nearly the whole of Palestine, and the countries east of the Jordan and the Dead Sea, the Hauran, and the Decapolis;—reached Damascus;—passed several weeks in the agreeable and hospitable society of Lady Hester Stanhope;—visited Baalbeck, Lebanon, Tripoly, Antioch, the Orontes, and Aleppo.* From thence I proceeded into Mesopotamia; crossed the Euphrates at Bir; visited Orfah, the Ur of the Chaldees; and Edessa of the Greeks, near Haran, the birth-place of Abraham the Patriarch; journeyed to Diarbekr, or the Black City, in the heart of Asia Minor; from thence to Mardin on the mountains; and by the great Desert of Sinjar to Moosul on the Tigris;—inspected the Ruins of Nineveh, Arbela, Ctesiphon, and Seleucia; made extensive researches on the Ruins of Babylon, identified the Hanging Gardens and the Palace, and discovered a portion of the ancient Wall; ascended to the summit of the Tower of Babel, now still erect in the Plain of Shinaar, and at length reposed in the celebrated City of Bagdad, on the banks of the Tigris.†

After a short stay here, I proceeded into Persia, crossing the chain of Mount Zagros, and going by Kermanshah to Hamadan, the ancient Ecbatana; Ispahan, the most magnificent of all the Oriental cities; the ruins of Persepolis; and by Shiraz and Shapoor to Bushire. At this port I embarked in an East India Company's ship of war, bound on an expedition against the Wahabees, the Arab pirates of the Persian Gulph; visited their port at Ras-el-Khyma; went on shore with the Commodore of the squadron, and acted as

Hastings, and comprises 553 quarto pages, with a Portrait and 28 Engravings, exclusive of Inscriptions, Plans, and Maps. The Preface to this contains a detailed account of my track.

* This concludes the second volume, entitled 'Travels among the Arab Tribes, inhabiting the Countries East of Syria and Palestine.' It is dedicated to Dr. Babington, and comprises 679 quarto pages, and 28 Engravings, exclusive of Inscriptions and Map. In the Appendix to this Volume are contained all the documents and correspondence relating to the controversy with 'The Quarterly Review,' the Indian Government, Mr. Gifford, Mr. Murray, and the elder and younger Mr. Banks.

† This concludes the third Volume, entitled 'Travels in Mesopotamia,' which is dedicated to the Right Honourable Lady Hester Stanhope, and comprises 571 pages, and 27 Engravings, besides the Plans and Views of the Ruins of Babylon, and the Map. It may be mentioned here, that this work having been read by Mr. James Keeling, an extensive manufacturer of porcelain at the Hanley Potteries, in Staffordshire, he was so pleased with the scriptural illustrations it contained, and with the Engravings with which the Work was embellished, that he formed the design of making a beautiful Dinner Service, to be ornamented by the Views in Mesopotamia, which he brought to great perfection, and presented me with the first set sent from his manufactory, which has been admired by all who have seen it for its beauty, and which I shall long continue to value as a gift worthy of preservation in my family. The Appendix to this volume contains the issue of the trial of Mr. Banks; a verbatim report of which will be found in 'The Oriental Herald,' Vol. xi. p. 375.

Oriental Herald, Vol. 21.

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his Arabian interpreter; assisted afterwards in the bombardment of the town; and finally reached Bombay at the end of 1816, having been nearly twelve months in performing this long and perilous journey.*

That such a succession of voyages and travels should be full of danger, as well as incident, may be easily imagined: but I purposely abstain from a recital of them, which would lead, indeed, to a volume of itself. It may be sufficient to say, that storms, plagues, shipwreck, battle, imprisonment, hunger, thirst, sickness, nakedness, and want, had been my frequent portion: and that there was scarcely any form under which human misery could present itself, in which I had not encountered it; or scarcely any pomp, pleasure, honour, or distinction, which mortal could enjoy, that I had not witnessed, and occasionally shared in; having in all this weary pilgrimage, invariably found the name of AN ENGLISHMAN, wherever it was safe to assume it, a passport and a claim to every favour and protection that the public authorities of *other nations* could afford, till I reached what I had hitherto regarded as a part of my own country—INDIA; where I found this proud name, the badge and symbol of every thing that was debased and enslaved—an Englishman *alone* being there subject to *banishment* and ruin, without trial, without a hearing, without even a reason assigned, merely *because* he is an Englishman; while foreigners of every other country are entitled to the protection of the laws, and cannot be touched but through the medium of a Court and Jury,—a privilege of which all Englishmen are deprived!

The issue of my second mission to Bombay was not more successful in bringing about the wished-for trade between India and Egypt; than the former; and having, by this time, through the intervention of my friend and fellow-traveller from India, Dr. Babington, who had left me in Egypt, and proceeded to England, obtained the Company's license to remain in India, (which was sent out to me in Bombay,) I resumed the command of the *Imam* of Muscat's frigate, from which I was before displaced; his Mohammedan agent having been indignant at what even *he* considered the tyranny of the Indian Government, and pledged himself to re-instate me in the command, if I ever returned alive to India to accept it. But the three lucrative voyages to China, which I was to have performed, had in the mean time been accomplished by another, and his fortune made. The ship was now destined for the

* This terminates the fourth Volume, entitled 'Travels in Assyria, Media, and Persia,' which is dedicated to Sir Charles Forbes, Bart. &c., comprises 548 pages, and is illustrated with an Equestrian Portrait, in the costume of the East, 26 Engravings, and a Map. The Preface to this explains the circumstances under which this Volume was sent through the press; and which are probably without a parallel in the whole history of literary labours.

Persian Gulf, whither I sailed in her; and after visiting Muscat and Bussorah, I returned, with a successful result, to Bombay.*

From hence I proceeded down the coast of Malabar, touching at Tellicherry, Calicut, Mahee, and Cochin; Colombo and Point de Galle, in Ceylon; up the coast of Coromandel, touching at Cavelong, Madras, and Bimlipatam; and at length reached Calcutta in June, 1818.

Here I found that orders had reached from the Imaum of Muscat, to whom the frigate under my command belonged, directing her to proceed to the coast of Zanzibar, in Africa, to give convoy to several of his vessels there engaged in procuring slaves, as well as to convey some of these unhappy beings in my own,—a service in which, had the prospect of fortune been ten times as brilliant as it was, my abhorrence of slavery would not permit me to engage; and accordingly, rather than acquire riches from such a source, I resigned the command, and with it, all the prospects of competency and ease which it had hitherto promised me.

At this period I became acquainted with Mr. John Palmer of Calcutta, who is designated, with great justice, the Prince of Merchants in the East, who holds the same rank in India as the Barings in England, and whom no man can intimately know without loving as well as revering. He it was who first suggested the idea of my having talents for literary and political life, for which I ought to relinquish that of the sea; and this impression receiving considerable strength from the very flattering attention paid me by the Marquis of Hastings, the late Lord Bishop of Calcutta, and indeed all the men distinguished for their rank or learning in India, I yielded to the general solicitation, and consented to undertake the editorship of a public journal in Calcutta, to be conducted on the liberal principles which then characterised the brilliant administration of the Marquis of Hastings, and with which every feeling of my heart was in perfect accordance. The materials for this journal were purchased for 30,000 rupees, or 3,000*l.* sterling. It was issued; obtained almost instantaneous popularity; and, within three years after its establishment, I brought it to produce a net profit of about 8,000*l.* sterling per annum. During the whole of this period, it supported, with a degree of zeal which was sometimes interpreted as adulation, the measures and policy of the existing Government, which was that of Lord Hastings, who, contrary to the views of his more narrow-minded colleagues, the civil servants of the East India Company, had removed the Censorship from the Press, was

* A short extract from the description of Muscat, composed on this voyage, will be found in Mr. Fringlé's elegant Annual, the 'Friendship's Offering' for the present year, 1829; the full account is incorporated in the 'Travels in Assyria, Media, and Persia,' and the account of Bussorah, which is given at length in the same volume, will be found also in 'The Oriental Herald' for January 1829, vol. xx. p. 36.

disposed to elevate the condition of the Natives; to permit the settlement of English gentlemen of capital and character in the interior; and in every other manner to promote the interests both of his own country, and of that over which he ruled. The support of this noble and enlightened policy of Lord Hastings, the representative of his Majesty and the British Legislature in India,—and the fact of my having sold one-fourth of my paper, for 10,000*l.* sterling, in 100 shares of 100*l.* each, which were purchased by the principal merchants, and civil and military officers in the Company's service in India, and which, therefore, was the highest mark of honour any public writer could receive,—was the very cause of all the hatred felt against myself, and hostility to 'The Calcutta Journal,' which I conducted, by the more bigoted adherents of the Company's system, then forming his council. Accordingly, there arose perpetual efforts, on the part of the latter, to obtain my arbitrary banishment from India, for supporting the views professed and entertained by the head of the Government himself: but he, like a true English nobleman, always referred them to the *law*, as the protecting power of the ruler and the subject; and declared, that while Providence continued him at the head of affairs, he would never suffer any one to deprive a British subject of that shield which was purposely created to protect him from the exercise of arbitrary power.

During the whole of Lord Hastings's government, therefore, which lasted for ten years, no arbitrary banishment of any Englishmen, for opinions expressed through the press, ever took place. The law was there, as it is in England, sufficient to repress all evils arising from this source; and notwithstanding this perfect freedom, never was the empire more tranquil, never more prosperous, even according to the testimony of his enemies; for he was the first Governor-General India had ever seen, who left the country in a state of perfect repose, from the Indus to the Ganges, and from the Himalaya to Ceylon, with ten millions sterling of surplus revenue in the treasury, the people comparatively happy, the public debt in a state of liquidation, and content and prosperity marking every branch of the public service. During all this long and eventful period, in which the law had been resorted to by the enemies of his pacific administration, no single conviction for libel or any other offence had ever been recorded against me; though I had obtained convictions against my calumniators, (for no man ever opposed bad measures without being calumniated by those whose unjust gains were endangered,) and was even obliged to meet my opponents in the field;* yet, no sooner had the Marquis of Hastings quitted India—which his health obliged him to do, before his permanent successor, Lord Amherst, arrived—than his temporary *locum tenens*, Mr. John Adam, —who, being one of the oldest of the East India Company's servants,

* See a detailed account of the duel fought with one of the public servants of the Indian Government, here alluded to, in 'The Oriental Herald,' vol. i. p. 61.

and the last that held the office of Censor of the Press, abolished by Lord Hastings, was the most deeply imbued with all its despotic principles of rule—determined to seize the first possible moment of banishing me from the country, and doing for himself what he had before often urged the Marquis of Hastings to do in vain. I had already heard, and indeed was enabled to prove, his declaration, made before Lord Hastings left India, that if he ever obtained the seat of power but for a day, his first act should be to banish me; and I exercised a proportionate degree of caution; so much so, that my enemies, whose great object it was to goad me into indiscretion, taunted me with the line from Shakspeare,

‘High-reaching Buckingham grows circumspect;’

and provided also a very easy remedy for the Government, by exclaiming, in the language of the same divine poet,

‘Off with his head!—So much for Buckingham.’

Accordingly, the time of Mr. Adam’s temporary governorship fast drawing to a close, and the impression being, that if he did not hasten to do his deed of destruction, the dagger would pass away from his grasp, the occasion was seized to do it instantly, and this was the feeble pretence on which it was attempted to be justified.

A Presbyterian Minister of the Scotch Church, Dr. Bryce, who was the head of his particular sect in India, had been for many years the Editor of a violent newspaper, entitled ‘The Asiatic Mirror,’ which had disappeared before the superior success of ‘The Calcutta Journal,’ to his very natural mortification and regret. He had subsequently become the Editor of a second Paper, called ‘The John Bull,’ set up by the functionaries of the Indian Government for the avowed purpose of defaming me: and in which a series of libels on my private character appeared, for which I obtained judgment against him, even in an Indian Court of Justice, with large damages: the Judge on the bench declaring, at the time of passing sentence, that, ‘the libels were so atrocious, as scarcely to be thought of without horror.’* To show upon what principles he conducted this Journal, it will be sufficient to quote a single passage of his defence, in which he openly avows, that, being unable to overturn, by reason, my arguments, (in favour of free trade, free settlement, and free publication,) and finding that my sentiments derived great weight from the excellence of my moral character, he thought it fair to destroy that character, in order to weaken the opinions, which reposed on it. The passage is so atrocious, that no one would believe it without its being produced. It is as follows:—

‘The phenomenon of a Journalist venting his sentiments without the aid of a censor, is but new in India; and it was manifest that, in this country, such a man might prove the instrument of incalculable evil. In looking around me, I beheld the evils that might be feared actually occurring. I saw them insinuating themselves into the very strongholds of our power, and possibly paving the way for an event, which the enemies of our power have hitherto attempted in vain. Enter-

* See this trial and sentence in ‘The Oriental Herald,’ vol. i. pp. 348. 352.

taining these views, the *Conductor* of such a Press became, in my eyes, a PUBLIC ENEMY; and resting his power, as he did, as well on his CHARACTER as his PRINCIPLES, his reputation became a fair and a legitimate object of attack, and its overthrow a subject of honest triumph to every lover of his country!

I will not weaken the force of so atrocious a doctrine as this, by a single word of comment.

This individual, then—the writer of the paragraph quoted above, was, almost immediately after writing it, rewarded by Mr. Adam with an appointment to an office of some emolument, but the duties of which were the most unsuitable to a clergyman that could be imagined, and such as required very close attention, although the same individual had only a few weeks before given up the unpaid Secretaryship to a Bible Society on the plea of wanting time to perform its duties! The appointment was even announced by the local Government, in an Extraordinary Gazette, as if it were a triumph or a victory; and certainly, the unusual nature both of the fact and its mode of announcement created considerable sensation, of mirth in some, and of sorrow and alarm in others. Being rather actuated by the former than by the latter class of feelings, I was disposed to view it, and to treat it, in a playful light: and as this was the article for which I was a second time banished without trial from India, (the reader will remember the first from Bombay,) and as, from our rooted notions of justice, the bare fact of any man having been banished from any country, leads all who hear it to infer that the individual really *deserved* his punishment, or it would not have been inflicted, it is very important that it should be given entire. It is rather long, but it will dispel the fears of many; and show them that, from the portions of my writings in India for which I was made to suffer the loss of 100,000*l.* in prospect, banishment as a felon, and the deprivation of an actual income from the labours of my own pen, of 8,000*l.* sterling a-year,—there was, at least, no probability of the empire being overturned, which is the only danger that could justify such severe and arbitrary punishment. The following is the article in question:

Appendix Extraordinary to the last Government Gazette.

‘During the evening of Thursday, about the period at which the inhabitants of this good City of Palaces are accustomed to sit down to dinner, an Appendix to the Government Gazette of the morning was issued in a separate form, and coming in the shape of a Gazette Extraordinary, was eagerly seized, even at that inconvenient hour, in the hope of its containing some intelligence of great public importance. Some, in whose bosoms this hope had been most strongly excited, may, perhaps, have felt disappointment; others, we know, drew from it a fund of amusement which lasted them all the remainder of the evening.

‘The Reverend Gentleman, named below, who we perceive by the Index of that useful publication, the Annual Directory, is a Doctor of Divinity, and Moderator of the Kirk Session, and who, by the favour of the higher powers, now combines the office of parson and clerk in the same person, has no doubt been selected for the arduous duties of his new place from the purest motives, and the strictest possible attention to the public interests. Such a clerk as is here required,

to inspect and reject whatever articles may appear objectionable to him, should be a competent judge of the several articles of pasteboard, sealing-wax, ink stands, sand, lead, gum, pounce, tape, and leathers; and one would imagine that nothing short of a regular apprenticeship at Stationery-hall would qualify a candidate for such a situation. All this information, however, the Reverend Gentleman, no doubt, possesses in a more eminent degree than any other person who could be found to do the duties of such an office; and though at first sight such information may seem to be incompatible with a Theological education, yet we know that India abounds with instances of that kind of genius which fits a man in a moment for any post to which he may be appointed.

In Scotland, we believe, the duties of a Presbyterian Minister are divided between preaching on the Sabbath, and on the days of the week visiting the sick, comforting the weak-hearted, conferring with the bold, and encouraging the timid, in the several duties of their religion. Some shallow persons might conceive that if a Presbyterian Clergyman were to do his duty in India, he might also find abundant occupation throughout the year, in the zealous and faithful discharge of those pious duties which ought more especially to engage his devoted attention. But they must be persons of very little reflection, indeed, who entertain such an idea. We have seen the Presbyterian flock of Calcutta take very good care of themselves for many months without a pastor at all; and even when the shepherd was among them, he had abundant time to edit a controversial newspaper, (long since defunct,) and to take a part in all the meetings, festivities, addresses, and flatteries, that were current at that time. He has continued to display this eminently active if not holy disposition up to the present period and, according to the maxim, 'to him that hath much (to do) still more shall be given, and from him that hath nothing, even the little that he hath shall be taken away,' this Reverend Doctor, who has so often evinced the universality of his genius and talents, whether within the pale of Divinity or without it, is perhaps the very best person that could be selected, all things considered, to take care of the foolscap, pasteboard, wax, sand, gum, lead, leather, and tape, of the Honourable East India Company of Merchants, and to examine and pronounce on the quality of each, so as to see that no drafts are given on their Treasury for gum that won't stick, tape short of measure, or inkstands of base metal.

Whether the late discussions that have agitated both the wise and the fools of this happy country from the Burrampooter to the Indus, and from Cap Comorin to the confines of Tartary, have had an influence in hastening the consummation so devoutly wished, we cannot presume to determine. We do not profess to know any thing of the Occult Sciences: and being equally ignorant of all secret influences, whether of the planets of heaven or the satellites of earth, we must content ourselves, as faithful chroniclers of the age, with including in our records, the important document issued under the circumstances we have described.

(Here followed a Table of the articles of Stationery required, and the quantities of each; at the end of which was the following paragraph, as it stood in the Government Gazette, published by authority.)

"Conditions:—1st. The quality of the Stationery to be equal to the muster now open for inspection at the Stationery office.—2d. The articles required for the expenditure of every month to be delivered on or before the 28th day of the month which precedes it, and paid for by an order on the general treasury for the amount delivered.—3. The proposals of contract to be accompanied by written documents signed by a respectable person, acknowledging himself (if the terms are accepted) to be responsible for the performance of the contractor's engagement, and engaging, in the event of deficient deliveries, to make good the value of these, together with a penalty of 50 per cent. on the amount of them.—4th. The Clerk to the Committee of Stationery to be at liberty to reject any part of the Stationery which may appear objectionable to him.

"By order of the Committee of Stationery,

"JAMES BRYCE, Clerk Com. Sty.

"Stationery Office, Feb. 4, 1823."

This, then, was my crime! and my punishment was more severe than the law inflicts even upon felons; for their property is not always confiscated, nor are they ever denied the right of a trial; while I, and the wife of my bosom, who had just joined me in India, after a separation of ten long years, having left her in England on my first voyage to Malta, were turned out of house and home, at a moment's warning; a princely fortune destroyed; an abode of happiness changed into one of mourning; and the brand of infamy, as a banished man, placed upon my forehead, for the finger of scorn to point at, and for every man to infer, from the mere fact itself, that I was a fire-brand, dangerous to the peace of the country, and therefore ejected from it by violence!

Whether my offence was of a nature to deserve this treatment, let the reader judge. But what will be his indignation when he learns, that although, when we reached England,—(finding our children embarked, and almost in the act of sailing to join us in India, so sudden was the decree, that there was not even time to countermand our orders for their coming out to what they innocently deemed a shelter and a home,)—the India Company and the Board of Control had both concurred in the impropriety of the appointment I had so gently satirized, and had even ordered its being instantly annulled; yet, when I applied, on this ground, for leave to return, I was refused, by both, this reasonable permission. The doctrine maintained at the India House, was, that their servants abroad, even if occasionally wrong, *must* be supported; and the doctrine at the Board of Control was, that as it was not a question of patronage, the India Company must be supported *also*. Of all this, then, I was the victim: and even when I asked, a few months afterwards, on hearing of proceedings against my property in India, too atrocious to be believed, and too long to be detailed, for leave merely to go to India for a few weeks to wind up my affairs, pay my debts, receive those due to me, and then quit the country for ever, these unfeeling tyrants (can any man designate the authors of such cruelty by any more appropriate term?) refused me even this; so that, to the total wreck of all I left behind, amounting to at least 40,000*l.*, was added the accumulation of debts on various proceedings taken in my absence, purposely to increase my embarrassments, amounting to upwards of 10,000*l.* more; thus plunging an innocent and amiable family into almost irretrievable misery, for, at most, the indiscretion of a father, who ventured to call in question the propriety of that which the highest authorities of the country no sooner heard of, than they denounced and overturned!!

My return to India, where all my friends and hopes of fortune lay, being thus rendered impossible, I determined to use the information which Providence had thrown in my way, to benefit, as far as my humble powers would admit, my fellow-countrymen here, as well as my fellow-men and fellow-subjects in the East. I have accordingly

employed the last five years of my life in conducting *THE ORIENTAL HERALD*, which has been almost exclusively devoted to Eastern affairs;—in establishing *THE SPHYNX*, a European Political Journal, to which I applied a legacy of 5,000 rupees, sent me from India by an individual whom I had never either seen or heard from before, but who left it in his will as a tribute of respect to my character and principles, and as a mark of gratitude for the benefit which he believed my writings to have produced in India; *—and in following up the successful career of this, by *THE ATHENÆUM*, a Journal devoted chiefly to Literature, Science, and the Arts. In addition to these, which have all been crowned with marked approbation and success, I have also published four quarto volumes of *Travels* in the East, each of which has been received with favour by the literary world; and have succeeded in bringing to a satisfactory issue, my legal proceedings against Mr. Henry Bankes, the late Member for Corfe Castle, and Mr. W. J. Bankes, the late Member for Cambridge; and setting myself right, I hope, with all the reading and reflecting part of the world.

The time is now come, therefore, when I have resolved on following my writings by the personal Tour which I had always purposed, and which, indeed, I stated my intention of undertaking some years ago, in order to communicate to others that local knowledge of which my peculiar duties and pursuits have given me possession: and to rouse the public attention to the benefits which must result to this country, as well as to every part of the Eastern World, by extending the commercial intercourse between them. I have begun this task under the most favourable auspices, and, as far as zeal and determined perseverance can effect, I hope, by the blessing of God, to bring it to as auspicious a close. If there are those who think that in so doing I am actuated by vindictive feelings towards the East India Company, I cannot wonder at their receiving such an impression; for, if ever man had cause for vengeance against them, that man is myself. But I confess (let those doubt it who may) that I would not willingly hurt a hair of the head of any man living, not even of my greatest enemy: and as for the East India Company, it is composed of 4,000 or 5,000 individuals, including old men, old women, and young children, and has within it as much of merit and innocence as any other body of superannuated stockholders,—for the great mass of them are nothing more:—while some of the warmest and stendiest friends I ever had the happiness to possess, are members of that body, or holders of its stock; but who, though members, deprecate, as severely as I can do, the conduct which I have faithfully described.

* See the details of this in the first Number of '*The Sphinx*,' for July, 1827; and in '*The Oriental Herald*,' vol. xiv. p. 391. 394. This Paper has since been incorporated with '*The Spectator*,' for the reasons assigned in another part of this Number, where that incorporation is announced and explained.

It is not against any man or any men that my labours are directed, but against the system, which is unproductive of good even to those who uphold it, and fraught with all manner of evil to those who are not of that number. To this system I was as determined an enemy on the first day of my setting foot in India as I am now: and this I never concealed. I could not have been influenced by vindictive motives before I received any injury from the India Company, yet the views I maintain now, were those which I maintained then: no change whatever has taken place in my sentiments on those subjects, except that the longer I have lived, the more I have seen, and the more extensive and more accurate my information has become during the last ten years that I have been engaged almost exclusively in increasing my stock of knowledge from every accessible source, the more firmly have I been convinced of the truth of my position, that a Free Trade to India, China, and the Oriental World in general, would be productive of incalculable benefit to all the countries engaged in it, and of danger or injury to none.

I have now, then—though I fear most imperfectly—endeavoured to show, that when I address my countrymen on the subject of shipping and commerce, I have some claim to their attention, as a seaman and a merchant; that when I describe to them the antiquities and productions of other seas and countries, I speak of tracts that I have traversed, and objects that I have seen; and that, even on questions of policy and government, as relates to the Eastern World at least, I am not altogether unworthy of being heard, after supporting the liberal policy, and enjoying, as I had the happiness to enjoy, the good opinion of the greatest and best Governor-General India ever saw; after conducting, for five years, with the greatest success, a public Journal in India, supported and patronised by the most celebrated of the civil and military servants of the Government itself; and editing, for the same period, a public Journal in England, THE ORIENTAL HERALD, which is still eagerly sought after in every part of that country, and well known and esteemed among the statesmen and legislators of this.

If these credentials are deemed satisfactory, I shall rejoice at having been prompted to produce them; and I ask only the fair and candid interpretation of whatever apparent confidence they may seem to evince. For myself, I feel that I have a claim to be heard; and having that feeling, it is but consistent with the acknowledged frankness of my earliest profession, which still influences my nature, that I should freely say so, whatever imputations of weakness, or of undue confidence, may follow such a declaration. My sense of public duty is as clear as it is strong: its dictates I shall therefore continue firmly to follow; but the issue is with a Higher Power—whose blessing I implore.

4, Brunswick Place,
Regent's Park, London;

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

HEADS OF THE FIRST LECTURE

EGYPT.

GEOGRAPHY.	ANTIQUITIES.	ESNEH	POPULATION.
Valley Hills Delta Cataracts Nile Sources Deposits Mouths Lakes Canals	Alexandria Ptolemy Cleopatra Library Omar Serapis Pillar Diocletian Sailors Needles Pharos Catacombs Wells Canopus Baths Saïs Monolith Tanis Magicians Bubastis Heliopolis Pythagoras Memphis Pyramids Sphinx Catacombs Mummies Bitumen Fuel Medicine Moeris Reservoir Brick Pyramid Labyrinth Crocodiles Autinoë Hermopolis Crocodilopolis Tentyra Zodiac Eliethias Silsilis	Edfou Philos Assodan Frontier Elephantina Tropic Well Nubia Sculpture Ipsamboul Thebes Luxor Carnac Avenue Statues Obelisks Portico Walls Memnonium Tombs Memnon Inscriptions	Arabs Turks Greeks Armenians Jews Copts Abyssinians Europeans
CLIMATE.			RELIGION.
Moderate Etesian winds Khamseen Simoom No rain			Priests Fasts Feasts Books Pilgrimage Alms
MINERALS.			MANNERS.
Granite Natron Emeralds			Dress Horsemanship Women Marriages Beauty Funerals Music Singing Poetry Language Tales Passions
VEGETABLES.		CHIEF TOWNS.	
Dates Rice Cotton Sugar Indigo Flax Wheat Roses		Alexandria Rosetta Damietta Foua Cairo Babylon Boolac Castle Hall Well Squares Streets Bazars Mosques Gardens Mokattem Canal Nilometer	
ANIMALS.			GOVERNMENT.
Buffalo Crocodile Hippopotamus Hyæna Jackall Ibis Pigeon Surgeon			Caliphs Soldans Mamelukes Beys Mohamed Ali
			COMMERCE.
			Monopoly Colonization India Europe

HEADS OF THE SECOND LECTURE.

ARABIA.

GEOGRAPHY. Peninsula Nedjed Petraea Felix Hedjaz Yemen Amaun Irak Mountains Deserts Waadis Sands No River Red Sea Coral Clear Water Reefs -Navigation	ANTIQUITIES. Ailah Ezion Geber Solomon Tarshish Ophir Caaba Sabeans Hieroglyphics Written Rocks Lost Hebrew Horeb Sinai Israelites Leuke Kome Myos Hormos	POPULATION. Arabs Jews
CLIMATE. Heat 130° Calms Hot Winds	CHIEF TOWNS. Suez Tor Yambo Jedda Hodeida Loheia Mocha Aden Shahr Maculla Dofur Muttra Muscat Ras-el-Khyma Katif Bahrein Tyrus Aradus Bussorah Derrya Sana Medina Mecca	RELIGION. Soonnees Wahabees
MINERALS. Limestone Sandstone Granite Porphyry		MANNERS. Tents Flocks Dress Meals Marriages Horses Caravans Plunder Revenge Independence Hospitality
VEGETABLES. Date Accacia Fruits Coffee		GOVERNMENT. Dola Cavalry Shereeffe Sacred Colour Viceroy Sheiks Equality
ANIMALS. Camel Dromedary Horse Quails Locusts		COMMERCE. Bussorah Muscat India Suez Mocha America England Abyssinia Jedda Pilgrimage Fair Dispersion

HEADS OF THE FOURTH LECTURE.

MESOPOTAMIA.

GEOGRAPHY.	ANTIQUITIES.	POPULATION.
Greek Name Arabic Name Indian Name Rivers Euphrates Tigris Mountains Taurus Sinjar Ararat Boundaries Diarbekr Korneh Shinar Calneh Accad	Birtha Haran Abraham Ur of Chaldaea Edessa Greek Roman Gothic Courtenays Amida Diarbekr Kara Amid Nisibeen Nineveh Arbela Thapsacus Alexander Babylon Herodotus Palace Semiramis Gardens Willows Wall Bitumen Babel Belus Alexander Priests Nimrod Paradise	Turks Turcomans Arabs Koords Christians Jews Manicheans Yezcedis Devil-worshippers Ismaëlis Jebalis
CLIMATE. Heat Cold Rains Dews		MANNERS. Turks Turcomans Distinction Koords Arabs Abraham Genesis Females Veils Dress Amusements Virtues Capacities
MINERALS. Limestone Basalt Copper Silver		GOVERNMENT. Turkish Turcoman Koordish Arab
VEGETABLES. Wheat Rice Flax Fruits Trees	CHIEF TOWNS. Beer Orfah Diarbekr Mardin Gezireh Moosul Kufa Hilleh Bagdad	COMMERCE. Beer Hilleh Rafts Boats Caravans Deserts Bussorah Bagdad
ANIMALS. Horse Camel Lion Wild Ass		

HEADS OF THE FOURTH LECTURE.

PERSIA.

GEOGRAPHY.	ANTIQUITIES.	POPULATION.
Mountains Zagros Pass Alwend Ararat Looristan Descents Valleys Rivers Kara Soo Choaspes Karoon Zeinderood Irak Ajami Khorassan Soosiana Farsistan Mazanderaun	Tauk-e-Bostan Arbour Dervish Inscriptions Ecbatana Susa Esther Mordecai Persepolis Alexander Inscriptions Pasagarda Cyrus Shapoor Sassanian	Turcomans Persians Sheeahs Armenians Christians Jews Guebrs
CLIMATE. Heat Rain Cold Snow	CHIEF TOWNS.	MANNERS. Dress Horses Arms Story-tellers Rural Feasts Wine Smoking Pilgrimage Women Beauty Dress Betrothings Marriages Funerals Baths Children Language Poetry
MINERALS. Copper Lead Turquoise		
VEGETABLES. Trees Fruits Flowers		
ANIMALS. Horse Sheep Dog Cow Mule Ass		GOVERNMENT. Shah Sons Chiefs Governors
		COMMERCE. Bussorah Bushire Bender Abbass India Kerman Herat Ormuz

HEADS OF THE FIFTH LECTURE.

INDIA.

GEOGRAPHY. Peninsula Himalaya Comorin Nilgherries Ghauts Indus Burrampooter Ganges Hindoostan Bengal Deccan Malabar Coromandel Guzerat	ANTIQUITIES. Salsette Carli Amboli Elephanta Hindoo Trind Brahma Vishnu Shiva Pillars Tablets Doorga Ellora Oojain Tauje Muhaul Mausoleum Caravanserai Architecture Adornments Dacca Mahamaliapoor Seven Pagodas	POPULATION. Hindoos Jains Mohammedans Parsees Pariahs Portuguese Half-castes Europeans
CLIMATE. Heat Cold Monsoons Squalls	CHIEF TOWNS. Delhi Agra Cawnpore Lucknow Benares Dacca Poonah Hyderabad Seringapatam Goa Pondicherry Serampore Chandernagore Chinsurah Bombay Madras Calcutta	RELIGION. Hindoos Bouddhists Mohammedans Christians Parsees
MINERALS. Salt Coals Diamonds		MANNERS. Dress Food Languages Marriages Nautches Music Fidelity Docility Superstition
VEGETABLES. Wheat Rice Sugar Cotton Indigo Tobacco Coffee Opium Fruits		GOVERNMENT. E. I. Company Great Mogul Native Princes Subsidiaries
ANIMALS. Lion Tiger Leopard Elephant Snake Stork		CONDITION. Subjugation Taxation Poverty

SUPPLEMENTARY LECTURE.

THE heads of the subjects to be treated of in this lecture, though of still greater interest and importance to the British public than any of those previously detailed, are yet not sufficiently numerous or diversified to require that minute classification and subdivision observed in the former lectures. The following are the principal topics to which the present will be directed :

INDIA.

1. The history and constitution of the East India Company, with the qualifications of Proprietors, and graduated scale of duties observed by the Directors, are alone sufficient to show their total unfitness to direct either the commerce or the government of a vast and distant empire.

2. The practical effect of their mismanagement has been, not to benefit either country, but to increase their debts in each, as if they were aware that they had a positive interest in becoming more and more embarrassed ;—this incapacity to exercise the trust reposed in them, is therefore of itself a sufficient ground for depriving them of its further possession.

3. Notwithstanding the high antiquity of the civilisation of India, great even before the Macedonian empire, and the natural progress of time, under any good system of government, to improve all the arts and manufactures ; the country continues to be in the same state of rudeness, in every thing that regards all these, as when the East India Company first traded to it, more than two centuries ago, and in very many instances it has declined.

4. The disabilities under which the English, who are not actually in the Company's service, labour in India, in consequence of their living there by sufferance only, liable to be banished without trial, and without a reason assigned, and the impossibility, under such a system, of any thing like justice or prosperity being attained.

5. The arguments used by the advocates of the East India Company against the settlement of English merchants in the interior ; and the answers by which these arguments are met.

6. The universal prevalence of a desire among the natives of India, in every part that has yet been visited, to possess British manufactures of every description ; the imitative and even ostentatious disposition of every class to resemble the English in all unforbidden things ; and the obstacles to the gratification of this desire beyond the mere precincts of the three principal settlements or ports.

7. The revolting superstitions of the Hindoos, in the pilgrimage at Juggernaut, the fair at Hurdwar, and the confluence of the Jumna and the Ganges,—from all of which the East India Company reap an absolute profit: and the burning of widows alive, from which the Brahmins also derive great gains; as well as the Churruck Poojah, and other nameless abominations, common throughout the country. The widows are burnt at the rate of two a-day, throughout the whole year, so that these horrid fires are never extinguished!

8. The reasons alleged by the East India Company for not interfering with the manners, customs, &c. of the Hindoos,—false as well as fallacious; as they have taken away the lives of Brahmins, held captive, and even pawned, their idols, dethroned their princes, and violated all their rights, whenever it served their purpose.

9. The example of Lord Wellesley, in abolishing the practice of drowning infants at Saugor, proves the ease with which all such murderous practices may be abolished; and the testimony of the most able and most experienced of the civil and military servants of India, is uniformly in favour of the authoritative abolition of the monstrous and inhuman practice. Difference between toleration of opinions and toleration of acts.

10. Effect of opening India to the settlement of Englishmen, and the consequent improvement of all the productions of the soil; to abolish slavery, and yet to provide a remedy and a compensation to those who might suffer by the change. Effect also in giving interest in the improvement of the country: interest in defence from invasion; interest in support of good government; and interest in the legislature of England.

CHINA.

1. Exclusive nature of the trade to China, and excessive jealousy of the East India Company at the least participation of others in this trade.

2. Profits derived from this, sufficiently large to cover all the losses on the trade with India, all the expenses of the wasteful and extravagant mismanagement, and to pay a dividend to the proprietors of India stock.

3. Consequence of this exclusive monopoly—a duplication of the price of tea, exclusive even of duty; and a quadruplication in consequence of the duty being *ad valorem*.

4. Universality of the use of tea makes this a tax bearing on all classes of the nation, and even heavier than that on corn; with this essential difference, that the latter has at least the excuse of being supposed to benefit a very large and influential class of the community, and to render us independent of foreign aid; while the former has the effect of injuring millions, without benefiting a hundred individuals, and of giving to foreigners a wealth in which Englishmen dare not participate.

5. Vast population of China, and active and consuming character of the people. The market for English goods in that country, if it admitted in free traders, greater than that of all the world besides ; and their disposition to receive our goods, shewn by their now using cotton-twist and printed goods, sent from Manchester through American vessels.

6. Reduction in the price of tea would necessarily lead to increased consumption ; and this return alone would be sufficient for an immediate supply of manufactures of every description, including hardware, porcelain, cloths, silks, cottons, and all kinds of ornamental luxury ; besides the increase which always takes place in every good article the more it becomes known ; as witness tea, sugar, and indigo as imports : and cotton-goods, cloths, and almost every kind of English wares, as exports.

7. The shipping and seamen of the country injured and insulted by the existing monopoly, which prohibits English vessels and English seamen, now languishing for want of employment in our docks, rivers, and harbours, from loading for China either out or home ; while Americans, French, Dutch, and Danes, anchor in our very ports, load for China, make fortunes for their owners and comfortable provision for their crews, and laugh with contempt and derision at our starving artisans and seamen, who cannot and dare not follow them.

8. Reasons assigned by the East India Company against the admission of British free seamen into the ports of China, while their own and the Americans frequent them with safety, the most preposterously absurd that the human imagination could conceive.

9. Doctrine of vested rights, inviolability of charters, easy collection of revenue, safe government of India, &c. which will be set up in defence of perpetual monopoly, must be met by the broad question of national rights—equal participation of benefits—the good of the many rather than the benefit of the few—and the effect of Free Trade to diffuse, not merely wealth, but moral improvement and happiness over all the countries engaged in it.

CONCLUSION.

Necessity of union and co-operation. Certainty of a great struggle being made by those who possess the monopoly and its patronage. To be opposed successfully by the dissemination of accurate information—frequent meetings and correspondence—extensive and liberal subscriptions—the advocacy of the public press—appeals to public opinion through Parliament,—and that untiring and untiring perseverance, without which no great public good was ever yet wrested from the grasp of unjust men.

DOCUMENTS, BOOKS, PAPERS, AND ARTICLES WHICH MAY BE
REFERRED TO AS PROOFS.

INDIA.

1. Historical Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the British Power in the East—commencing, in a series of papers, in the *Oriental Herald*, vol. v. p. 341, and continued through several successive volumes of the same work. Considerations on the Relative Duties and Interests of the Mother Countries and Colonies—*Oriental Herald*, vol. x. p. 305, and vol. xi. p. 1. The Constitution of the East India Company; its Monopoly, and the relative Interests and Duties of its Members—*Oriental Herald*, vol. xiv. p. 413.

2. Letter of the Directors of the India Company to the Board of Control, admitting the progressive increase of their debts and embarrassments—*Oriental Herald*, vol. xix. p. 449.

3. Pamphlet entitled 'East India Sugar, or an Inquiry respecting the means of improving the Quality and reducing the Cost of Sugar raised by Free Labour in the East Indies'—and Colebrooke on the Husbandry of Bengal.

4. Disabilities under which Englishmen labour in India, shown in the 'Grounds of Objection to the Calcutta Stamp Act'—*Oriental Herald*, vol. xviii. p. 353.

5. Enumeration of the arguments *against* Colonization in India by its opponents—'Free Trade and Colonization of India,' a pamphlet published by Ridgway, pp. 32 and 121; and *Oriental Herald*, vol. xvii. p. 415. Articles in proof of the *benefits* that would result from the Colonization of India,—*Oriental Herald*, vol. i. p. 275; vol. ii. p. 412; vol. iv. p. 227; vol. v. p. 613; vol. vi. p. 223; vol. xi. p. 68; vol. xv. p. 193; vol. xvi. pp. 167. 399. 421; vol. xviii. p. 552.

6. Proofs of the universal desire of the Hindoos to use British Manufactures—in Bishop Heber's *Journal*, vol. ii. p. 290. 293. 330. 342; and in almost every work published by any one not a Company's servant in India. Proof also in the increased consumption since the partial opening of the Trade, admitted even by the East India Company's organ—*Oriental Herald*, vol. xx. p. 14. Proclamation of the Indian Government, punishing, by seizure, any person found guilty of the crime of trading, or buying and selling English investments, with the Natives of India, at a distance of more than ten miles in the interior from Calcutta—*Oriental Herald*, vol. xx. p. 163.

7. Pilgrimages to Juggernaut,—see 'Reflections on the Present State of British India,' published by Hurst and Chance, in one vol. 8vo. 1829, p. 111, and *Oriental Herald*, vol. xx. p. 103. Bathing in the Ganges, and profits of the Company from the superstitions—'Sketches of India for Fire-Side Travellers,' written by a Captain in the British Army; 1 vol. 8vo. Burning of Widows, and

authorities for the safety of immediately abolishing the practice—*Oriental Herald*, in almost every number; but especially vol. i. pp. 521. 551; vol. ii. pp. 131. 133. 173; vol. vi. pp. 167. 572. 574; vol. vii. pp. 527. 566; vol. viii. pp. 1. 288. 479; vol. ix. pp. 93. 153; vol. xii. pp. 546. 555; vol. xiii. pp. 37. 140. 380; vol. xv. p. 400; vol. xviii. pp. 182. 281.

8. Proofs of frequent interference with Native prejudices, sufficient in the general fact of the India Company invading and occupying the country: but also in the particular facts of the hanging of the Brahmin Nuneomar, by Warren Hastings, for a pretended forgery, not then punishable by death according even to the English law—see *Mill's History of India*: in the seizing and keeping in custody the idol of Juggernath for non-payment of revenue; and in the perpetual invasion of Native customs, which led to the mutiny at Vellore, the rebellion in Cuttack, and the massacre at Barrackpore—*Oriental Herald*, vol. v. p. 13.

9. Enumeration of the Authorities, Native as well as English, in favour of the safety of immediately abolishing the horrid sacrifice of burning Indian Widows alive, taken from official papers of the East India Company's own servants, in the *Oriental Herald*, vol. viii. p. 16, and Index, p. 656.

10. Enumeration of the benefits to be effected to the world at large, by opening the Trade to India and China—in Mr. Cropper's 'Plan for the Relief of Ireland.'—*Oriental Herald*, vol. v. p. 613.

CHINA.

1. In proof of the jealousy with which the India Company regard the least infringement on the China Trade, as a blow aimed at their very existence; see particularly a Letter from the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman of that Body, addressed to Mr. Canning, then President of the Board of Control, dated June 7, 1820; *Oriental Herald*, vol. xx. p. 27.

2, 3, 4. For the profit derived by the East India Company on their Trade in Tea, and the vast quantities consumed, see the Report of the Liverpool East India Association, presented 21st March, 1828, pp. 10, 11, and the following papers, on the Tea Monopoly, in the *Oriental Herald*: Vol. i. pp. 408. 586, American Trade; vol. ii. p. 460, Salaries of Supercargoes, &c.; p. 58, Prices in New York and London; p. 616, Short Supply; vol. iii. p. 148, Varieties of Tea; p. 218, Exports and Imports; vol. vi. p. 299; vol. vii. p. 95; vol. viii. p. 225; vol. xv. p. 316; vol. xvii. p. 436; vol. xviii. pp. 65. 201; vol. xix. p. 1.

5 and 6. For a detailed description of the Statistics of China, see *Oriental Herald*, vol. ix. p. 258; and for its capacity for consumption, and its political and commercial relations with Great Britain, see a series of articles on that subject in the *Oriental Herald*, vol. xvii. p. 436; vol. xviii. pp. 65. 201; vol. xix. p. 1; for Summary of the Benefits to be produced by opening the China Trade.

7. Liverpool and London furnish daily proofs of American vessels loading with British goods for China, while English vessels are lying dismantled, for want of employment, alongside of them.—Case of a Liverpool ship sent back, empty, from Mexico, though chartered by a Family to convey Passengers only, and not to trade to Canton, detailed in the *Oriental Herald*, vol. xx. p. 228.

8 and 9. Eloquent and convincing Speech of Lord Grenville, in favour of abolishing the East India Company's Charter; and answering all the objections both of the Company and the Nation, regarding the Trade, the Government, the Patronage, &c., most especially recommended to the reader's close and serious attention.—See *Oriental Herald*, vol. xviii. p. 477.

CONCLUSION.

The best proof of what union and perseverance will effect, is to be found in the great and acknowledged fact, illustrated by the history of every age,—that no great public good ever *was* achieved without such union and perseverance; and that there is no human evil which these may not ameliorate, if not entirely overcome.

The following articles in 'The Oriental Herald' may be also read with advantage:—On the Governments of Asia—No. 1. Turkey, vol. i. p. 78—No. 2. Persia, vol. i. p. 251—No. 3. Tartary, vol. i. p. 431—No. 4. China, vol. i. p. 565—No. 5. Japan, vol. ii. p. 187—No. 6. India, vol. ii. p. 344—No. 7. Arabia, vol. ii. p. 508—No. 8. The Caliphs, vol. iii. p. 171—No. 9. the Imaums, vol. iii. p. 461—No. 10. Egypt, vol. iv. p. 171—Historical Essay on the Origin, Progress, and Probable Results of the Sovereignty of the English in India; by J. B. Say, vol. iii. p. 348—Sismondi, on the Colonization of India, vol. iv. p. 227; vol. x. p. 411.—History of a Day at the India House, vol. ii. p. 419—and History of a Second Day at the India House, vol. ii. p. 553—Value of Sir John Malcolm's Testimony on Indian Affairs, vol. iii. p. 1—Ditto of Mr. Robert Cutlar Fergusson, now a Member of Parliament and Candidate for a Seat in the East India Direction, vol. iii. p. 469—Ditto of the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, late Governor of Bombay, vol. iii. p. 521.—It is important to watch these three witnesses, as they are likely to be much relied on by the India Company in the coming discussion in Parliament. The articles illustrative of Mr. Buckingham's personal case, including his correspondence with the Government in India: the Discussions at the India House, in Leadenhall-street: the Petitions and Debates on them in the House of Commons: and the ulterior proceedings taken against his property in India; will be found at vol. i. pp. 1. 6. 128. 338; vol. ii. pp. 78. 293. 301; vol. iv. p. 503; vol. vi. pp. 349. 380. 396; vol. vii. p. 569; vol. viii. pp. 126. 157. 377; vol. ix. pp. 368. 407. 599. 603; vol. x. pp. 145. 161. 360. 418. 588.

PUBLIC MEETING AT MANCHESTER, ON THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S MONOPOLY.

On Monday, April 27, a large and respectable meeting was held in the Town Hall, on a requisition to the Boroughreeve and constables, by the chairman and directors of the Chamber of Commerce, and some of the first merchants, manufacturers, and spinners of Manchester to take into consideration the propriety of petitioning Parliament for a freer intercourse with the countries of the East, on the expiration of the East India Company's Charter. In the absence of the Boroughreeve, who was confined by serious illness, ROBERT OGDEN, Esq., senior constable, was called to the chair, and opened the business by reading the requisition, and the notice which he and his colleagues had given for convening the meeting.

Mr. G. W. Wood then rose to move the first resolution. He said the time seemed to be now arrived when it became necessary that the inhabitants of Manchester should again turn their attention to the commerce between this country and those extensive countries comprehended within the limits of the East India Company's Charter. The inhabitants of several other commercial towns had already uttered their opinions on the subject, and strongly recommended that it should be taken into consideration in this town also. The directors of the Chamber of Commerce, as well as a number of other gentlemen, had therefore united in requesting the authorities of the town to call their fellow-townsmen together, for the purpose of expressing their opinions upon a question of so much importance to the welfare and prosperity of the country. (*Cheers.*) The Charter under which the East India Company had enjoyed their exclusive privileges was first granted in the reign of Elizabeth, for a short period, and was renewed at short intervals down to the last renewal, which took place in the year 1813. Until about twenty years before that renewal,—namely, up to the year 1792,—the trade of the East was entirely confined to the East India Company, and no other persons were permitted to have the slightest participation in it. In that year, however, under the influence of a number of distinguished individuals, at the head of whom was Mr. Pitt, some regulations were adopted for allowing the private merchants of this country to enjoy a participation in the advantages of this commerce. The regulations under which the trade was carried on so fettered and hampered the privileges thus conceded, that very little was done in the way of private trade, until the year 1800: when Lord Melville, who was at that time President of the Board of Control, seeing how ineffective were the regulations which he had been concerned in introducing, suggested some changes to which the East India Company were induced to yield, and which were calculated to put the trade upon a better footing. From that

time to the year 1814 the trade gradually increased, though it did not reach to any thing like the amount to which it had since attained. In the year 1812, (the Charter being to expire in 1814,) the Company commenced their efforts to obtain a renewal of their exclusive privileges. Public attention, however, was at that time alive to the subject; and the great importance of it was felt amongst the commercial and manufacturing classes in almost every part of the kingdom. We were at that time engaged in a most extensive and ruinous war, which weighed heavily on the resources of the country, and the end of which no one could foresee. India was, therefore, looked to with great interest by mercantile men, in the hope that it might replace the markets of which the war had deprived us. After a long and severe struggle between the two parties, which lasted during the greater part of two sessions of Parliament, a Bill was obtained under the provisions of which the trade had been conducted to the present time. When the merchants and manufacturers of the country called on Parliament for an extension of the intercourse with the East, they rested their case on the plea, that open competition in all commercial affairs was advantageous to the community. They said, 'India is a rich, populous, extensive, and, to a certain extent, civilized country, the inhabitants of which, from their wants and their natural productions, are calculated to be highly beneficial to this country; and by establishing a free intercourse with them, we should cause a great extension of the limited commerce we now enjoy with them.' These were the arguments urged in favour of a free trade. On the other hand, those who were interested in the monopoly which existed, contended that these views were totally unfounded in fact. They said the people of India were totally unlike the people of Europe: that they were not actuated by the same views, nor influenced by the same passions, as other men; that they had no wish, even if they had the means, to possess the manufactures or the produce of Europe; and that all hopes founded on supposed analogies between them and other people would be utterly disappointed. He (Mr. Wood) recollected a speech made during the discussion by a gentleman holding one of the highest offices of State, but who had since, he was happy to say, begun to entertain more liberal opinions on commercial affairs; in which there was a very striking passage on this subject. He said that three thousand years had now rolled over the Peninsula of India, during which, empires had risen and disappeared; mountains had been levelled, and valleys filled up; even the Ganges had changed its course; but amidst all these changes, its inhabitants remained the same. Their habits were unchanged, their wants and wishes remained the same: and those who sought to change them would find it a hopeless task. Other advocates of the Company contended that those who asked for a free commercial intercourse were seeking their own ruin; that they were rushing on what would destroy them. The then Governor of

the East India Company, by way of expressing his opinion, as to the effects which would result to those who embarked in the trade to India, quoted a line from an old song :

'Little water-wagtails, come and be killed :'

intimating that those who asked for a free trade were seeking what would be their own destruction. (*Hear, hear.*) A third individual, distinguished as one of the first mercantile men of the age, contended that India could furnish no produce in return for our commodities. He said its cotton had been tried and found not to answer the purpose of our manufacturers ; and that the import of indigo could not be materially extended, unless every man in the country would wear a blue coat. To be sure the piece goods of India might be obtained to any amount ; but he apprehended that a large import of them would not suit the manufacturers of Manchester and Glasgow. The trade, however, was opened ; and the result of the experience ought to make us feel a great diffidence in the judgment of the acutest men. Events had completely set at naught the anticipations—had falsified the predictions of all those eminent authorities. The piece goods of India had been admitted to this country ; and so far were they from beating us out of the home market, as the advocates for restriction foretold,—they had not even diminished the demand for our manufactures in the other countries of Europe : and there was at this time a very large export of English piece goods to the very country from which this overwhelming opposition was to come. (*Cheers.*) These were the results of the anticipation of some of the ablest men in the country, and he would now proceed to examine how the prediction of the merchants and manufacturers had been borne out by experience.—[Mr. Wood here read a resolution passed at a public meeting on the subject held in the year 1812, which was to the effect that the opening of the trade to the East would cause an increased export of British manufactures.]—He would now ask whether the anticipations of the merchants and manufacturers of Manchester, or those of the eminent English statesmen, had turned out to be more correct. The intercourse with India had now been, to a certain extent, open for the last fifteen years, and the meeting were aware that trade to a vast extent was now carried on between this country and India, by individual skill, capital, and enterprise ; and he (Mr. Wood) might add, that it had been a highly successful trade. Of course it had not been without its vicissitudes, but that it had been on the whole a lucrative trade was best shown by its rapid extension. In the year 1814, when the free trade was first established, the export of white calicoes from this country to India did not exceed two hundred thousand yards, whilst in the year 1827, it amounted to no less than twenty-eight millions of yards,—having increased one hundred and forty fold in the short space of thirteen years. (*Cheers.*) Of printed and dyed calicoes, the export in 1814

was only six hundred and five thousand yards—in 1837 it was fourteen millions. (*Cheers.*) And notwithstanding these large exports of goods, an entirely new trade had sprung up in cotton twist which was not amongst our exports prior to the opening of the intercourse with India. In the year 1814, it appeared only eight pounds of twist were exported to India, whilst in 1828, there were near three millions of pounds. (*Loud cheers.*) With these facts before their eyes, the merchants and manufacturers of Manchester might say that what had been done in 1814 was well done; that the changes made at that time, as far as they had gone, had been highly beneficial; and they had a fair claim on Government that they should now allow the utmost freedom of intercourse that was compatible with the security and well-being of the Company's possessions in India. He would therefore now proceed to inquire what were the restrictions under which the trade at present laboured, and which contributed to prevent its extension. In the first place, the private merchants of this country were entirely shut out from any participation in the trade to China. It certainly did seem odd, at first sight, that China, a country over which the Company had no manner of control, should be the only one excepted from our commerce; that whilst they permitted a commercial intercourse with their territories in the Peninsula, they should reserve to themselves the trade of a great and independent empire, so far removed from their own. One of the arguments made use of in support of this singular anomaly, was, that the Chinese were so peculiar a people, so quarrelsome, and so jealous of Europeans, that the trade with them could be carried on by nobody but the East India Company. In a speech of Lord Castlereagh, during the discussions in 1813, it was stated that such was the nature of the Chinese Government, and such the peculiar character of the people, that it was extremely doubtful whether trade could be carried on by any other individuals than the agents of the Company, even aided by all the influence of the Crown of Great Britain. To this argument, an answer would be found in the single word 'America.' Both then and now the Americans carried on a very extensive traffic with China; and their example was perfectly demonstrative on this point. If they could trade with the Chinese, surely private English merchants could trade with them also; for it would be derogatory to the power and dignity of our Government, to say that the Americans—a people of yesterday—descendants of our own—were able to exercise an influence which could not be wielded by this country. (*Cheers.*) But the exclusive trade to China had also been defended on the ground of revenue. The advocates of the Company stated, that their trade to India was unprofitable; and, unless they continued to have a monopoly of the China trade, they should not have the means of paying their stockholders. At the time when this argument was urged, it certainly possessed some weight. The country was at that time involved in a war of which

no one could foresee the termination; and if it had so happened that the Company had been unable to discharge their obligations, it might have been necessary that they should be provided for by Government; and in a time of considerable financial difficulty, it was desirable to avoid any additional burthens. He (Mr. Wood) was not aware that this argument had been recently urged in favour of the monopoly; and, if it had, he would say, let the country take the dividends to itself, rather than continue the present exclusive system. The tea monopoly formed one great branch of the question; it was by that monopoly that the Company obtained their profits. Of course those profits could be gained only at the expense of the people of England; and the great evil was, that the people lost much more than the Company gained. Some computations had been made on this subject at Liverpool, by which it appeared that the consumers of tea in this country were injured by the monopoly to the extent of about 2,800,000*l.* per annum. They had, therefore, a fair right to ask to be relieved from this burthen. The private merchants of England did not ask Government to transfer the trade of the Company to them; they did not wish to take from the Company one tittle of what they possessed: all they asked was that the trade should be thrown open, (*cheers*.) in order that it might be seen whether they or the Company could conduct it most to the advantage of the country. (*Cheers*.) So important was the China trade thought at the time of the discussions to which he had already referred, that the utmost efforts were made to obtain some participation in it. Mr. Canning strenuously recommended that the renewal of the Charter, as regarded the China trade, should be for ten years instead of twenty. In that, however, not being at that time a member of the Administration, he unfortunately failed, and the privilege was granted for the period proposed by the Company. Another most important impediment in the way of a free commercial intercourse with the East, was the regulation by which European residents in India were prohibited from going more than ten miles from the seats of the Presidencies, without a licence from the Company, specifying whither they were going, and the object of their journey. He understood so much difficulty was thrown in the way of obtaining these licences, that very little was done in that way; and the interior might be said to be practically closed to all private merchants. The intercourse with the distant parts of the country was, therefore, conducted almost entirely by Native merchants, by which it was very considerably cramped and restrained. He did not see why, under proper regulations, Englishmen might not be allowed to visit the interior whenever their business required it. He thought if Englishmen were allowed to settle in the interior, it would have a very beneficial effect on the condition of the country, as it had on every country where it had taken place. Whilst Government were holding out inducements to settlers to proceed to Canada, to the coast of Africa, and to Van Diemen's Land, it cer-

tainly did seem extraordinary that they should preclude them from residing in the rich and fertile countries possessed by the East India Company. (*Cheers.*) Surely the introduction of English capital, and of English habits; of English skill, industry, and enterprise, could not fail to have a highly beneficial effect on the condition of the people. (*Loud cheers.*) He would not conclude without noticing the power assumed by the Company, of summarily and arbitrarily banishing individuals, without legal investigation and responsibility. It was, indeed, most monstrous that an Englishman should thus be sent half round the globe at the caprice of any individual Governor. (*Cheers.*) No doubt, if a freer intercourse takes place, some restrictions might be necessary; but he trusted that it would not longer be considered necessary to allow the exercise of such a power. We had now been at peace for fifteen years; a great increase had, in that time, taken place in our population and capital; but new markets were essential to the continuance of this increase, and why should this quarter of the kingdom be excluded from a field so well calculated for the exercise of its industry and enterprise? Let the obstructions be removed; let commerce spread, and there would soon be abundant proofs of the benefits of its extension. (*Loud cheers.*)

Mr. WILLIAM GARNETT said he had great pleasure in seconding the resolution. As vice-president of the Chamber of Commerce, he lent his assistance in calling the meeting, and he was happy to find that it was one of the most numerous and respectable ever assembled within those walls. The directors of the Chamber of Commerce thought it right to be the first movers in this great work. An opinion had been entertained that it was not necessary that the sense of the town should be taken this year on the important matter before them, as the Charter of the Company did not expire until 1834; but three years' notice was necessary to be given prior to the expiration of the charter, or it would continue in force. The next year would have been in time for the giving of that notice, within the letter of the law; but when the directors observed that Liverpool, Glasgow, Bristol, and other great towns had stirred in this question, they were also ready to take their part, and they had accordingly sent a requisition to the municipal body, requesting them to call a town's meeting on the subject. If he were to advert to this question as a commercial question only, he should express the sense of all commercial men in saying, that by putting the trade to India on a right footing, we should very greatly extend the commerce of England, and should contribute much to the comfort and prosperity of the vast population in this neighbourhood. (*Cheers.*) The employment of capital, and the exercise of skill and industry, in this neighbourhood, had been carried to a pitch never before attained. As a consequence of this, the trade of the district was liable to occasional stagnations; but these were often productive of much good, as necessity is the mother of invention, and as out of evil cometh good; for during those intervals of repose,

Our machinery was improved, and our powers of production extended. That principle was as much called into action now, as at any former period; and if ever there was a necessity for the opening of new markets, it was at the present time. Our intercourse with India, since the partial opening of the trade to that country, proved that it was capable of consuming the surplus manufactures of Great Britain. The facts detailed by the president of the Chamber, (Mr. Wood,) respecting the growth and increase of the trade to that country, were most astonishing. He (Mr. Wood) also commented on the effects of extending the trade to China. He (Mr. Garnett) did not agree with him, to the full extent of his views, as to the effects of a free trade to that country, as at present there were two monopolies to contend with as respected China, and if the monopoly at home were destroyed, still there was the monopoly at Canton to be combated. But if the monopoly of India were destroyed, we should have access to a country containing a population of a hundred millions, and it would be there that British capital and enterprise would have free scope. This, however, was a matter of opinion, and he thought it right to state that he differed to that extent from the views stated by Mr. Wood. If there was one article of foreign product more interesting and important to Manchester than any other, it was cotton. The improvement that had been effected in the cultivation of indigo was well known; and it was impossible to hold the opinion that the culture of cotton could not be similarly improved. If English capital were transferred to Hindoostan, we might obtain such a supply of cotton from that country as would render us independent of any foreign state in the world. (*Applause.*) When they saw what America was doing with her tariff, the object of which was to make her a manufacturing country, and by which British manufactures were excluded and a bounty given to her own manufactures, it must be acknowledged that it was seriously affecting the cotton trade, which to this country was worth all other trades put together. The question was therefore important in a political point of view. He had considered this as a commercial question solely; but it was also connected with other, higher, and important considerations. He looked upon commerce as the handmaid of cultivation and refinement, and he believed that if an increase of commerce were extended to India, it would tend to the progress of Christianity and of science in that country. He feared he was taking up the time of the meeting, and would only therefore in conclusion observe, that in co-operating with other towns to accomplish this measure, he trusted they would be guided by principles of patriotism, and would consult the interests of the country at large, as well as of this district.

Mr. SHUTTLEWORTH.—In the satisfaction which has been expressed by Mr. Garnett, at the crowded state of this meeting, I fully concur. It is a circumstance which shows, that since the last renewal of the East India monopoly, a great change has taken place

in the public mind respecting it. On that occasion, it will be recollected (for Mr. Wood has adverted to the fact) that two public meetings were held in this town, at which the attendance was so trifling as to take from them all title to be denominated public, except what they derived from having been summoned, like the present meeting, by the town's officers, in compliance with a public requisition. An improved state of knowledge has now, however, rendered the whole community fully sensible of the evils of the East India Company's monopoly, and I trust we shall soon see it united as one man in a determination to remove them. (*Cheers.*) But loaded as this monopoly is with mischief to the public welfare, it is, nevertheless, certain, in consequence of the great and powerful interests dependent on its continuance, that it will not be yielded up by those who possess it, without a stubborn and vigorous resistance; and it is on that account also certain, that almost the only chance which the country has of removing it, must arise from the strength and general character of the discontent respecting it which may be previously manifested. The influence which the East India Company have, in Parliament and out of Parliament, will be found to render it a most formidable opponent, whose counteraction will require the utmost exertion of popular energy. (*Applause.*) In one of Sheridan's plays, the soldiers of a recruiting party are introduced, deliberating on the best means of redressing a grievance; and, after some discussion, they determine—as they express it—to ‘argue with their captain, in platoons, each for himself and altogether.’ Now, with respect to the grievance on which we are deliberating, I trust the country will argue with its truly great and good captain, in a similar manner, and that each town and district of the kingdom will form itself into a platoon for the purpose. (*Cheers and laughter.*) No place is too unimportant to interfere, with usefulness; every place, without exception, is interested in the question, and ought therefore to petition; for the smallest co-operation will enforce and strengthen the general effort. There is a common saying amongst huntsmen, that every hound of a pack has a good mouth in a cry, though nothing single. (*A laugh.*) If the country will but act on the spirit of this remark—which I hope to be excused for applying on this occasion—and keep well together in the chase, the game, which is now afoot, will assuredly be run down. (*Applause and laughter.*)

The objections to the East India Company are equally forcible, —whether applied to it as a company, privileged for purposes of trade, or, to the manner in which its privileges are exercised. I shall not, however, enter into the general question of the policy or impolicy of such companies further than to show the disadvantages under which some of them may labour, compared with private concerns. To success in business, especially under the present arrangements for carrying it on, great exertion, judgment, and enterprise, together with a close and constant attention to small savings,

are indispensable; and, as whatever a private trader gains by superior industry, intelligence, and economy, he gains for himself, he has the strongest inducements for acquiring the qualifications on which the successful prosecution of his business depends. This, however, is not the case with those who manage public companies; they labour for a body of which they are themselves but a small part, and they have not, on that account, a sufficiently adequate motive to use superior exertion and care, to increase those profits in which they participate only with numbers. Besides, it happens that they are engaged in other business on their own private account, so that the affairs of the Company receive from them only an occasional and passing attention. In many instances, therefore, directors of such companies either neglect the business of their appointment, or, without casting away a thought on the interests of the shareholders, so manage it as to make it profitable to themselves. This latter is the case with the Directors of the East India Company: they have converted their own concerns into an immense system of patronage; to this object they have rendered all their privileges, all their revenues, territorial and commercial, subservient. (*Applause.*) It is in this point of view that it is necessary to consider it on all occasions like the present, because it is owing to the extent to which this system of patronage is established, that the just claims of the country to the right of free intercourse with India, and the right of free settlement in India have been hitherto, and continue to be, resisted. (*Cheers.*) Looking to the fact that the revenue of the East India Company in one year amounted to more than twenty-three millions, a sum which exceeds by several millions that part of the revenue of this country which defrays all the expenses of the Government, the colonies, the army, the navy, and, indeed, every thing but the interest and charges of the Debt; and looking also to the fact that the expenditure of this enormous revenue is not exposed to any public observation and comment—is not subjected, like the expenditure of the revenue of this country, to the scrutiny and control, such as they are, of Parliament,—it is no wonder that all the expenses of the East India Company should be on a scale of extravagance and profusion, which renders them a source of great private emolument and public corruption. (*Cheers.*) It is no wonder that splendid remuneration should be granted to all—from the lowest commercial agent and most subordinate officer on board a ship, to the highest civil and military functionary in the Company's service. It is no wonder that the Company should have in its employ six or seven thousand persons, to whom it pays salaries of from 20*l.* to 10,000*l.* or 12,000*l.* each. It is no wonder that traffic in merchandise should, under such circumstances, be neglected, and traffic in places and appointments profitable like these should be cultivated; and least of all is it a wonder that those who thus manage the affairs of the Company for the advantage of themselves, their kindred, dependents, and friends, should be so hostile as they are to any change of the system. (*Cheers.*) That the East

India Company have rendered every thing under their control an object of patronage to an extent which purposely absorbs all chance of accumulation, either from revenue or profit, is sufficiently apparent. To take for instance the shipping department of the Company's concerns. There are three classes of ships, each with a fixed rate of tonnage; this rate, for what are called Company's ships, is, I believe, 40*l.* per ton; for extra ships, 30*l.*, and for country ships, 22*l.* 15*s.* The average of these three rates is about 31*l.* per ton. In the private trade, a vessel may be chartered for 7*l.* or 8*l.*, or about one-fourth of the Company's rate; and yet so bountiful are all the appointments on board a Company's ship, that their rate, large as it is, is insufficient to defray the expenses, and the Company lose by their shipping as they lose by every thing else in their trade. The obstacle which this single item presents to the extension of commerce may be readily shown. A ton of shipping is forty cubic feet, and a bale of twist, containing 1000 lbs., and press-packed in the best manner, will average about forty-five cubic feet; so that the difference in the freight of such a bale at the Company's charge and the charge of the private trade, would be more than 25*l.*, or six-pence a lb. on the yarn, which, supposing it to be common 40*s.*, would be fifty per cent. on the original cost. (*Applause.*) It must be evident from this statement, that so long as the East India Company had exclusive possession of the trade, no extensive interchange of the ordinary products of India, and the coarse, cheap fabrics of this country, could be carried on: and yet, this is precisely the trade, which is of the largest mutual advantage to nations, inasmuch as it is that which contributes most to supply the wants, increase the comforts, and gratify the tastes, of the great mass of the community. (*Cheers.*) On this part of the subject, Mr. Rickards, —who has resided long in India; who has been intimately connected with the Company, and extensively engaged on his own account in the private trade; and who, from the high esteem in which he is held for honour and intelligence as a merchant, may be justly regarded as one of the best authorities,—distinctly states, that a gross profit of 100 per-cent. on the amount of the Company's sales, would not defray the expenses and losses which they sustain in bringing their goods to the London market. As a further illustration of this subject, I beg to state, that I have in my possession a freight-list, or schedule, of a cargo brought from China by the Company's ship *Cumberland*, the same vessel which was, I believe, afterwards sold to some of the new States of South America, for Lord Cochrane's flag-ship, and that this freight amounts to the large sum of 39,000*l.* And I have the authority of several merchants engaged in the shipping trade of Liverpool, for stating, that this cargo, under a free-trade system, might have been brought home for 4,000*l.* (*Cheers.*) Here, then, is a difference; an actual loss to the country, for purposes of patronage, on one cargo alone, of 35,000*l.* (*Cheers.*) And this must not be considered an isolated case; on the contrary, it is a case which, I

believe, fairly represents the state of the charges in the China-trade, for I remember, several years ago, that the Company's ship *Kelly-Castle* was reported, and on good authority, to have made a freight of 51,000*l.* Such is the state of the shipping department of the Company's concerns; and every other department will be found, on investigation, to be in a similar manner overloaded with expenses. At the last renewal of the Charter, the Company were invested with power to prevent private traders from carrying on business in the interior provinces, or even from visiting them. They were also permitted to retain the monopolies of opium and salt, and the exclusive trade to China. In all these branches of their concerns, the usual profusion of management is displayed. Throughout the provinces—although the Company have scarcely any trade with the provinces—they have distributed about twenty-one commercial agents, to whom they pay salaries which average, at least, five thousand pounds a-year each. The opium and salt monopolies are not of very important extent; the quantity of opium is about 4,000 chests, and of salt 150,000 tons; and yet, for the superintendence of these monopolies, the Company have appointed, besides a number of well-paid supernumeraries, ten great officers, who receive from six to ten thousand a-year each. With such a system of management, it must be evident that mercantile profit is impossible; and we accordingly find, in a number of statements which have been occasionally published by the Company, the fullest admission that the trade to India is attended with loss. This, then, is the state of the Company. The trade is a source of loss; the revenue, though exceeding, by several millions a-year, the free revenue of this country, is insufficient to defray the expenses; the debt, now amounting to a large sum, is constantly increasing; and, while all this is notoriously the case, those who have influence in the management of the Company's affairs are rapidly enriching themselves and their connexions. What, then, is the fair inference from these facts? What can that inference be but this,—that the object of the East India Company is not surplus revenue, is not profitable trade, but the extensive and lavish promotion of private interests. (*Loud cheers.*) According to official papers which have been laid before the House of Commons, it appears that the total annual value of the Company's exports to India before the last renewal of the Charter, was less than one million sterling. Since then, this amount has diminished. It appears, from statements made by Mr. Tucker, one of the writers who favour the East India Company, that the value of sales made in India by the Company in five years, from 1818 to 1822 inclusive, averaged less than 630,000*l.* Such is the really insignificant amount of the Company's trade with a country to which they alone have free access, and which contained from eighty to ninety millions of inhabitants. Limited, however, as this trade is, it appears, from a variety of representations respecting it which have been made by the late

Lord Melville, the Marquis of Wellesley, and others, that the Company have all along been so harassed for the means of carrying it on, as to have been constantly compelled to resort to the most ruinous expedients for the purpose. And yet, though thus confessedly without the necessary resources for conducting it themselves, they have, nevertheless, earnestly struggled to retain it, and to prevent the smallest participation. In proof of this, I may mention, that, before the last renewal of the Charter, the Company were bound to supply 3,000 tons of shipping annually to the private merchants; and so jealous were they of an interference to even this trifling extent, that a standing committee was appointed, from the body of Directors, with the express title of a 'Committee to prevent the growth of private trade,' (*shame!*) and so successfully did this committee labour in its vocation, that, in a report from the Committee of Correspondence to the Court of Directors, dated 9th February, 1813, it is stated, that 'in twenty years not one new article for the consumption of India had been exported.' This twenty years was from 1793 to 1813, a period prolific, beyond all former experience, in new manufactures of utility, excellence, cheapness, and beauty, surpassing any thing previously known. And yet, by the avowal of the Company, not one of these new manufactures had been exported; and, singularly enough, this avowal is made as an argument for continuing the monopoly. (*Cheers.*) Again, in the same report it is stated, that 'of 54,000 tons of shipping allotted to the private trade since 1793, no more than 21,806 tons had been appropriated.' Thus did the Company, by their own arrangements, and the efficiency of their committee to prevent the growth of private trade, endeavour to establish the truth of their statement, that no extension of their trade was practicable. With these facts, and the testimony of Warren Hastings, the Marquis of Wellesley, Sir John Malcolm, Sir Thomas Munroe, and others, in support of their statement, did the Company attempt to maintain their monopoly. It happened, however, that the Company's facts and the Company's witnesses were so far disregarded, that a partial opening of the trade was permitted; and the increase of trade consequent on this partial opening, shows the entire worthlessness of the solemn declarations of the Company and their agents on the subject. In 1814, the total exports to India amounted to 870,000*l.*, and, in the year ending January 1828, they amounted to more than five millions; (*applause*;) and the increase has been chiefly in the direction in which the Company's witnesses stated it was least likely to take place; for, in a report of a Committee of the House of Lords, the increase is stated to have been the greatest in those particular articles which are calculated for the general consumption of the Natives. (*Cheers.*) The arguments which have hitherto been urged in favour of the Company's monopoly, are such as confound all principles of government, policy, and nature; but, contradicted as these arguments now are by experience, as they

never, formerly contradicted by reason, it is to be hoped that the public at large will not be satisfied with any thing less than a complete destruction of those privileges of the Company which constitute what Lord Grenville several years ago denounced as the uncommercial system. (*Cheers.*) What the country is now deeply interested in obtaining, is the right of free intercourse with India—the right of free settlement in India—of holding and cultivating lands in India—in short, of employing capital there, in agriculture, manufactures, and trade, as freely as in any other British colony. (*Cheers.*) With respect to the policy of making settlements, there is a very decided preponderance of authority in its favour. From Warren Hastings to the late excellent Bishop Heber, almost every individual distinguished for intelligence on Indian affairs has sanctioned that policy with his approval. Indeed it is consistent with every natural principle, that the diffusion of English ideas, arts, and customs, and the employment of capital under the direction of English skill and knowledge, among such a population as that of India, must improve the moral, political, and commercial condition and institutions of that country. (*Cheers.*) But to effect these purposes is not the object of the East India Company. They desire only to perpetuate the present system, and they feel that the system would be endangered by a moderate intermixture of Englishmen with the Natives of India; they know that the system depends on its being described only by those who are interested in it—on its workings not being popularly known—on its being free from observation and discussion. They object, therefore, to free settlements in India, for the same reason that the tyrant Richard in the play and the Company may point their objection with the same name) objects to Buckingham—(*cheers,*)—‘None are for me that pry into my deeds.’ (*Loud cheers.*) But the effect of employing English skill and capital in the cultivation of Indian products is not now a matter of mere conjecture; it has been tried, and with the best results; of this the cultivation of indigo is a striking example. Before private individuals were allowed to cultivate this product, the quality of it was so bad that it was unfit for sale in any foreign market; the quality now is the very best, and the annual produce is estimated at two millions sterling. Sugar is another commodity which has felt the advantage of private interference. Since 1814, the import of sugar has increased tenfold. The history of this article furnishes another instance of the utter incapability of the East India Company to exercise mercantile functions with advantage. According to a report on the sugar trade, published by order of the Court of Directors in 1823, it appears, that in five years, from 1817 to 1821 inclusive, the Company imported about one forty-fifth of the whole imports from India, upon which (though the general trade was so prosperous that the imports doubled in the period) they lost an average of three-halfpence a pound, or about fifty per cent. on the original cost. (*A laugh.*) An application of

the same means has been equally useful in improving the quality and increasing the quantity of many other articles. I shall not however, detain you further on this part of the subject than to observe, that the result of all the experiments of this nature that have been made, has much surpassed the expectations in which those experiments originated, and furnishes us with solid grounds for anticipating the most valuable effects, both morally and commercially regarded, from a free and unrestricted intercourse and settlement throughout British India. (*Cheers.*) Indeed, any serious degree of reflection on the present state of that most interesting country—on the nature of its institutions—on the great variety of its produce, arising from the extent and fertility of its soil—on the rude and imperfect means adopted in its cultivation—on the vast numbers and destitute condition of its people—on their peculiar manners and customs—and on the inferiority of their domestic arts—must produce an irresistible conviction that the introduction of English civilisation, by allowing free settlements in every part of the country, would effect the most salutary changes—would almost infinitely increase its commercial importance—would raise and elevate the character of its people—and by establishing a community and identity of interests, between them and the English settlers, would consolidate and confirm the influence and dominion of British power in the East. (*Loud cheers.*) The immense capabilities which Asia possesses, this country, and this country alone, can fully develop. The value of those capabilities it is not easy to define or over-rate. But never, perhaps, in the history of the world, was any nation presented with an opportunity of effecting so great a good to human kind, as, by a wise and virtuous administration of her power in India, England may now accomplish. (*Cheering.*) I come now to the China trade. The pretext on which the public is excluded from this trade is, that the Chinese are so fastidious in their manners, and so quarrelsome withal, that a greater degree of care and circumspection is necessary to conduct an intercourse with them than can be acquired by any but the Company's servants. In the Company's petition to the House of Commons in 1813, they declare it to be their 'opinion, considered and re-considered, that the opening the trade with China, in any degree, would endanger it altogether.' It is really painful to be under the necessity of contending seriously with such an absurdity as this; it has, however, been seriously urged, and I may, therefore, be excused if I attempt to give it a serious answer. (*Cheers.*) And in doing this, the first remark which presents itself is this, that if the Chinese are formal and testy in any thing like the degree which this averment of the Company implies, then, it is clear they must be totally unfit for intercourse with all other people. But so far is this from being the fact, that they carry on an extensive commerce with all the surrounding countries; their vessels swarm in every port which is accessible to them in the Indian and Pacific Seas; in short, China is

to the countries of the further East, what Great Britain is to Europe and America—it supplies those countries with its produce and manufactures. (*Cheers.*) There is a yet more decisive fact. The Americans carry on a large trade with them, and that so successfully, that they have never in one single instance been involved in a serious dispute with them. I am far from being insensible to the merits and excellence of American merchants; and I will not be guilty of the rudeness of making them the subject of any comparison: but I will express a sincere and earnest hope that the mercantile community of England will never be so far degraded, either in fact, or in its own estimation, as not to repel indignantly the insulting imputation that it is incapable of conducting any trade, no matter with whom, which depends on industry, skill, wealth, honourable feeling, and discretion. (*Loud and continued cheering.*) But there is not the slightest foundation, not even the semblance of a reason in any known fact, to justify this representation of the Company respecting the difficulties of carrying on this trade. In trafficking with some rude and barbarous nations, there may be difficulties to overcome, which require a great degree of dexterity and address. But China is not a country of this description; it is a civilised, not a rude and barbarous country. And besides the absence of all difficulty arising from its state of civilisation, the regulations which are established there, for conducting foreign intercourse, are of such a nature as almost to preclude the possibility of any degree of discretion being useful, or the want of even ordinary discretion being injurious. Mr. Milburne, one of the best informed individuals that have ever been in the Civil Service of the East India Company, in his very valuable work on Oriental commerce, distinctly says, 'At Canton, business, immense as it is, is carried on with astonishing regularity; and in no part of the world can it be transacted with so much ease and dispatch to the foreign merchant.' (*Applause.*) The business at Canton is done entirely by the intermediation of licensed agents, who are denominated Hong or security merchants; these, at present, are thirteen in number, and no foreigner is allowed to trade till some one of them has become security for his good behaviour. This responsibility is undertaken in the usual course of such business with mercantile agents every where else; that is, upon introductions, and other evidences of respectability, and for a commission on business done. In this respect the facilities of business in China are of precisely the same nature, and are fully equal to those which exist, and with which we are so familiar, in the ports of Europe and America. These Hong merchants have, therefore, the usual motives of interest to avoid all differences and quarrels, and to increase their business; besides which, they speak English fluently, and their personal characters and connections are as well known to merchants residing in this country who trade to China, as are the personal characters and connections of the Liverpool brokers, and agents on the Manchester Exchange. (*Applause.*)

Besides all this, the foreign merchants who trade at Canton are prohibited from entering the walls of that city; an extensive suburb appropriated to them, and to that they are limited. This may be a very unnecessary precaution; I believe that it is so: but whether it is or not, it diminishes the chances of any unpleasant collision and renders less necessary that excessive discretion which the East India Company allege to be an essential attribute of all who trade in bark in this trade. (*Cheers.*) Having thus exposed the groundlessness of this argument for the China monopoly, let us now see what are the consequences of this monopoly. To the East India Company it is of the very greatest importance, inasmuch as it enables them to pay the dividends to the shareholders, whereas, under a continuance of other parts of the system, they could not do, if the monopoly ceased to exist. Wherever the Company has to encounter any degree of competition in their trade, their losses are enormous. Without, therefore, a rigid monopoly of some article like tea, of magnitude sufficient to pay the expenses of the most wasteful mismanagement, and ten and a half per cent., limited dividend upon the stock, either the dividends must go unpaid, or economy, a dreadful alternative in a system of jobbing patronage, to save the amount of the dividends, must be introduced into the administration of the revenue. (*Applause.*) From a comparison of the prices of tea in this and other countries, it appears that the tea-consumers of this country pay to the East India Company from two and a half to three millions more than they would have to pay if the tea trade was open. And while the country has been paying the Company this large sum, the Company has been exerting all its influence, and urging the most glaring misrepresentations, to prevent an extension of the national commerce. It is clear that the trouble of obtaining the great excess which is drawn from the tea monopoly must be diminished in proportion to the aggregate business from which it can be derived is secured. The policy of the East India Company has, therefore, always been to reduce their trade to the lowest amount compatible with the existing patronage dependent upon it, and with the payment of the dividends. These objects secured, and then with their views, they find the scale of their business the better. We accordingly find that the Company have always avoided enterprise in their trade, and their popular arguments, and official communications to the Legislature, have invariably and strongly asserted that no increase of business within the limits of their charter could possibly be for their advantage. Their own nut-shell traffic they have constantly represented as exceeding the boundaries of infinite space. (*Cheers.*) To show that their export trade was pushed to an excess, it is stated in a report from one of their committees to the Court of Directors in 1811 that the export of British manufactures is continued by the Company, 'for the benefit of the country, and under the certainty that no benefit can be derived from the exported article.' And, a

in a statement laid before a committee of the House of Lords in 1821, the Company show, that in twenty-six years, they lost by their exports to China, 1,668,103*l.*; and in other communications made about the same period to the Lords' Committee, they state that they 'have totally failed in all their efforts to introduce British cotton manufactures among the Chinese.' It fortunately happens that the experience of the Americans enables us to contradict the declarations of the Company respecting the impassable extent of their trade to China, in the same manner as our experience enables us to contradict similar declarations respecting their trade to India; for, while the Company's efforts for that purpose have proved abortive, those of the Americans have had a happier issue. The Americans began to ship goods of this description to China in 1819, and since then, have had a constantly profitable and increasing trade in them. It is now understood that of such goods, they export annually to China the amount of from 200,000*l.* to 300,000*l.* The other branches of the American trade with China have also been very prosperous. The total value of their trade with that country, though of only thirty years' standing, almost equals ours; and, if the system remains unchanged, will, before the expiration of the present charter, undoubtedly surpass ours, which is of 150 years' standing. And this too, although our population is about double that of America, and our consumption of tea, the very article which is the subject of the trade, is computed to be nine times that of America. (*Applause.*) The manner in which the Company conduct their trade with China is quite as significant of the purpose to which the monopoly is applied as any other part of the Company's affairs. The China trade is carried on at Canton by means of a factory, composed of twelve supercargos, eight writers, a chief surgeon and mate, and a tea inspector and deputy. The supercargos receive a commission of two per cent. on all sales in and out; the amount of which is divided among them agreeably to a fixed ratio by which the principal supercargo obtains about eighteen thousand pounds a year: the other supercargos receive less than this, according to their rank; but the very lowest of them receives four thousand a year. The writers have good salaries, and the surgeon and inspector are paid five thousand a year. Besides these salaries, all the factory have free residences, and an establishment of domestics, together with a public table most sumptuously provided, the whole expense of which is defrayed by the Company. So profuse are the Company in all the disbursements on account of this trade, that the total amount of their expenditure in it is stated to be 325,000*l.*, which, as the original cost of their tea averages 1,800,000*l.*, is seventeen and a half per cent., exclusive of interest, freight, demurrage, and insurance. (*Cheers.*) Such is the shameful expense of the Company, in conducting a trade, amounting to less than two millions, in a market exemplary, according to Mr. Milburne's authority, beyond all others for the facilities it affords. The direct loss to the

country from the monopoly is, as I have stated, from two and a half to three millions in the price of the tea; and the indirect loss is all the advantage the country would derive from a great extension of its commerce, and from the possession of a principal share of the carrying-trade between China and other countries,—a trade which, in consequence of the monopoly, is now almost exclusively enjoyed by the Americans, who are much less favourably circumstanced than we are for conducting it. And, besides this, China at present is scarcely known to us, except as a market for tea; but there are no fewer than seventy-two other valuable products, of which Canton is the regular mart; and many of these, no doubt, under a free trade, would become important articles of European commerce. (*Applause.*) The novelty, as well as the importance and interest of the subject, to a public meeting, renders it difficult to determine the degree to which any attempt at information might be agreeable. In my imperfect endeavour, therefore, to suggest some views of the extent to which the rights and interests of the country are sacrificed by the East India Company's monopoly, and of the unworthy and sordid purposes for which the sacrifice is made, I much fear that I have trespassed most unbecomingly upon your attention; for this I beg to apologise. (*No, no! and cheers.*) I will not further claim your kindness and indulgence than to remind you, that independent of the injustice of a system of exclusion, there are other reasons, in the present condition of this country, and in the circumstances of the countries with which our commercial relations are most important, for desiring the change we seek. Our most extensive and valuable commerce is now carried on with the nations of Europe and the United States of America. But with them it must, sooner or later, arrive at a point from which it will decline. In the actual state of those countries, perhaps, even yet, capital may be most profitably employed in channels which may not affect our trade with them. This, however, in the natural progress of civilisation and wealth, cannot continue. In all these nations, a period is fast approaching, when manufacturing profit will equal the profits of employing capital in other ways; and whenever that period arrives, capital will be freely employed in manufactures, and the demand for our manufactures will in consequence diminish. Actuated too by a bitter feeling of hostility, and, however mortifying, we are bound to admit that it is a feeling of just hostility to our system of corn laws, (*cheers,*) those countries are adopting regulations for the encouragement of their own manufactures, by which the period will be rapidly accelerated when our trade will inevitably decay. It is the necessary policy of this country, therefore, to extend, by every practicable arrangement, our mercantile connections elsewhere. (*Cheers.*) New channels must, if possible, be opened, to supply the place of those which are thus gradually closing against us. Not only general policy, but the most pressing mercantile necessity, demands that the vast and almost bound-

less regions of the Eastern World shall be thrown open, to their full extent, to British enterprise, in order that our languishing industry may be restored to vigour; and that, triumphing in renewed energy over the deadening influence of an oppressive taxation, it may become again the bounteous source of individual and national prosperity. (*Loud and long-continued cheering.*)

The first resolution was then put from the chair, and adopted unanimously, as were all the subsequent resolutions.

Mr. BRADSHAW, in moving the second resolution, observed, that the object of the meeting had been already so fully and ably dilated upon by the gentlemen who had preceded him, that he need not occupy their time by many observations. By the opponents of a free intercourse it was asserted, that the peace of India would be endangered by the residence of Englishmen in the interior. He knew no class of persons more interested in keeping the peace and preserving good order than commercial agents in foreign countries, while there was nothing, on the other hand, more calculated to promote their interests than the peaceable and good conduct of the inhabitants of those countries in which they resided.

Mr. THOMAS HOYLE briefly seconded the resolution.

Mr. R. H. GREG moved the third resolution. In an assembly like that, composed principally of mercantile men, it would not be necessary for him to say much on the utility of commerce. For a nation to be enabled to exchange her commodities with other nations, was a great advantage; and the more extensively and more cheaply goods could be distributed, so much the greater was the advantage to both parties. It was necessary, however, to the progress of commerce that it should be free and unshackled; and no trade proved this more clearly than the state of the East India trade. That trade afforded a comparison betwixt what a free trade and a monopoly could do. It appeared that while the free trade exported, within a year, forty-two millions of yards of cotton goods, the monopolists only exported 680,000 yards, or about one-eightieth part of the other. And while the Company had only exported 412 lbs. of twist, the private traders had exported three or four millions of pounds. If the restrictions were removed at the expiration of the Charter, they might look for a great extension of the exports of British manufactures, and of the imports of East India produce. It was only by a great increase in our commerce that we could bear the heavy pressure of the public burthens, or look for any remission of taxes; and he trusted that this would procure for the country the support of Government, in removing the obstacles to free trade which the existence of the East India Company's monopoly preserved. He therefore hoped, that the opposition to the measure would not be so great as many persons anticipated. One great body, the landed proprietors, those great aristocratic

monopolists who rule alike the Government and the people, were directly interested in the success of this question. They also had loaded the country with the consequences of a most iniquitous monopoly—the monopoly of corn. (*Loud cheers.*) They had closed the foreign markets one after the other against our manufactures, by the exclusion of foreign corn; and they were bound in justice to the country to find other markets for those which their iniquitous acts had thus shut. It was not only their duty, but their interest; for the country, if that monopoly were continued, would throw off the intolerable burden. He trusted, by a strong and united effort, that an opening of new channels to our commerce might be obtained; and he was confident it would be highly beneficial to the country at large.

Mr. JOSEPH SMITH, in seconding the motion, said that he should have taken no part in the proceedings of that day, had he not been strongly impressed with a sense of their necessity and importance. He thought that it was the duty of every man to seek the welfare of his country, and, however humble, to raise his voice against the most injurious monopoly with which the country ever had to struggle, or which had disgraced the records of history. (*Hear.*) The subject which called them together was not of local or temporary interest, the squabble of a party, or a political question; or his voice had not been heard. It was one purely commercial—one in which every honest man of every party, however differing on other subjects, might honourably unite, without any compromise of principle. It was a subject in which every class of the community were more or less concerned, and in its prospective influence affected the very babe in its cradle, and generations yet unborn. (*Loud cheers.*) It was evident that both in this country and in Ireland vast numbers of the community were altogether unemployed, or only partially so. They were, therefore, rather considered as a burden than a benefit to society; and, as our population was increasing one million every $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, this burden would increase also. It was painful to contemplate the consequences of an unemployed teeming population; pauperism and misery must ensue to a dreadful, he feared to an overwhelming, extent; and he could be no friend to his species, nor have the heart of a man, who shows any obstacle in the way of counteracting such fearful evils. (*Hear.*) One of the noblest modes of charity was to give employment to the people. We never so effectually assist another, as when we enable him to help himself. (*Cheers.*) By giving employment, we render innoxious the dastardly spirit of dependence on the exertions of others—we check pauperism and crime—we raise the national character—we add both to our physical and moral strength—we open the avenues of supply through which ten thousand comforts flow—we secure the blessing of him that was ready to perish, and enable the widow's heart to sing for joy. (*Loud cheers.*) A free trade to India and

China he considered as furnishing ample means of employing our abundant population; he was, therefore, happy that this meeting had been called, and hoped it would terminate in a unanimous resolution to petition Parliament not to renew the East India Company's charter. He had been so ably anticipated by the gentlemen who had preceded him in many remarks he meant to have offered, that he should, therefore, chiefly confine his observations to the article he was best acquainted with, so important in this part of the country, that of *Cotton*. This, we all know, was one of the most important articles of commerce; next to agriculture, it perhaps, in the various stages of its manufacture, required more capital, employed more hands, and was more universally necessary than any other. We imported cotton in this kingdom to the amount of rather more than five millions sterling; and we exported of manufactures and twist at least eighteen millions, besides twelve millions consumed at home. Here, then, a difference of 25 millions was effected by the labours of the people; and how vast must be the aggregate of comfort thus afforded! If we can, therefore, profitably increase the means of employment, we add to our national wealth, and enlarge the sphere of human enjoyment; and in the East Indies, China, and various parts of Asia, such means of employment were, he believed, to be found. Mankind were bound together by their wants as well as their sympathies. One country possessed that which another needed; hence arose mutual intercourse, exchange, and advantage. Thus with India and this country: India covers a surface of 600,000 square miles, with 100 millions of inhabitants, and possessing great varieties of soil and climate, producing cotton, silk, rice, sugar, indigo, tobacco, and various other important articles, and all capable of vast improvement and increase. Now Great Britain, with a population of 22 or 23 millions, is in want of all these articles, and could teach India how to improve them; she could, besides, clothe her population cheaper and better than any other country, or than they can clothe themselves. Why, then, should not these two countries possess the fullest and freest opportunities of trading with each other? Are they not subjects of the same crown? Would not both countries be thus enriched and benefited? Would not commerce and civilisation go hand in hand? Would not these introduce other higher and sublimer blessings? and should we not, in some degree, be paying off the long arrear of justice and kindness which we owe to that much-abused people! (*Cheers.*) It is singular, but most true, that almost all the productions of India cultivated by Natives, are inferior to those of other countries; but, with the aid of British capital and superintendence, they might rank among the best. This applies to her cotton, which is the coarsest and worst we receive. But the cotton plant, like the silk worm and mulberry tree, is indigenous, and India possesses vast tracts of country where the climate, situation, and soil are admirably adapted to the cultivation of cotton. With

due attention to these—to the selection of the seed, the preparation of the ground, and the introduction of machinery used in America for cleansing cotton, India might soon produce as good and fine cottons, and as abundant in quantity, as any part of the world. He was certain of this, because he had occasionally seen samples of excellent cotton grown there, and very lately in Liverpool some very fine and good grown near Calcutta. This was a most important consideration, especially when we reflected, that three-fourths of the cotton we now used came from America, and that we were almost exclusively dependent on it for our finest cotton,—dependent on a power equal to ourselves in intelligence and enterprise; who was now, and he thought was destined still more to be, a most formidable rival; a power who interposes every restraint she can on our commerce, and with whom, having once been at war, we may be so again. What would our situation be, were we ever dependent on her as we are now? and who can estimate the injury and distress that would attend our first spinners and manufacturers? America appears aware of this, or, he thought, she would not have assumed the tone and pursued the measures she had done. But whether his conjectures were correct or not, as a mercantile country we ought, at least, to have two strings to our bow, and, as a great nation, to be prepared for all contingencies; and he thought this would be a mode of investing capital and employing the people of England quite as profitable as in foreign loans, or those wild speculations in which we have lost millions. The cultivation of cotton he felt to be a most important subject, and it might be improved as much as Indian indigo, which, under Native cultivation, was too bad for European markets; but under private management, was now acknowledged to be the best in the world, and supplied four-fifths of the whole consumption of Europe, Asia, and America. But the East India Company disliked the introduction of British capital and superintendence. Too ignorant to instruct, and too proud to learn, it seemed as though they dreaded all improvement for which Providence bestowed the means; and advantages that almost courted their employment, they seemed determined to reject. As to manufactures, our Government were told by the Company, and it was confirmed by highly reputable characters, that 'Every effort had been used by them to introduce British manufactures into the interior; that the common people were too proud to buy them, and the rich too prejudiced to wear them; that it had proved a most losing attempt—that their customs, castes, and superstitions, presented an insurmountable obstruction to all further commerce.' Thus were these Hindoos perfect anomalies in nature; for while all things around them changed, they were ever the same, and therefore from pure philanthropy and kindness, they refused a greater freedom in trade—unable, from their excessive sensibilities, to bear the idea of being accessory to the injury of others. The concessions at length wrung from them were not obtained without the greatest reluctance,

and their bargaining was devoid of generous policy or magnanimous feeling, but discovered only an inordinate ambition that grasped at every thing, and an avarice that would part with nothing. But how have all their assertions been contradicted by facts? They had heard by preceding gentlemen such details as superseded all comment, and rendered their refutation unnecessary. Notwithstanding all the obstacles and vexatious restrictions placed in the way, the private trade exceeded all expectation; and, if it did so, thus manacled, what would it have been if really free? (*Cheers.*) If every merchant had been permitted to find his own customer, make his own bargain, purchase his return cargo of whom and what he chose, if he had been permitted to go into the interior to study the wants, the tastes, and the character of the inhabitants, and by every fair and honourable means have prosecuted his plans,—would not the trade have been increased much more than it has been? As to China, we are forbidden all intercourse with her 200 millions. We therefore know little of her country, her wants, her productions. China remains, in a great degree, a *terra incognita* to us, and the policy of the East India Company is that it should remain so. Else, why are foreigners permitted to enjoy privileges from which we are debarred? Is it not monstrous that a foreigner can come to England and load his ships and sail with his cargo direct to China? That while foreigners may do the same from India to China, and take the produce of China and sail direct to France and other countries, you are forbidden to do the like by the East India Company? Is this even-handed justice? Is this, or ought this, any longer to be borne? The Company said that the Chinese would not take our manufactures, and said this at the very moment she was purchasing them from the Americans, who have been for many years constantly selling them to the Chinese, and found them among the most profitable sources of commerce. The fact is, the Chinese will and do take our manufactures, and even go to Manilla and Singapore to fetch them themselves; and certainly they would take more even to an incalculable extent, if we had the same freedom given to us as others enjoy. Little, however, as we are acquainted with the Chinese, we know her merchants are as intelligent, active, and keen as those of other nations, and that none know their own interests better. Now, we take from them more tea than all the world besides, Great Britain taking thirty millions of pounds annually, and all the continent of Europe but four millions; and the quantity of tea, if it was as cheap here as on the Continent, would be doubled. We can also furnish them directly with those manufactures they purchase circuitously and at second hand, cheaper than any other country, and is it conceivable, that, thus circumstanced, they should prefer the poorest customer, and give the highest prices, when they might sell to us in the greater quantity, and purchase from us on better and cheaper terms? The idea was too preposterous to need refutation. It is probable, then, that, had

we the enjoyment of unrestrained trade to India and China, our commerce would be radically but inconceivably increased, that labour would be abundant, that the comforts and the wealth of our country would be increased, and that there would be no complaining in our streets. All we want is free unfettered trade; we want not to interfere with the internal economy of their administration of India—with her politics, or her revenues. The regulation of these we leave to other and more suitable quarters. Let the East India Company carry on their trade as they choose; we wish not to disturb them; but let us also enjoy the same privileges as they do in every other part of the world. We wish to go as merchants, not as politicians; and in the peaceful but honourable pursuits of commerce, we fear not but the results will be satisfactory. We cannot but anticipate the good which would arise to India. Her own productions would be improved and increased, and the productions of other climates introduced and successfully cultivated; her population would advance in civilisation and wealth—industry and skill—in knowledge and happiness. With increasing means and improved tastes, there would be a greater demand for the productions and manufactures of Europe and other countries. Her superstitions and idolatry would at length yield to the light of truth, and her barbarism give way to the mild influence of Christianity. (*Loud cheers.*) This influence might at length extend to other and remoter regions; China might feel its mighty impulse; the whole East become again the scene of religion and virtue. He said he could not dismiss those bright visions from his mind; he prayed they might be verified; and concluded by hoping the time, yea, the set time, to favour Britain and India, was come.

Mr. JOHN POWELL, on moving the fourth resolution, observed, that when exclusive privileges were granted, they should be for the benefit of the country at large. Had this been the case with the East India Company's privileges? No. If any advantage had been derived from their monopoly, it had accrued to themselves, and to themselves alone. The removal of those exclusive privileges depended now on the representation of the country to the Legislature. It had been stated that we paid annually two millions and a half or three millions more for our tea than we should do if the trade were free. Had this tax benefited the revenue? No. But if the price of tea were lowered, the revenue would be benefited, as the consumption would be proportionably greater; and this desirable reduction in price could be effected, and effected only, by a free trade to China.

Mr. N. PHILLIPS briefly seconded the resolution.

Mr. GEORGE JONES, in moving the fifth resolution, observed, that to secure the objects of the present meeting, it was necessary to secure the permanent, safe, and free residence of commercial agents, a class of persons who were not at present allowed to reside in the country.

Mr. JAMES FERNLEY seconded the resolution.

Mr. SAMUEL FLETCHER moved the sixth resolution. After what had been said, it was unnecessary for him to add any thing in proof of the impolicy, injustice, and absurdity of the East India monopoly. But he might just glance at one or two of the arguments used by the agents of the Company in support of that monopoly. First, it was argued, that the Company had made the trade to India at an amazing expense and trouble to themselves, and that they ought to be protected in it; secondly, that they had greatly enriched the nation; thirdly, that since the trade had come into their hands, it had been greatly improved, and that its present state was as nearly as possible one of perfection; fourthly, that they sell goods cheaper than private dealers would do; and, fifthly, that if the trade were thrown open to our merchants, they would ruin themselves with competition. If these were good arguments, then we should pass a vote of thanks to the East India Company for having taken the trouble, for two centuries, to bless this country with a monopoly. But these arguments were urged by the authorised agents and servants of the Company in the most plausible manner. They were introduced into histories of the Company, and in the annals of their proceedings. The Company are rich, and can afford to procure the support of men of talent; yet these are the strongest arguments they can urge. They observe, with some appearance of truth, that the Company have a real property in their chartered rights, which are perpetual and in succession; and, though it depends on Parliament to renew their privileges, they ask whether these privileges, which they have enjoyed for centuries, are to be given up to exploded systems of trade. Will they declare that they have as absolute a right to this monopoly as we have to our money or estates? No; but they make use of these ambiguous terms to deceive weak minds. Then they say that any change would be hazardous. Since the French revolution, anarchy and confusion have been anticipated from every projected change. When any change is talked of, the ancient institutions are trembled for. By this means, the country members, particularly of the House of Commons, are intimidated, and induced to support the monopoly. As to the settlement of British subjects in India, the Company seem determined to oppose it. They don't like the word 'colonisation,' and they dread the most awful results following, if Englishmen go out to India. But there is no real cause for this alarm; for how could we better benefit India than by introducing into it persons who, by the integrity of their character, and by their manners, would raise the character of our countrymen in the eyes of the Hindoos, and secure the country in our hands. We are told that the intrusion of Englishmen into the country would raise a rebellion, and that our countrymen would all be put to death. We are also told that the Hindoos are so timid, that at the appearance of an Englishman they would all be frightened to death. Mr. Grant

has talked of the Ganges changing its course, whilst the habits and customs of the Natives are unchanged. But it seemed to him (Mr. Fletcher) that the habits of the Company were almost as unchangeable as those of the Hindoos themselves, (*laughter*;) since they had sent the same articles into the market, without variation for fourteen years. They had opposed the introduction of Christianity into India. They had had India in their possession for two hundred years, and they had done nothing to promote the Gospel there. With the exception of placing a few chaplains at their factories, the Company had done literally nothing for the sacred cause; and the Baptist missionaries who had translated the Bible into eighty languages of that country, could only find permission to reside at Serampore, a Danish settlement. Would Christianity introduce wars into India? It was a libel upon the Scriptures to say so. Look at the South Sea Islands, what had Christianity not done for them? The first missionaries found wars raging there; but now these all had ceased, and these peaceful islands afforded a beautiful example of the effects of real Christianity. Wherever Christian missionaries had gone, its ameliorating effect had been indisputable. In no case had its introduction led to the interruption of the public peace. On the contrary, wherever tract had been read, or sermons preached, the people had flocked eagerly to hear; and if the Gospel had free scope, we should hear no more of the burning of widows; and the change would be effected, not by the force of enactments, but by the dawning of the pure light of truth. (*Cheers*.) He hoped the time would come when he should see a door opened for the introduction of Christianity into India for he was convinced that it would rivet that country to this in a manner that had never yet been done, and he trusted that the country would be unanimous in calling for the abolition of the monopoly, which was not only prejudicial to the commercial interests of this country, but most adverse to the moral and religious improvement of the vast population of the East. (*Loud cheers*.)

Mr. JEREMIAH FIELDING, in seconding the resolution, said, that he had been once a representative of the town of Manchester on a similar occasion; and, if what was then obtained were a blessing this would be a much greater one. In 1812, when he was Boroughreeve of this town, he spent three months in London in endeavouring to get the partial opening of the trade, which was then obtained.

Dr. JOHNS said—I am not willing to diminish the effect of the able speeches delivered by the gentlemen who have preceded me by repeating any part of their arguments; but it appears to me that the question has been too much confined to the few millions at home, and I should appear to falter in the discharge of a great duty, if I did not urge the suppression of the East India Company's monopoly, on account of the far greater number of the millions of

people who are spread over the vast territories of the East. (*Cheers.*) My belief is, that the innumerable population of India should be placed under the immediate protection of the British Government; a Government influenced by public opinion, which the East India Company is not, and in a great degree responsible to the people. The history of the Government of the East India Company affords an instance of an '*imperium in imperio*' unknown in the annals of every other nation. That India has been misgoverned is proved beyond controversy, by the fact that since the partial opening of the trade, under the provisions of the present Charter, more good has been attempted, and more effected, both for India and England, than during the whole of the period of the Company's Government. (*Loud cheers.*) Anterior to the year 1813, the Christian religion was in a sense, and in a very extensive sense, proscribed by the East India Company; and even to this very day that part of the system is continued which allows of—which sanctions murder. Crimes, murders the most horrible, which it is in the power of the Government to prevent, are perpetrated. (*Hear, hear.*) That it is in their power to prevent them is established, on the testimony of respectable Natives, who declare that it is the duty of the Government, and their disgrace that they do not. I am aware that reasons may be urged why the Government does not interfere, and I shall not here inquire into them; but I say, if it has not the courage to enforce the command of God 'Thou shalt do no murder,' we may fairly presume that the time is near when the hand-writing will be legibly conspicuous on the walls of the great house in Leadenhall-street, 'Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin.' Mene; God hath numbered thy kingdom and finished it. Tekel; Thou art weighed in the balance, and art found wanting. Upharsin; Thy kingdom is divided, and given to the British Government and the British merchant. (*Applause.*)

The Rev. J. BUNTING, A.M., said he was not about to appear in that place as the advocate of the East India Company. If he said a word in their favour, it would be on the principle of the old adage, 'Give the devil his due.' (*A laugh.*) However obstinate and unprincipled in every respect had been the opposition of the East India Company prior to 1813, to affording facilities for the spread of Christianity, he believed that since 1814 they had acted up to the spirit of Parliament on that point. (*Hear.*) As to one society at least, he could say from personal knowledge, that they had altered their policy. He hoped that in the approaching discussions respecting their Charter, they would be equally accessible to argument on the subject of commerce, as they had been on that of religion. He thought it right to say this much in qualification of his friend Mr. Fletcher's rather sweeping statement. But increased facilities for commerce would afford increased facilities, to an almost infinite degree, for the propagation of religion; and he was glad to find,

that, though the meeting had assembled on commercial subjects, they had yet introduced a clause in favour of religion.

Mr. FLETCHER explained that his observations were intended to apply to the conduct of the Company anterior to 1813.

Mr. J. B. TAYLOR, in moving the seventh Resolution, said, that the state of his health rendered it impossible for him to offer any observations, as he could not make himself heard.

The whole of the Resolutions having been unanimously adopted, petitions to Parliament, founded upon them, were submitted for the signatures of the gentlemen present. The meeting then separated, having lasted from half-past eleven till half-past two o'clock.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE MEETING.

At a numerous and most respectable Meeting of Merchants, Manufacturers, and other Persons interested in the Trade and Commerce of Manchester, summoned by the Boroughreeve and Constables, on the requisition of the Directors of the Chamber of Commerce and Manufactures, and Others, and held at the Town Hall, Manchester, on Monday the 27th April, 1829, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon :

ROBERT OGDEN, Esq., Constable, in the Chair :

The Requisition calling the Meeting having been read, it was moved by Mr. G. W. Wood, President of the Chamber of Commerce, seconded by Mr. W. Garnett, Vice-President of the Chamber, and resolved unanimously,—

'1.—That results highly beneficial to the manufactures and commerce of the kingdom have arisen out of the partial opening, to individual skill and enterprise, of the trade with the countries of the East, which took place in 1814, on the last renewal of the East India Company's Charter.'

Moved by Mr. Bradshaw, seconded by Mr. Hoyle, and resolved unanimously,—

'2.—That similar good effects may be confidently anticipated from extending the principle then acted upon to the interior of India and to China, which still remain subject to the interdict of the Company's monopoly.'

Moved by Mr. R. H. Greg, seconded by Mr. J. Smith, and resolved unanimously,—

'3.—That one of the main blessings which the freedom of commerce confers on mankind, is the distribution of the products of the soil, and of human industry, among the various nations of the earth, on cheaper terms, and in greatly augmented quantities ; that, tried by this test, the experiment of 1814 has proved eminently successful, and sanctions and prescribes to us the removal

of those remaining restrictions which were then suffered to continue.

Moved by Mr. Powell, seconded by Mr. N. Phillips, and resolved unanimously,—

‘ 4.—That exclusive privileges dépend for their vindication on the supposition of their being beneficial to the community at large, and are manifestly impolitic and unjust when they are otherwise; that the monopoly of the trade in tea, now possessed by the Company, is productive of great and obvious injury to the public, and is not attended with any equivalent advantage to the revenue.’

Moved by Mr. Fletcher, seconded by Mr. J. Fielding, and resolved unanimously,—

‘ 5.—That the happiest consequences might be expected to arise from giving encouragement to the settlement of British-born subjects throughout our Indian possessions; the accumulation and the useful employment of capital would be thereby promoted; the arts, the civilisation, and the literature of Europe would spread; and the great blessings of Christianity be peaceably diffused, through regions where its name is yet unknown.’

Moved by Mr. G. Jones, seconded by Mr. J. Fernley, and resolved unanimously,—

‘ 6.—That the power enjoyed by the Company, of summary and arbitrary banishment, without legal process, from the territories under their control, is in violation of the rights of Englishmen, injurious to the interests of India and of Great Britain, unjustifiable on any plea of state necessity, and ought to be no longer suffered to exist.’

Moved by Mr. J. E. Taylor, seconded by Mr. Jones, and resolved unanimously,—

‘ 7.—That for the reasons contained in the foregoing resolutions, petitions be presented to both Houses of Parliament, praying that, at the earliest practicable period, the trade to the interior of India and China may be thrown open; the monopoly in tea cease; the right to proceed to, and settle in, India be materially enlarged; and the power of banishment, without trial and conviction for some known offence, be put an end to; and further, that inquiry may be instituted into the present condition of the countries now subject to the British Crown, within the limits of the East India Company's Charter, in order that such measures may be adopted as shall most speedily develop the Native resources of those regions, and most effectually promote the permanent welfare of their inhabitants.’

Moved by Mr. Tootal, seconded by Mr. Shuttleworth, and resolved unanimously,—

‘ 8.—That the following gentlemen, jointly with the Directors of the Chamber of Commerce, be appointed a Committee, with power

to add to their numbers ; and be requested and authorised to use their most active exertions to promote the object of this meeting, by deputation to London, by correspondence with other commercial towns, and in such other ways as they may judge expedient,—namely,

Mr. Thomas Ashton,	Mr. John Hargreaves,
Mr. John Bentley,	Mr. H. Newbery,
Mr. John Barton,	Mr. James Oughton,
Mr. B. Bradley,	Mr. Shakspeare Phillips,
Mr. J. Douglas,	Mr. Mark Phillips,
Mr. H. Holdsworth,	Mr. John Powell,
Mr. Thomas Heywood,	Mr. Richard Smith.

Moved by Mr. G. W. Wood, seconded by Mr. Fletcher, and resolved unanimously,—

‘ 9.—That the proceedings of this Meeting be advertised under the direction of the Committee.’

ROBERT OGDEN, Chairman.

Mr. Ogden having left the Chair, Mr. Bentley was requested to take it, when it was resolved unanimously, on the motion of Mr. G. W. Wood, seconded by Mr. W. Garnett,—

‘ 10.—That the thanks of this Meeting be given to the Borough-reeve and Constables, for their kindness in calling the Meeting ; and to Mr. Ogden, for his attention to the business of the day.’

J. BENTLEY.

SONG.

Written under an Engraving of Cupid with the Thyrsus of Bacchus.

BY EDWARD QUILLINAN, ESQ.

Who with me will wander ? straying
Through the purple vines I go ;
Laughing with the nymphs, and playing
Where the richest clusters grow :

Who will wander with me ?

Round my staff the tendrils wreathing,
Thus the autumnal prize I bear ;
All its musky ripeness breathing
Sweets to load the wings of air :

Who will wander with me ?

Who with me will wander, joying ?
Welcome to the fair and gay ;
Never cloy'd, and never cloying ;
Here and there, and then away !

Who will wander with me ?

PUBLIC MEETING AT GLASGOW ON THE TRADE TO INDIA AND CHINA.

ON Tuesday, May 5, a numerous and highly respectable Meeting of merchants, bankers, manufacturers, and other inhabitants of Glasgow, was held in the Town Hall, for the purpose of petitioning Parliament against any renewal of the East India Company's commercial monopoly of the trade to India and China.

On the motion of Mr. KIRKMAN FINLAY, Brailie GRAY, in the absence of the Lord Provost, was called to the Chair. The Chairman, after reading the requisition, stated that this was a question of the utmost possible importance, and he had no doubt it would be discussed with the liberal and enlightened feeling characteristic of the merchants and manufacturers of Glasgow.

Mr. K. FINLAY then rose. He stated that, having lately had an opportunity of addressing them, it would be unpardonable in him to take up much of the attention of the meeting in what he had to say. He then read the first resolution; after which, he gave a history of the former struggles to get this trade opened up. Up to 1813 this trade had been completely shut, when a formidable push caused a partial opening to be made. The gentlemen connected with the East India Company at that time predicted that any extension of the trade was entirely hopeless. In 1793, three thousand tons of shipping were placed at the disposal of British merchants; but they were so shackled with the restrictions of the Company, that nothing effectual or productive was derived from this measure. In a report in 1813 of the Directors, it was made a subject of congratulation that not one new article, for twenty-one years previous to 1813, had been exported to India. The first year, however, after the trade had been partially opened up, the exports amounted to 870,000*l.*; and in 1823 they had increased to 5,000,000*l.* Thus they had the result of experience to show what free trade was capable of accomplishing; and, instead of no new articles being exported, they were all new;—in fact, India was found to be in want of every thing we produced. It was stated by some individuals, that, although the trade was opened up, there would not be much exportation to the East; and he, when he had advocated the opening up of the trade in Parliament, had no idea that there would have been such an increase. All he said was, let the trade be free, and it will be seen what will be effected. He did not pretend, as a prophet, to predict what had occurred, though he certainly had anticipated that the demand for our produce would greatly increase. Mr. Finlay then referred to the famous letter of Mr. Grant to the Chairman of the India Board, in which it was stated, that, though there might be an import trade from India, there never could

be an export one. All that was then and now asked, was liberty to trade to the East Indies and China without restriction. It might be said the East India Company were acting upon selfish grounds; but the same might be said of them. He himself appeared on selfish grounds; but it was also for the general advantage of the country. Their whole exertions were to be devoted to get the obstacles to a free trade to India removed. They did not wish to interfere with the internal government of the country, though, there was no doubt, great improvements in the condition of the people would follow. When Elizabeth granted the Charter in 1600, it was considered that it would be advantageous to trade; but in 1698, when King William renewed the Charter, they left the character of merchants, and had since become the greatest sovereigns that had ever existed in the East. All writers considered that the characters of sovereign and merchant should not be blended, for they were incompatible with the prosperity of a country. The first duty of a sovereign was to promote the prosperity of his people; (*cheers*;) and since the Company had assumed the prerogative of sovereigns, they ought to be prohibited from trading to their own territories. If they were to continue to govern these territories, they ought not to monopolize their trade. If it were in China, he had no objection that they should become our rivals; but in their own territories they ought to let trading alone. In 1813, Parliament had ordered accounts to be annually laid on the table, to show whether the Company were gaining or losing by the trade; but, from the manner in which they had blended their territorial and trading accounts, he held it to be beyond the ingenuity of man to tell whether they were gaining or losing. It was well known that the commerce of the Company had proved injurious to them. He did not wish to meddle with their Government; all that was wanted was the removal of the impediments to carrying on a free trade with India and China. He then refuted the assertion that free trade could not be carried on to China, without the assistance of the Company, from the quarrelling that would ensue; and showed that the Americans, who carried on a free trade, had had only one quarrel. The Government, it was said, would refuse to open up the trade, for the sake of the revenue; but the Government had no right, for the sake of the revenue, to do an injustice to the country. He had no doubt the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have ingenuity enough to extract money from the pockets of the people, if it was there, (*a laugh*;) in the shape of duty on tea or otherwise; let Government only make the trade to China free, and there was no fear that they would be able to extract revenue enough from it, even though the price was much lowered. The present consumption of tea was 30,000,000 lbs. yearly; and if the price was diminished one-half, he had no doubt it would increase to 60,000,000 lbs. The same amount of revenue would thus be raised, and additional comfort be diffused among the inhabitants of the country; besides, an

additional duty would be derived from the extra consumption of sugar. He concluded by moving the first resolution.

Mr. PARRON seconded the resolution. The honour of doing this, he presumed, had been conferred upon him in consequence of his having resided several years in the Malay Archipelago, from the experience derived during which, he should take the liberty to make a few observations. At Singapore, where he last resided, the benefits of a perfect freedom in commerce had been triumphantly established. In 1819 this island was a barren and neglected spot, resorted to by a few fishermen or pirates. A settlement was then formed upon it by the British; it was declared a free port, and all ships were invited to trade to it without let or hindrance. There was neither customhouse nor any other troublesome offices to go through in transacting business. Under this system of perfect freedom, in less than six years this small barren island contained a population of 14,000 souls, and enjoyed a trade amounting to nearly seven millions of dollars of imports, and a like amount of exports, of which upwards of one million of dollars was to Great Britain. Colonization was also permitted then, and indeed encouraged; and Europeans, Chinese, Malays, and natives of various parts of India, received grants of lands. Though these settlers might occasionally, as in every other part of the world, have disputes amongst themselves, they certainly would as soon have thought of burning their own houses about their ears, as of doing any thing to endanger the stability of the Government. Nothing can show more clearly than this, the advantage of removing all disabilities from the trade and intercourse of mankind, particularly such as live under the same Government. Indeed, such has been the spirit and intelligence displayed on this little theatre, that he had brought home with him full-grown nutmegs, plucked from the trees of the Botanical Garden at Singapore. Pepper, sago, and gambier have also been produced there in considerable quantities; but from the pooriness of the soil, he did not consider the Island likely to be distinguished in agricultural productions. But, though rice has not been produced there, yet, from the absence of all restrictive laws, there has never been any want of the staple article of food on the settlement.

So agreeable, indeed, to reason and common sense, is freedom in trade, that even in the Kingdom of Siam, with which place Singapore is intimately connected in a commercial way, the principle has lately been acted upon by the new king, who has granted to his subjects freedom of trade in every thing except warlike stores and opium. In Java, where he resided many years, he also witnessed a great increase of trade under a system of freedom. In 1815, when he first visited the Island, the importation of British cotton goods did not exceed from 200 to 300 cases for that year, but in 1823 the importations exceeded 6000 cases; and in the following year the aggregate value of importations into the Island, amounted to sixteen

millions of guilders, and the exports to upwards of eighteen millions, or a million and a half sterling. Since then, from heavier duties being imposed on British manufactures, the import of these has decreased. The Dutch permit not only colonization in Java to their own subjects, but also to foreigners, and some of our own countrymen cultivate lands of their own there as coffee, sugar, and rice planters. The good effects of this have been seen in the increased production of coffee, which, in the course of ten years, was nearly doubled, the produce of the year 1827 having amounted to about 18,000 tons. In this Island, so small in comparison to the continent of British India, the ports are not only open to Dutch, but to all foreign vessels, and no less than eleven amongst the other islands subject to the authority of the Dutch, while by far the greater number of Dutch colonial vessels are commanded by Englishmen. In 1824, the King of the Netherlands issued a decree for the establishment of a Joint Stock Commercial Company for trading to India, China, &c.; and in this decree the king declares 'there shall not be allowed to this Company any exclusive privilege whatever,'—thus, though himself at the head of the Company, and guaranteeing to the subscribers four and a half per-cent. annual interest, nobly conceding to his subjects in general, what we are now about to ask, and he trusted, ask successfully, from our own Government. (*Applause.*)

The motion was then put, and carried unanimously.

Mr. DALGETH, in proposing the second resolution, said that, after what had fallen from Mr. Finlay, little remained for him to say. He stated that in 1793, the opposition to the charter was of a nature different from the present, and had rather the appearance of monopoly; for the petitioners then wished the exclusion of India muslins from this country. The Glasgow manufacturers wished that no plain muslins should be allowed to be imported under a duty of 10s. a yard, and no figured or fancied muslins under 20s. Next it was wished that no manufacturing utensils should be exported to India, in case the trade there should be ruined; and he recollected the satisfaction that was manifested in this city when the supposed relief was conceded, the trade in the country at that time being in a very languid state. No benefit, however, accrued; for the breaking out of the French Revolution paralysed the efforts of the merchants, and the Charter was renewed. In 1812, when the renewal of the Charter came again under consideration, he recollected that meetings had been held for the purpose of petitioning against its renewal, in which his friend Mr. Finlay, another gentleman not present, and others, took an active share, for which they were entitled to the lasting gratitude of their fellow-citizens. From 1814 to 1828, there had been a great increase in the trade to the East. Previous to 1806, East India cables were received from London to print, and few were sent to the India market till 1814. For the last three years,

there had been sent from Liverpool to Calcutta alone—1826, 4,113 packages of plain calicoes; 1827, 8,131 ditto; 1828, 15,282—each package containing from 60 to 80 pieces. He, however, did not deny that in 1828 more had been exported than was prudent; but it was an astonishing increase. In 1793, when opposition was made to the Charter, the manufacturing population was labouring under great distress; in 1812, when opposition was again made, our manufactures were excluded from the Continent; and now, in 1829, we were again involved in great depression. Under these circumstances, the country ought to be called upon to make every exertion to bring about an opening in the only market that was likely to prove beneficial to our languishing manufactures. They had every thing to hope from the present liberal principles on which Government were acting, if their opposition was guided with prudence and discretion. He concluded with proposing the adoption of the resolution.

Mr. JOHN WRIGHT, jun., in seconding the resolution, remarked, that from observations made by the previous speakers, and so far as he understood the subject, it seemed to be obvious that if ever the moral, the physical, or the commercial capabilities of the East Indies were to be developed, it would not be by the present mysterious and cumbersome monopoly, but by the intrepidity and judgment of individual enterprise, and by the Natives of India being brought into unrestrained collision with those of our native country. One circumstance, which had occurred several years ago, corroborative of this, he would use the freedom of stating. We all knew the importance of cotton wool, as the raw material of the most extensive branch of the manufactures in our country; but at no period was this so visible as during the continuance of the American embargo, a period when not only did the price of the article rise to a most prohibiting height, but when, from the complete scarcity, there was the prospect of a cessation of the spinning almost entirely. At that time a very particular acquaintance of his, and a gentleman completely conversant with the various qualities of cotton, was requested by the Directors of the East India Company to call at the India House and inspect some boxes of cotton samples, which had long remained unheeded in that mansion. He accordingly went, and was occupied for two days in the examination, and amongst these samples he discovered every kind of the raw material that was requisite for the multifarious process of spinning, from the worst he had ever seen, to some equal if not superior to the best Sea Island. He wrote his sentiments on the subject, and left them with the Company. One would have thought, that from this incipient effort on the part of the Company, some resuscitation was to be looked for; but it was not so;—soon after the embargo was removed, the prices of the raw material declined, and the apocryphic indifference of the Directors of the East India Company re-

turned, and continues to the present time. He, however, hoped that the period was now come when matters of this nature, and all the capabilities of the Eastern World, would pass into other hands, and that our Government would see meet to unfold the map of the world to the British merchant, and say, There it is, you may wander over it as free as the wind on your mountains—(*great applause*)—unrestrained by any despotic power, and released from the shackles of this favoured monopoly. The active and successful operations of the Americans, and other nations, called for this—the distresses of our merchants and manufacturers called for this—the unheard of privations of our artisans called loudly for this—the just rights of every British subject called for this; and he hoped all their calls would not be in vain.

Mr. J. A. ANDERSON, in proposing the adoption of the next resolution, said it would require no laboured proof to show that the predictions, in 1812, by the Company, of ruin to the country if the trade were opened, and that a few pounds' worth of knives and scissors would be the extent of our exports, were fallacious. The speaker then proceeded to read extracts from a letter, in 1812, from the Chairman of the East India Company to the Earl of Buckingham, stating that the slightest opening of the trade would be detrimental to the revenue, and injurious to the whole kingdom. The Deputy Chairman talked of their exertions as air-blown bubbles that would soon die away. In their resolutions against the opening up of the trade, they stated that the ships of Liverpool and Bristol, though adapted to carry sugar, were unable to bring home silks or indigo, or double the Cape of Good Hope. So much for the predictions of the Company and their servants. Gentlemen did not come here to have it proved that our ships have doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and brought home indigo and silks; and that other articles than knives and scissors have been exported. There have been exportations of iron, lead, copper, zinc, cordage, and hardware; and, above all, our cotton manufactures have found a new and most important market from the Indians condescending to wear our cottons. He then went on to show that private vessels made shorter voyages, with fewer hands, and sustained fewer shipwrecks, than those of the East India Company. In 1813, the exports of the Company amounted to between two and three millions, and they employed 20,000 tons of shipping to India, and 20,000 to China; while, in the third year after the trade had been partially opened up, 101,000 tons of shipping were employed by private traders. The exports, at that time, were 5,000,000*l.*, and were now increased to 7,000,000*l.* The freight charged by the Company during the war was 50*l.* a ton. This was at the peace reduced to 25*l.*, and is now 16*l.*, while the freight by private vessels was only one half that sum. The principal trade to the East was in cotton goods; although the Company held out that it was hopeless to contend with the Indian

weaver, who placed his loom under a tree, and, after digging a hole for his feet, wrought with so much assiduity, that he despised any thing in the way of our fly-shuttles or other mechanical inventions. The Company also talked of the Indian's food, which was daily a pound of rice, and a drink of water from the Ganges; and triumphantly asked if British manufactures could compete in that market? Some of the friends of free trade even began to doubt if a profitable trade could be carried on. They allowed calicoes were made very cheap in India; but thought harness, lappets, gauze, or any new fabric, might succeed. Now, what was the fact? In 1817, 34,000,000 yards of plain and printed cottons were exported to India; and in 1828 the port of Calcutta alone had received 750,000*l.* sterling of cotton goods. In 1816 a vessel arrived in the Clyde, bringing the first cargo of cotton twist from India; while, in 1828, 300,000*l.* worth of cotton twist were exported to Calcutta. He knew this was a small proportion to the quantity of twist made in this quarter; but though small, if it had been added to the stock of last year, it would have had a severe effect on the market. He hoped Government would listen to the voice of the country, and remove now and for ever all restrictions on the trade.

Mr. ALEXANDER GRAHAM seconded the motion. The fact announced in the resolution of the triplication of the trade with India since its partial opening, was a most triumphant result of that experiment, the future promises of which also were of the most cheering description; and, however far the success of the past had exceeded our expectation, he felt assured, that, if the trade were fully emancipated, the experience of the future would exceed that of the past almost beyond definite limits. The first circumstance to which he would refer, as affording the trade a guarantee of still higher increase, was the general capacities of Great Britain and the East to exchange and consume each other's productions. Great Britain, from the luxurious habits of her population, and the unceasing demand for raw material of all kinds for her manufactures, presented to the eye a vast abyss into which the surplus productions of the whole world were constantly poured by a thousand currents. Among these productions, those of the East were not the least prominent, while, on the other hand, the capacities of the East to consume our manufactures in return, had been proved to be of the most extensive character. Hitherto the import of these manufactures had been principally confined to the coasts of Hindoostan; but if the interior of that great peninsula, with its ninety millions of inhabitants, clothed from the earliest ages in cotton fabrics, were opened to the enterprise of the free trader, there could be little doubt that he would introduce these as well as other British manufactures, into the inmost recesses of the interior. It were, however, a limited view of the channels of this trade, to confine ourselves to Hindoostan. Taking our stand upon that peninsula, we have on the

West the shores of Africa, Arabia, and Persia; and on the East, those of Malacca, Birmah, Siam, Cambodia, Cochin-China, and China, with the islands of the Archipelago, lined from time immemorial with a succession of ports and harbours, each receiving the manufactures of Hindoostan; and when we observe that of all these imports, by far the most prominent is cotton piece goods, it is not too much to infer, that, as British cottons are superseding all others in India itself, they must likewise flow into the ancient channels of the Native manufactures throughout all the regions of the East. Another ground on which we may look for a still more extensive increase of this trade, is the political ascendancy of British power in the East, which, under the proper direction of our present wise and liberal Government, will no doubt open the way for individual enterprise by commercial treaties with the Native Governments. Under a happy application of this influence, such treaties have been lately made with the Burmese and Siamese Governments; and a mission still more recently has been sent to Cochin-China, for a similar arrangement with that kingdom: and thus those barriers of jealousy which have shut out many countries of the East from European intercourse, promise to be gradually broken down. The last fact to which he should refer as affording the most cheering hope, was that the vast countries to the west of the Straits of Malacca, have hardly yet been touched at by the free trader, while the extensive trade carried on by the United States to those still sealed regions, sufficiently proves what British enterprise may still do in that quarter. It is well known that by far the most wealthy class of the American-Chinese merchants are those who have confined themselves to the export of British manufactures to China, and that while those engaged in other branches of the trade have had their periods of loss and bankruptcy, the one referred to has been marked by a steady career of almost uninterrupted prosperity. This branch of trade is now prosecuting with more vigour than ever, and it is only very recently that a large American ship sailed from the Thames for China, with a cargo of seventy thousand pounds' worth of British manufactures. In looking to the ancient and modern history of Oriental commerce, there is one fact with which we cannot fail to be struck. It is, that, when Tyre, and Alexandria, and Venice, and Genoa, and Lisbon, which in succession enjoyed the Indian trade, did each, under a free system, rise to a most elevated height of wealth and magnificence, and reached a point of political importance in the scale of nations far beyond that to which their internal resources would otherwise have raised them, England and Holland have, under the monopoly system, at a subsequent period, had the whole trade to themselves in still more favourable circumstances, yet without deriving from it any advantage compared to what might have been expected.

Mr. FINLAY here explained the allusion made by Mr. Dalglish to

the conduct of the Glasgow manufacturers, in 1793, in opposing the East India Company's monopoly, which seemed to insinuate that they sought something like monopoly to themselves; but he (Mr. Finlay) was present at that meeting, and he could assure the present assembly that the object was not so much to exclude goods, as to put an end to a monopoly insidious in itself to the manufacturers of this country. The Company took the benefit of their revenue from India to import goods, and bring them to market, and dispose of them without reference to cost or profit, which completely destroyed the private manufacturer.

Captain SPRING, of Culcreuch, in proposing the fourth resolution, remarked that his observations would be principally confined to the second part of the question, the trade to China. He said there was a material difference between the trade carried on with a country where a Company are sovereigns, and assumed territorial and regal sway, and a country that was totally independent of them. In 1813, the East India Company said, if they were deprived of the China trade, they would not be able to keep up the expensive establishment of Hindoostan. They held up the strange and extraordinary spectacle of carrying on a lucrative trade in one part of the world, in order to uphold a system of useless and extravagant government in another part. It was said that quarrels might ensue between the Chinese and the private traders; but the complaint of quarrels was not supported against private traders. There had been only one case of quarrel with the Americans, and the only quarrels known were with the East India Company's supercargoes and sailors of men of war. The merchant sailors were under better discipline. The Company, in 1813, said this was a profitable trade; but now their export trade has decreased 30 per cent., and this during a period in which has arisen a gigantic trade, to many parts of Asia. The monopoly neutralises the skill, intelligence, and capital of the British merchants, and throws the benefits of an increasing trade into the hands of our rivals. He would not say that none of our merchants found their way to that country; but it was by a circuitous and expensive route. It was not prudent at any time, but more especially now, when it was hurting the parent country, to throw the carrying trade into the hands of the Americans. He hoped they would unite in applying to Parliament to relieve the China seas from monopoly: they asked no favour, but only a fair field for their exertions: let Government be told that this is all that is wanted. While it would increase private wealth, it would increase the country's resources, and give employment to thousands and thousands of artisans, who were at present suffering from want of profitable channels for their country's produce. He doubted not that, with free trade, the Great Wall, which at present surrounded the frontier of China, would prove no barrier to the talents, enterprise, and ingenuity of British merchants. (*Applause.*) The next point to which he would allude, (he did not

know but it would be better to leave it to a committee of old ladies ; indeed, the Company was generally known in India by the name of an old lady, though he hoped she was now about to receive her death-blow,) (*a laugh,*) was the tea trade. The Company were in the habit of levying several millions a year on tea-drinkers, (and we are all that,) till, in 1825, it was discovered that the Company had hitherto evaded a clause ordering them to sell tea as cheap as the neighbouring countries in Europe. He sat down with reading the resolution.

Mr. CRAIG seconded the resolution. He began by stating, that from the stupendous display of skill, capital, and enterprise of Europe, our Government was most interested in taking away impediments to trade. No other country is so much mercantile and manufacturing ; and, therefore, no other country can be so much injured by any false or illiberal system of commercial policy ; and whether we regard this monopoly as it affects England, or as it regards India, it is alike unworthy of the Government, as it is injurious to the interests and prosperity of the people. The British merchant, finding his capital unemployed, his ordinary market overstocked and profitless, casts the glancing of his inquisitive eye to the immense and splendid markets of China, and the interior of India ; but to him they are markets as much sealed as if Buonaparte were there with his decrees of Berlin and Milan. (*Laughter.*) The case of the British shipowner is still more galling, as he has the mortification to see his rivals, the Americans, enter his own ports with their ships, load them with the manufactures of his own country, and career away, on the bouncing billows, to most lucrative markets, from which he is excluded because he is a British shipowner. Upon every interest in the country, then, is cast the same withering and injurious effect ; but the most terrible effects of all fall upon the artisans of the manufacturing districts. He did not need to dwell upon this most painful subject before the Chairman, who, in virtue of his official situation, was in every-day contact with the sufferings of large masses of the people, both from want of employment and from inadequate wages. The difficulty may be got over for the present, with a great deal of suffering on the part of the workmen ; but it is for the Government to look to the final issue of the matter. With an increasing manufacturing population, and improvements in machinery as rapid as they are astonishing, and which are every day lessening the demand for the labour of the hand-loom weaver, if they (the Government) shall renew the India monopoly, and thus deny to our merchants and manufacturers the splendid markets of China and Hindoostan, he thought it would be out of the power of the local Magistrates, in some future season of distress, to answer for the peace and good order of the manufacturing districts. (*Hear.*) What may be the benefits of a free trade to India, it would be impossible to calculate. He would give an in-

stance or two of the good that had resulted from the partial opening of the trade in 1818. The trade to India before that period was little more than the trade to Guernsey and the Isle of Man; and they had heard it stated to be now more than five millions sterling. In the three years, ending in 1815, the price of mace was 14s. 4d. per lb.; and its price during the three years ending in 1823 was 5s. 11d. Nutmegs, during the three years ending 1815, were 11s. 3d. per lb., and their price for the three years ending in 1823 was 2s. 11d. This affords some idea of the price we have to pay for articles coming through the medium of Leadenhall-street: and such has been the waste and extravagance of the Company's management, that, even with a gross profit of 100 per cent., both their import and export trade, with the exception of that of China, has been a losing one. Still, however, such has been the tenacity of the Company, that they would not permit the other merchants of the United Kingdom to intermeddle with it. In this respect the gentlemen of Leadenhall-street were just like the gentlemen Pharisees of old, who would neither enter into the kingdom of heaven themselves, nor suffer those to enter in that would. Mr. Dalglish had urged them to exertions in this cause, and he would remind them that our enemies were in possession of the field; they have well manned the garrison, and are preparing for a vigorous defence. But if we are firm, and united, and persevering, the Company will have the wisdom to capitulate. Should they not, if the merchants of the United Kingdom are true to themselves, and carry on the contest with their ordinary intrepid bearing, he trusted they would be able to carry the garrison by assault. He concluded by seconding the resolution.

Mr. R. FINLAY proposed the fifth resolution. He alluded to the great improvements that would take place in the interior of India by free intercourse. Commerce was always the harbinger of improvement. Few Britons would think of keeping a hundred millions of human beings in subjection by ignorance—the tenure was weak, and a wise policy was necessary to maintain a permanent ascendancy in the country; for the British sway, as at present exercised, contained within itself the seeds of ultimate dissolution. He had Sir John Malcolm's authority for saying, that by treating the Natives kindly, and appointing them to situations in the local magistracy, they considered themselves as identified with the British Government, and the best results were produced. The thirst for knowledge among the Natives was abroad—schools were established, and the bigotry of caste was diminishing; and if this wise system of policy, commenced by Sir John Malcolm, were followed up by Great Britain, it would soon remove the ignorance which has prevailed for thousands of years; and life, liberty, and property, would be secured to British merchants trading to that quarter. Britain is in India at present on the top of a volcano—on the eve

of an explosion; and, however the Natives might be at present kept down by coercion, like pent-up waters, their restrained feelings would burst out. The speaker then went into a detail of the peculiar policy of the Company in licensing persons going to India, and in restricting intercourse with the interior, by which, although there was the strongest desire for British goods, every preventive was thrown in the way of the British merchant procuring customers in the interior. He then alluded to the absurdity of preventing Britons from becoming landholders in the country. In the Bengal district, half-castes were allowed to settle; and the intercourse with the British had much improved the national character. They cultivated indigo with so much success, that 2,000,000 tons were raised annually, which supplied not only Britain, but nearly all the world. If the British were allowed to become landholders, the same success would attend the cultivation of cotton, cotton-wool, silk, and sugar; and we should no longer continue in dangerous reliance on America, whose supply might be withheld in case of rupture. After a few similar remarks, he concluded by moving the adoption of the resolution.

Mr. JOHN FLEMING, in a short speech, seconded the resolution. He showed the great importance of the cultivation of cotton in India. In 1827, the gross import of cotton in this country was 899,000 bales, of which 644,000 bales were imported from the United States. This showed how much we depended on America for our supply, who, so far from being friendly to us, was doing every thing to exclude our manufactures from the country. Our foreign dependencies were admirably calculated for the cultivation of cotton; and there was no soil or climate so well suited as India for this purpose. If the cotton which had hitherto come home had been of an inferior quality, it was owing to the want of skill on the part of the Native cultivators; for if it were better cleaned, it would be as good as any cotton produced in any part of the world. If the British merchant were allowed to come in contact with the Native cultivator, we should not long be told that the cotton of Surat was inferior to that of Georgia, or that our resources were dependent on a foreign power.

Baillie GRAHAM, in proposing the sixth resolution, said, after the able and interesting statements they had heard, and the lateness of the hour, he would trouble them with few observations. He would confidently hope that Parliament would adopt such measures respecting the trade to the east of the Cape as would benefit all Britain. They did not now rest their claims on theory or political speculation, but on facts deduced from experience, and which exceeded the most sanguine expectations of the friends of the cause. The prosperity of the country, the revival of the drooping spirits of our manufacturers and artisans, depended on the wisdom and patriotism of Parliament in opening up this trade. He trusted

much on the justice and intelligence of the enlightened Government of our immortal Wellington, who, he hoped, would add new laurels to his already imperishable fame, by rendering the finest colonies ever a country possessed no longer profitless. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. TENNANT seconded the resolution.

Mr. JOHN MAY proposed the last resolution. He remarked that every thing had been well discussed, and he was satisfied of the justice of the resolutions. He trusted to the justice of Government in doing something to open up the trade of these wide regions.

Mr. JAMES OSWALD, in seconding it, observed, that this and other public bodies ought to recollect that the parliamentary influence of the Company was great; and, as we cannot assure ourselves that our present liberal and excellent Ministers may continue in office until the question shall come finally before the Legislature, he thought that every person possessed of electioneering influence, ought to make it a *sine qua non* with candidates for vacant seats, to give their strenuous support to the question when its discussion shall arrive. This proposition called forth much applause.

The resolution was then put and agreed to.

Mr. KIRKMAN FINLAY next rose, and proposed the thanks of the meeting to the Lord Provost, for the great readiness shown by his Lordship in accepting of the office of Delegate from the East India Association of this city, and returning again to London in that capacity so soon as the intimation reached him at Leamington, whither he had gone after having concluded the business which originally called him to the metropolis. This motion was at once carried by acclamation.

Mr. GRAHAM then proposed thanks to Baillie Gray for his conduct in the chair, which having been cordially agreed to, the meeting separated at half-past four o'clock.

We have seldom attended a meeting which afforded us more gratification, whether we regard the intelligence, liberality, or eloquence displayed on the occasion. The speaking, in every instance, was manly, straightforward, and excellent; and we only regret that our very limited time and space have prevented us from doing it such justice as we could earnestly have wished. Circumstances, however, we doubt not, will indulgently be permitted to form our excuse both for this and for any slight inaccuracies that may have inadvertently escaped us.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE MEETING.

At a Public Meeting of the Merchants, Manufacturers, Bankers, and others inhabitants of the City of Glasgow, held in the Town Hall, on Tuesday the 5th of May, 1829, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of Petitioning Parliament against any Renewal of the East India Company's Commercial Monopoly of the Trade to India and China.

WILLIAM GRAY, Esq., Acting Chief Magistrate, in the Chair;
Oriental Herald, Vol. 21.

On the motion of K. Finlay, Esq., seconded by W. P. Paton, Esq., resolved unanimously,—

‘1.—That this meeting, being deeply and immediately interested in the commerce, navigation, and manufactures of the United Kingdom, cannot but feel most anxious that the Legislature should see fit, on the expiration of the charter granted to the honourable the merchants of England, trading to the East Indies, to remove all the disabilities to free commercial intercourse with the countries to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, and thus to open up a wide field to the mercantile enterprise of this country, at present languishing for want of profitable employment.’

On the motion of R. Dalglish, Esq., seconded by John Wright, Junr., Esq., resolved unanimously,—

‘2.—That on the renewal of the charter to the Company, in 1793, and more especially on the passing of the Act of 1813, the mercantile bodies, and many of the merchants and manufacturers of this city, in common with those of the other parts of the kingdom, petitioned both Houses of Parliament against granting to the East India Company the extensive and exclusive rights and privileges with which they had till then been invested, and that on both these occasions the Legislature limited and restrained the rights and monopoly of the Company, in many important particulars.’

On the motion of James A. Anderson, Esq., seconded by Alexander Graham, Esq., resolved unanimously,—

‘3.—That these most wise and beneficial limitations of the commercial monopoly of the Company were made not only in direct opposition to the earnest entreaty of the Company, but in the face of the repeated and positive testimony of some of their most distinguished officers and civil servants, “that the trade and commerce of India with Great Britain and Ireland could not be augmented,” and especially “that the consumption and use of British produce and manufactures could not by any possibility be increased in India.” That to the utter overthrow of such theoretical views,—the offspring of early prejudices,—the amount of Exports to India and Imports from thence has gradually increased since the partial removal of restrictions by the Act of 1813, and is now nearly in the proportion of *three to one*; and that the benefit thus derived from the greater freedom given to individual enterprise and exertion, emboldens this meeting to trust, that the Legislature will take the earliest opportunity of removing entirely and forever, all restrictions from the commerce of the United Kingdom with India.’

On the motion of A. G. Spiers, Esq., seconded by William Craig, Esq., resolved unanimously,—

‘4.—That this meeting are fully persuaded, that Parliament will, at the same time, remove that great, and, under present circumstances, most injurious and mischievous grievance to the commercial industry of the country, created by the periodical grant to the East India Company of the exclusive right of trading to China and the entire monopoly of the trade in tea;—that the consequence of these exclusive privileges has been, to enable the East India Company, for many years, to dispose of tea at double the price at which a similar quality can be had at any of the continental ports of Europe or the United States of America, whose subjects enjoy free intercourse with China, independently altogether of the duties paid to Government; and from the universal use of this luxury, a heavy tax is thus paid by every individual in the United Kingdom, in support of a monopoly which cramps the national industry by the extensive injury it inflicts on the commercial operations of individual merchants and private companies engaged in eastern trade, and which, in its principle, is inconsistent with the natural right of British subjects, of trading with countries in amity with their own.’

On the motion of Robert Finlay, Esq., seconded by John Fleming, Esq., resolved unanimously,—

‘5.—That the arbitrary power vested in the East India Company, by their Charter, of opposing the settlement in India of free-born subjects of Britain, is equally derogatory to their natural rights, and adverse to the improvement of our eastern empire; that by the direction of British skill, industry, and capital, to arts and agriculture, the utmost benefits may be derived from the inexhaustible

capabilities of the soil; the culture of eastern produce necessary to our home manufactures may be improved and extended; the character of the Native population may be elevated, and their comforts and happiness promoted; and while thus raised in the scale of moral and responsible agents by the force of British energy and example, they will gradually throw off the trammels of caste by which they are enslaved, will become more orderly and useful subjects, and more and more important in a commercial point of view to the country.'

On the motion of W. Graham, junr., Esq., seconded by A. Tennant, Esq., resolved unanimously,—

'6.—That this meeting therefore resolve to appeal to the Legislature, in the fullest confidence in its wisdom and patriotism, to institute due inquiry into this most important subject, without delay; entertaining the firmest persuasion that such measures will be the result of their deliberations, as shall, at the period now fixed by law, establish the intercourse of this United Kingdom with the countries to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, on such a footing of entire freedom and security, as will effectually and greatly extend the wealth, and add to the prosperity and happiness, of British subjects abroad and at home.'

On the motion of J. May, Esq., seconded by James Oswald, Esq., resolved unanimously,—

'7.—That petitions to the two Houses of Parliament be forthwith prepared, agreeable to these resolutions, and transmitted for presentation; and that the movers and seconders of these resolutions be appointed a Committee to prepare said petitions.

'That the Chairman be requested to transmit the petition to the Right Honourable the House of Lords, to his Grace the Duke of Hamilton and Brandon, Lord Lieutenant of this county; and that to the House of Commons, to Archibald Campbell, Esq., M.P. for this city; entreating that his Grace and Mr. Campbell will do the petitioners the honour to present and support their petitions.'

WILLIAM GRAY, Chairman.

MEETING AT WOLVERHAMPTON, ON THE TRADE TO INDIA AND CHINA.

A MEETING of the inhabitants of Wolverhampton, convened by the Constables, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of petitioning Parliament against the renewal of the East India Company's monopoly, was held at the Public Office on Monday the 18th of May.

J. PEARSON, Esq., having been voted to the Chair, commenced his observations by apologising, that owing to the ill state of his health, he was not able to do that justice to the office which he was desirous of, and requested permission that he might sit down while he was endeavouring to execute its duties. He said the question, both commercial and political, was one of the most important that ever came to be considered; he would very willingly enter into it at large, but he presumed most of the gentlemen present were well informed on the subject, as meetings had been held at Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Bristol; Birmingham, and other places, the details of which had appeared in the public papers, and no doubt they had made themselves acquainted with them; he could add nothing new to them. He had certain parliamentary and official returns which threw a great light on the subject, and were calculated to show the importance and necessity of removing all restrictions from the Indian trade, and of laying open that to China. Owing to several of the States of Europe and the United States of America laying on excessive duties, and throwing obstacles in our way, our exports to those countries were considerably reduced, the trade in every branch

of manufacture had considerably fallen off, and great distress had been the consequence, so that we were compelled by necessity to seek those channels for a supply which were in our own possession. He then went into the monopoly of the East India Company, and showed that, as traders, they themselves confessed they were losers by it. What profit they formerly derived from it was from their trade to China, and even this they were now losers by; therefore their entire income and profit were derived from the territorial possession of India. What this meeting wanted, and what was generally wanted by the whole manufacturing and mercantile interest, was a free unrestricted trade to India, as well as the right of any person going out from this country to an unmolested settlement; for under the present system and monopoly no settler was allowed to go more than ten miles from the town in which he resided without special licence, and this was obtained with great difficulty; and if violated, the person was subject to banishment at an hour's notice. When it was considered that every class of the community was identified with each other in one common interest, and that trade could not flourish without the farmer, ship-owner, wool-grower, and every other description benefiting by it—they were equally called upon with ourselves to unite in obtaining redress. It would be taking up too much of their time to go into further particulars: he would proceed, therefore, to read some official documents which would convince them, notwithstanding the predictions of the East India Directors in 1821 that no possible augmentation could be made either to the exports to, or imports from, India, that the trade with that country had increased since the partial opening was made; and they would be able to judge who were correct, the Directors, or the merchants, who at that time said a considerable increase in the trade would inevitably ensue.* In support of the advantages of an opening to China, the Chairman entered into statements to show that the Americans (who, it was known, entertained unfavourable dispositions towards us, for they had, by a recent tariff, imposed such heavy duties on most of the articles we exported, as amounted nearly to an absolute prohibition) had greatly increased their trade with that vast Empire within these few years, and could procure tea and sell it in Europe for half the sum at which we could purchase it from the East India Company. The import of tea, an article which was now become almost a necessary of life, (the annual consumption of it in this country appeared to be in the proportion of from 4 lbs. to 5 lbs. for each individual), was thirty millions of pounds a year. The India Company had the exclusive right of selling it to the British public at nearly their own price, and we were paying more than double what it could be purchased for at Hamburgh, where the same quality might be bought at 1s. 3^d. per lb. that the India Company charged 3s. for. But tea was not the only thing we should have cheaper, if this monopoly were abolished: the price of sugar and various articles would be lowered, and the public at large benefit thereby, as well as by the advantages which would be afforded to trade by an opening to the two great markets, India and China, which would, in a few years, probably take more goods than the whole of Europe. It was not, however, to be expected that by a removal of the restrictions on commercial intercourse with India and an opening to China, all these benefits would be experienced at once; but there was every reason to believe that progressive improvements in trade would be the happy result. He did not know that he need occupy the attention of the meeting by entering into many more details. The East India Charter had still four

* The documents referred to, want of room obliges us to omit.

years of its term to run; but it was necessary for Parliament to give three years' notice, if it were intended to renew or annul it. After advert^{ing} to the various commodities for which there would be a market by an opening to China, and by a free intercourse with the vast territories of India, with which, at present, the East India Company had the almost exclusive privilege of trading, he observed, that it was not our interest only, but our bounden duty, as inhabitants of this great manufacturing town, to come forward and petition Parliament against a continuance of the monopoly, and thus to obtain a participation in those rights and privileges which had been purchased by English money and by English blood, particularly at such a period as this, when every department of trade was labouring under a great depression, and the country was in consequent distress. The Chairman then said he ought to mention, that the two Members for the County were both active in promoting the object for which the present meeting was held. He then read the following extract from a letter he had received from Mr. Littleton: 'It will be in the next Session that the great effort must be made to procure a full investigation of the great subject of free access to India and China, and of the right of free settlement in the former country. I am firmly persuaded, that the shipping and commercial interests of this country never had to deal with a question of greater importance to them. Every prediction of the Company has been falsified, and every prediction of our merchants has been verified, in the most signal manner, by the result of the present partial opening of the trade. I trust that next year every parish in England will be made to understand its interest in this question, and to speak its opinion to its Members and the Legislature. On the question, which is a very simple one, although it will be called a complicated one by interested parties, Parliament will echo the sentiments of its constituents, if they are expressed, and they should be expressed in the large towns of agricultural districts, as well as in manufacturing ones; for the farmers have learned how much their own prices are affected by a steady trade in the manufacturing counties. If our merchants and manufacturers consent again to an arrangement, under which the former are prohibited from a trade with China, while Americans resort to our shores to carry out British, perhaps foreign produce, in order to bring back teas to sell to our nearest neighbours, the fault will be entirely their own.' On the subject of petitioning Parliament, Sir John Wrottesley, in a letter, thus remarked: 'I have no doubt that this course will be adopted in all the manufacturing districts. The present state of the question appears to be, that the extension of our exports to India is only limited by our imports, and these may be most beneficially increased, by applying British capital and skill to the production and preparation of the growth of that climate.' The Chairman concluded his address, which frequently elicited the applause of those assembled, by some emphatic observations on the necessity of urging Parliament, by petitions, to refuse a renewal of the East India Company's monopoly, and of keeping the subject alive, and renewing their applications, in the next Session—for it was a question of the highest magnitude to all classes of the community.

Mr. B. H. COLEMAN, having made a voyage to India, rose to speak of the advantages which he knew would accrue by a market for British manufactures being opened in that country: and he alluded particularly to the Malaya Islands and Sumatra, where he had had opportunities of observing the wants of the Natives, and the avidity with which they

purchased the most trifling cargoes of hardware, earthenware, cotton goods, &c.

The Resolutions were then produced by the Chairman, by whom they had been prepared, and, having been read, were unanimously adopted, and a Committee was appointed for the purpose of embodying them in petitions to the Legislature.

The other gentlemen who took part in the proceedings were, Mr. R. Jones, Mr. T. H. Ward, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Weaver, Mr. W. Walker, Mr. Lewis, Mr. Dixon, Mr. Shaw, and Mr. Wynn.

An announcement, by the Rev. Hugh Hutton, that Mr. Buckingham shortly intended visiting this town for the purpose of delivering his very interesting course of lectures on the Eastern World, was received with great applause.

A vote of thanks having been passed to the Chairman, the meeting separated.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE MEETING.

Wolverhampton, 18th May, 1829.

At a numerous and respectable Meeting of Merchants, Manufacturers, and other Inhabitants of this Town, called by the Constables in consequence of a Requisition in 'The Wolverhampton Chronicle' of the 13th inst., for the Purpose of considering the propriety of petitioning Parliament against the Renewal of the East India Company's Monopoly:

JOSEPH PEARSON, Esq., in the Chair;

The following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

'1.—That every monopoly in trade is highly impolitic, injurious, and contrary to the proper object of all law—the public good.

'2.—That the privilege of free intercourse with those countries which form an integral part of the Empire is the inherent right of British subjects.

'3.—That the system of despotic government and commercial monopoly maintained by the East India Company is pregnant with the most serious and extensive evils: while it operates as a positive loss to the revenue; tends to perpetuate the mental debasement of the Natives of India; paralyses, in a great degree, the manufacturing and mercantile interests of these Kingdoms, by shutting out their merchants and capital from its whole territory (with the exception of a few towns on the coast); at the same time, it prohibits all access to the immense and independent empire of China (a population together amounting to a full third of the human race), while foreigners are reaping enormous profits by their commerce with that country.

'4.—That the experiment of a partial opening of the trade in 1814, although clogged with multifarious obstacles, has succeeded beyond the most sanguine expectations; and, were the existing restrictions abolished, the fertile soil of India, yielding all the productions of the tropics in endless profusion, would gladly be exchanged by its inhabitants, to a boundless extent, for our manufactures; whereby employment would be given to our unemployed mechanics, agriculture would flourish, and a vast increase be made to the revenue of the Kingdom.

'5.—That by engrossing the whole of the trade to China, (by which our merchants are shut out of the most extensive market in the world,) the British public are compelled to pay 100 per cent. for their tea (an article become so essentially necessary for the use of the labouring classes), above the prices at which it can be bought in some of the ports of Europe.

' 6.—That in order to carry into effect the numerous advantages which would arise from the repeal of these restrictions, (independently of commercial considerations,) the right of free settlement should be secured to Englishmen, and the country opened to their energies and examples, it being evident that an enlarged intercourse would powerfully conduce to the improvement of the Natives, (now enervated by idleness and debased by superstition,) in extending the benefits of civilisation, promoting industry, and conferring intelligence and happiness on millions of our fellow-creatures.

' 7.—That considering the long continued agonising distress of our manufacturers and artisans (owing to the stagnation of trade), we are not only justified, but imperiously called upon, to solicit Parliament to adopt the most effective measures for our present relief and future welfare.

' 8.—That it is the opinion of this meeting, that it is not the manufacturing and commercial interests alone, which are aggrieved by the odious monopoly of the East India Company, but the landed proprietor, ship-owner, wool-grower, and every tax-payer in the Kingdom; and that all will be essentially benefited by the attainment of its abolition.

' 9.—That for these reasons, petitions to both Houses of Parliament be presented, praying that at the earliest practicable period they will direct their attention to these great and serious evils, by effectually removing all restrictions and restoring the public to their legitimate rights, under such regulations as will best accord with the safety and permanence of the empire at large.

' 10.—That a Committee be appointed to carry these Resolutions into effect. To consist of

The Chairman,		
Messrs. Briscoe	Messrs. Weaver	Messrs. R. Jones
W. Tarrant	Rogers	Dixon
Coleman	Shaw	Wynn
Lewis	W. Walker	Jos. Walker,

Four of whom shall have power to act, with the privilege of adding to their number; and that Mr. Hallen be appointed Treasurer and Secretary.

' 11.—That a subscription be entered into for the purpose of defraying the necessary expenses.

' 12.—That the petition to the House of Lords be presented by the Marquis of Lansdowne; and that to the House of Commons by the Members for the County.

' 13.—That these Resolutions be advertised in "The Wolverhampton Chronicle," "Aris's Birmingham Gazette," "The Staffordshire Advertiser," and "The Globe," and likewise in "The Oriental Herald;" and that a thousand copies be printed and circulated.'

JOS. PEARSON, Chairman.

The Chairman having left the chair, Mr. R. Jones was called thereto; and on the Motion of Mr. Ward, seconded by Mr. Wynn, a vote of thanks to Mr. Pearson, for his able conduct, was unanimously agreed to.

EAST INDIA TRADE.

At a numerous and respectable Meeting of the Inhabitants of Bilston, held at the School House, on Friday the 15th of May, in pursuance of a requisition addressed to the Constable for that purpose;

The Rev. W. LEIGH, in the Chair;

The Requisition having been read, the following Resolutions were passed unanimously:

' 1.—That commerce is one principal source to the British empire of wealth, power, and happiness; and that all restrictions upon it, not justified by special necessity, are vexatious impediments to national prosperity, and ought to be removed.

' 2.—That at this time more especially, when the British manufacturer is unable

to find a market for the produce of his skill and industry, and when British artisans, in almost every branch of trade, are suffering the severest privations from want of employment, or from not receiving a fair value for their labour, it becomes the duty of all men who have the welfare of their country at heart, respectfully, but earnestly, to call the attention of Parliament to this important subject.

3.—That the Eastern World affords a field for the consumption of British products and British manufactures to which there are no assignable limits, provided the disabilities under which what is called—or rather mis-called—the free trader now labours, were removed.

4.—That as regards British India, it is some consolation that the Charter granted to the East India Company will expire in the year 1834, when it is fervently hoped the renewal of a monopoly so partial and oppressive will be resisted by the Parliament of the United Kingdom, so far at least as British commerce is concerned.

5.—That this may be effected, and would produce the most important benefits to the British nation, without any injury to the Company itself, as it is allowed that the Company is a loser by its trade, that its debts have been progressively increasing year after year, even before the renewal of the Charter in 1813, and from that period to the present.

6.—That China presents to the British merchant a market of still greater importance than British India, from its superior industry, wealth, and population, and that it appears most unaccountable that a trade with that country should be carried on in foreign ships while it is refused to British, a sufferance not only in opposition to the best interests, but in violation of the just rights, of British subjects, and most galling to the feelings of a British merchant.

7.—That a free trade with China, notwithstanding the difficulties to be encountered in an intercourse with that people, would be highly beneficial to British commerce in general, and in an eminent degree to that branch of it, the iron trade, which is carried on so extensively in this town and neighbourhood; that this is manifest from the fact of British iron being now in fair demand, and at a fair price, in the small but rising settlement of Singapore, whilst at Calcutta the market is over-stocked. That in the year 1827, British India was supplied, and chiefly through the free trade, with no less than 17,127 tons of British iron, while the East India Company supplied China, having twice its population and four times its wealth and industry, with no more than 1,973 tons.

8.—That from a return of the number of ships cleared out from the different ports in the United Kingdom for British India, specifying their tonnage, and distinguishing the ships belonging to, or chartered by, the East India Company from those of private merchants, it appears that since 1813—when a free trade was partially opened—the tonnage has been considerably in favour of the private merchant; from this fact, if a really free trade with India and China united were permitted, the advantages arising to British commerce would be incalculable.

9.—That this Meeting has viewed with unmixed satisfaction the efforts already made, and now making, in the great commercial cities and towns of the Kingdom to procure a free intercourse with the Eastern World, and fervently hopes that their good example will be universally followed, the end being so reasonable and just, and so essentially necessary to the prosperity of the country.

10.—That petitions embodying the foregoing Resolutions be presented to both Houses of Parliament, praying them to remove those obstacles to our intercourse with the Eastern World which now exist, to the serious injury of British commerce and national prosperity.

11.—That these Resolutions be inserted in "Aris's Birmingham Gazette," and "The Wolverhampton Chronicle."

W. LEIGH, Chairman.
Mr. Leigh having left the Chair, it was taken by Mr. Thomas Banks, Chapell-walton, and unanimously resolved—On the Motion of Mr. Thomas Perry, seconded by Mr. W. Dean—that the thanks of the Meeting be given to the Rev. W. Leigh, for his kindness in taking the chair, and for his ability therein.

THOMAS BANKS.

PETITIONS AND DEBATES IN PARLIAMENT ON 'THE TRADE WITH
INDIA AND CHINA.

House of Lords, Tuesday, May 12.

THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE said, that he rose to present to their Lordships a petition from all the commercial and manufacturing interests of the second town in the empire on this important subject. He hoped that he should receive for a few moments the indulgence of their Lordships while he stated the general object of the petition, and while he called their Lordships' attention to that great question of extreme and pressing importance to which the petition referred, and in the decision of which the petitioners, and all the other great manufacturing interests of this country, were so deeply involved, and which, in fact, involved the interests of the whole empire. The petitioners prayed that their Lordships would take into their early consideration the expediency of opening the trade to the East Indies; and that they would also consider at the same time the expediency of imposing such limitations upon the trade as might be consistent with the commercial and manufacturing interests of this country; that they would refuse to renew the present charter of the East India Company when its period for renewal arrived; and more especially that their Lordships would seriously consider whether the public interests of this empire would not be benefited and promoted by removing the limitations which at present restricted the trade between this country, the East Indies, and China. He (the Marquis of Lansdowne) was not about to enter at large into the consideration of this great question at this time. He knew that it was one which must necessarily very soon engage their Lordships' attention. He rose only on this occasion to lay before their Lordships a petition, expressive of the feelings and sentiments of a large portion of the commercial and manufacturing interest of this country—feelings and sentiments which, he might justly say, they only expressed in common with the great majority of the people of this empire. He could not, however, refrain from stating his opinion, that if their Lordships meant to discharge their duty as legislators of this empire, they would at the earliest possible period apply themselves to a preliminary inquiry into the various important considerations which immediately arise out of this matter: that inquiry could not be deferred to a distant period, and the sooner it was commenced the better; for their Lordships must be prepared to pronounce a definite opinion upon this vast and important question in the course of a few years. They would have to decide upon matters connected with the happiness and involving the prosperity of this country, and the principles of the British Constitution. They would have to pronounce a decision upon these and various other matters which were connected with all the principles of government and commerce, and upon questions which essentially involved the happiness and welfare of this empire. It had not often—indeed, he might say that it had never happened before, and it would probably never happen again, that their Lordships would find it necessary, in deciding upon one question, not to determine it alone, but to determine every principle connected with the government and commerce, and essentially involving the security and prosperity, of this empire, and that they should be called upon to do so more especially respecting distant interests and countries, which could not be brought fairly under their consideration

without immense industry on the part of their Lordships in order to enable them to form a fit and proper judgment upon a subject of such great, paramount, and vast importance. It might be seen from what he had said, that he (Lord Lansdowne) was not insensible to the difficulties connected with this question, and he certainly did not mean on this occasion to call upon the noble Duke (Wellington) and noble Lord (Ellenborough) opposite, to declare at present any decided opinion as to the intentions of his Majesty's Ministers regarding the final adjustment of this question. He would not only not call upon them to do so now; but, on the contrary, he would express a hope that they would not state any thing like a rash or hasty opinion on this subject. He should not consider himself justified in calling upon the noble Duke to do so. He would confess, that whatever peculiar bias his (the Marquis of Lansdowne's) mind might have in respect to this question, his own sense of the extreme and immense difficulties connected with it would restrain him from pronouncing any decided opinion upon it, until he had been able to make himself thoroughly acquainted with all its bearings and all its merits, and until, at a later period, he could approach to the consideration of the question in a riper state of mind, which would enable him to arrive at a proper decision upon it. He trusted that their Lordships and his Majesty's Ministers would also devote their minds to a full consideration of this subject, in order to enable them to decide properly respecting a question which involved not alone the prosperity of the commerce and manufactures of England, and which not only immediately involved every principle of our government and constitution at home, but which also involved every consideration of duty and humanity; for they must feel that, in deciding on this question, they would be determining the fate of sixty millions or eighty millions of people, whose interests, by a strange dispensation of Providence, had become inseparably connected with our own, and whose future career in civilisation and prosperity would materially depend upon the wisdom of the decision which their Lordships should then make. Looking, therefore, at the difficulty and vast importance of this question, he should not wish to call for any decided opinion respecting it from the noble Duke and the noble Lord opposite; but he should wish to know from the noble Duke what was the opinion of his Majesty's Government as to the best course of conducting the preliminary inquiry previous to the period when the House would be called upon to decide this question. He was anxious to know in what manner his Majesty's Ministers would propose to conduct that inquiry. He was desirous to know whether or not it was the intention of his Majesty's Government to propose the appointment of a committee of their Lordships to investigate all the matters connected with the question, with a view to obtain for their Lordships such evidence and information as might direct their judgments in pronouncing a final decision upon it. He (the Marquis of Lansdowne) would take that opportunity to state, that whatever might be the course which his Majesty's Government had determined to pursue on this subject, he would not allow this session of Parliament to close without moving for documents and evidence on the subject, as he knew that a great deal of time would necessarily elapse before they could be procured, and as he was sure that their Lordships as well as himself would be anxious to have such documents laid before them by the next session, when this question would necessarily come under their consideration. It was absolutely necessary in a case of such difficulty and importance, that they should endeavour to

obtain all the information which they could possibly procure, and that every document at all connected with it should be produced and placed before them for their guidance and instruction. At present, without offering an opinion of his own upon this subject, which he should postpone till the period arrived when their Lordships should be called upon to pronounce their judgment upon it, he felt it his duty to call their Lordships' attention to this petition, which expressed a most decided opinion as to the impolicy of continuing the existing restrictions upon the trade with India and China. He was sure that the importance of the subject of this petition, and the high station and weight of the petitioners, would recommend their petition to their Lordships' attention. Moreover, when their Lordships recollected that this petition expressed the opinions and feelings of the great commercial and manufacturing community in this country, and that it expressed the feelings of the first and leading town in the British empire, he was sure they would give to it the most serious attention. He was well aware that the most extravagant expectations had been raised in the country. Those expectations had arisen out of the depressed circumstances of the country, which induced persons to look out anxiously for any opening, any new avenue, in which to embark their property and employ their capital. The petitioners stated, that the opening of the trade to India would be calculated more than any thing else to raise the manufactures and trade of this country to that prosperity from which they had fallen; and he was sure that, under such circumstances, the petition would meet with their Lordships' attentive consideration.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH could assure the noble Marquis, that his Majesty's Government felt equally with the noble Marquis the extreme importance of the subject to which he had adverted. He could further assure the noble Marquis, that, from the day on which he (Lord Ellenborough) had been appointed to the office which he at present filled, this question had been the constant object of his thoughts, and that from the very first day he entered upon the discharge of his official duties, he (Lord Ellenborough) had taken measures for the purpose of obtaining the fullest information on the subject, which should be laid before the House at the proper period. He would further assure the noble Marquis, that his Majesty's Government would not form any opinion on this subject without being in possession of the most ample information respecting it, and without giving to the question the most deliberate consideration. It only remained for him to state, in reply to the question of the noble Marquis, that he was not prepared to state on the part of his Majesty's Government the precise course in which the inquiry that may be necessary regarding this question shall be conducted.

The petition was then read at length, and ordered to lie on the table.

Lord CALTHORPE presented a similar petition from the Members of the Chamber of Commerce and Manufactures in the town of Birmingham. The noble Lord expressed his concurrence in the prayer of the petition; but, after what had fallen from his noble Friend, he should not trouble the House with any observations upon the subject, further than to express a hope that his Majesty's Ministers would be alive to the great importance and vast magnitude of this question. He conceived that the opening of the trade to India would be productive of the greatest benefit to the empire at large; and the present restrictions upon that trade were detrimental to the commercial and manufacturing interest of this country, while they were productive of no adequate benefits to the East India Company itself.

The petition was ordered to lie on the table.

House of Commons, Tuesday, May 12.

Mr. W. WHITMORE presented a petition from the merchants, manufacturers, and others; Members of the Chamber of Commerce of Manchester, praying that the trade to India and China may be thrown open.—Laid on the table, and to be printed.

Mr. LITTLETON presented a similar petition from the Chamber of Commerce of the Potteries, in Staffordshire, a district containing 70,000 inhabitants.—Laid on the table, and to be printed.

Mr. H. DAVIS presented a petition to the same effect from the bankers, merchants, and other inhabitants of the city of Bristol and its vicinity.—Laid on the table, and to be printed.

Sir J. GRAHAM presented two petitions of the like nature from the city of Carlisle and the town of Cocker-mouth. The former petitioners also complained of the weight of taxation and the high price of bread.—Laid on the table, and to be printed.

Mr. HUSKISSON said, that although, from a consideration of the paramount importance of the subject to which the petition he was about to present related, and out of courtesy to those honourable Members who were most deeply interested in discussions upon the trade between this country and India, he had thought it his duty to give notice yesterday that he should this day present the petition he held in his hand, yet he had not the least intention of anticipating now the discussion which, pursuant to notice given by his honourable friend the Member for Bridgenorth, would be brought forward on Thursday. At the same time, he felt that he should not be doing justice to his constituents who had put this petition into his hands, if he did not state the grounds on which they approached this House. It would be in the recollection of many honourable Members, that in 1813 the Charter of the East India Company was renewed. On that occasion, a full and extensive inquiry preceded the renewal of the Charter,—an inquiry which was called for by petitions from merchants, from manufacturers, and, indeed, from almost all classes of the community, praying that they might be allowed to participate in the trade with British India, of which trade the East India Company were in the exclusive possession. It was not necessary for him to say much as to the result of that inquiry; and yet he must remind honourable Members, that on that occasion those who had spent the greater part of their lives in India—men of the greatest intelligence and discernment—were called upon to give evidence upon the subject. And when he spoke of those who had spent their lives in the service of the East India Company, let him be allowed to observe, that no service had been more fertile in men of talent than this service had been. It might be necessary to mention, that in that inquiry the late Mr. Charles Grant and Sir Thomas Monro—gentlemen whose opinions were entitled to the greatest respect—gave evidence which went to this point,—namely, that it would be impossible, whatever freedom of trade might be permitted between this country and India, to produce any extension of trade. These gentlemen stated, that the wants of the people of India were so few and so simple, that their habits had been so long formed, and that the whole of their private, as well as their social existence, was so completely controlled by their religious feelings,—that, for these reasons, any attempt to introduce among them those comforts and conveniences which British commerce might afford, would be totally unavailing, and that loss and disappointment must be the inevitable result to those who

should make the attempt. He did not mean to state their precise words; but he thought honourable Members would agree that this was a fair representation of the opinions expressed by Mr. Charles Grant and Sir Thomas Mordaunt. It was stated, that the whole history of India confirmed this view of the subject. Those opinions, then, must have had great weight with the Parliament, coming as they did from the highest living authorities, and seeming, also, to be supported by the history of past times; but the answer of the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain to these opinions was—'Let us make the experiment at our own cost and at our own risk; let us try what may be done by a class of the most ingenious, the most industrious, and the most enterprising men, in attempting to overturn the prejudices and habits of this people.' The Legislature partly listened to this appeal; the trade was partly thrown open, and the experiment, therefore, had been partially made. Many obstacles, however, many serious difficulties, were thrown in the way of these parties, who knew nothing of the country—who were allowed to form no establishments there—who had no agents there, and were subject to many other discouraging and troublesome regulations, into the detail of which he would not then enter. It was on the 1st of April, 1814, that the commerce with India was thus partially thrown open, so that we had now the experience of fifteen years by which to judge of this experiment. This was a space of time which, in the life of an individual, hardly terminated the period of infancy, but which, when considered with reference to the commercial intercourse between two great and distant quarters of the world, might be considered as little more than the hour of birth. What, however, had (without entering into details) been the result of this experiment? Why, in the year 1814, our exports to the countries east of the Cape of Good Hope amounted to something more than 1,600,000*l*. In the last year, they amounted to 5,800,000*l*. (*Hear, hear.*) So that here they found that a commerce had risen, under so many obstacles, from the insignificant sum of 1,600,000*l*. to 5,800,000*l*., which was equal to one-eighth of the whole of the exports of this country to all parts of the world. The experiment had been beneficial, also, to the shipping interests of the country. In 1813, there were employed in the trade with India 28,000 tons of British shipping. In 1828, no less than 109,000 tons were employed. He thought, therefore, that the views of our merchants and manufacturers had been completely realised. (*Hear, hear.*) It had been stated, before this period, that the returns from England were habitually made in the precious metals, and that the commerce with India must, therefore, necessarily be confined, on account of the small amount of the returns we were able to make. This experiment, however, had effected a total change. The commerce was not now limited by the small returns we could make, those returns being almost entirely in the precious metals; but the difficulty now was to find returns from India to Europe. (*Hear, hear.*) A very material consideration, therefore, in the view of this question now was, how far the trade would not be restrained by the difficulty of procuring returns from India. The petitioners likewise stated, that this extension of commerce had affected not merely our manufactures; but that it had included the mineral wealth of the kingdom; and that there had been large exports of iron, copper, and of other articles of a similar kind. The petitioners, however, complained of want of returns, and stated indigo afforded the best return. The petitioners requested the special attention of the House to that part of the trade with the East which was carried on with China. It was obvious, that

whatever political reasons, whatever circumstances connected with the Government of India, might bear upon the intercourse between this country and our possessions in India, there were no such special considerations with respect to our intercourse with China. Except for political reasons, China ought not to be excluded from intercourse with this country. The commerce with China, however, was exclusively monopolised by the East India Company; and, if that monopoly were retained, it must be not on political considerations, but for some other reasons. The petitioners complained—and he thought with something like reason—that the House, when in 1813 it greatly relaxed the restrictions on the trade with India, took the same opportunity, whether intentionally or inadvertently—he thought inadvertently—of drawing tighter the Company's monopoly of commerce with China. This part of the subject the petitioners wished particularly to be brought before the House, because a remedy might be applied to it before the expiration of the Company's Charter. (*Hear, hear.*) To make this part of the subject intelligible, he must state, that all the Charters granted by the Crown prior to that of King William, contained a clause, that, if the trade so monopolised were found to be disadvantageous to the Crown, the Charter might be terminated on two years' notice. Afterwards, when the Charter was granted by Parliament, it was granted for periods of twenty or twenty-one years; but there was always some regard paid to the British consumer, and to the people of this country, especially in the article of tea. By reference to the Act of 1745, the House would see what checks and securities had been provided by the Legislature. That Act, in order that the quantity of tea might always be sufficient for the consumption of Great Britain, and in order to keep the price of that article on an equality with the price of it in neighbouring countries, made a provision that, in case of such inequality in price being manifest and considerable, the Lords of the Treasury should be at liberty to grant a license to any other persons whom they might think proper, to import tea from the Continent of Europe, for the purpose of producing an approximation of the prices. Thus, then, there was a power of keeping down the price of tea; and this provision lasted until 1813, when it was enacted, that no persons other than the East India Company, or persons having the license of the Company, should be allowed to import tea from any place to the United Kingdom. The result of this had been a considerable change in the price of tea in this country. Tea on the Continent sold for little more than half the price it fetched here; and, when the Lords of the Treasury were called upon, as they had been called upon, to grant a license to others to import tea from the Continent, they found that the power was taken away from them, and that the monopoly was exclusively in the Company. In another part of the petition, with respect to the trade with China, there was a very singular complaint. It stated, that all foreign ships, and all subjects of foreign countries, were allowed to carry on trade with China with the productions of this country, and from the ports of this country, and to go from China, with their return cargoes, to any part of the world but Great Britain. Now the merchants and the shipowners of this country did think it extremely hard that they alone should be excluded from a trade in which the Company did not participate, and by their admission to which the Company consequently could not be in the least degree injured. (*Hear, hear.*) He believed that, in the last year, eleven ships of the United States came into the Thames, were loaded with goods of this country, and carried them to China;

where, having made a very profitable market, they went with their return cargoes to any part of the world they pleased—except, of course, this country. It was rather humiliating to our pride and to our good sense, that English ships should be excluded from this trade; not because their exclusion was a benefit to the country, but merely because they happened to be English ships, and because they happened to be navigated by English subjects. (*Hear, hear.*) In the Committee on Foreign Trade of the House of Lords, some years ago, and also in the Committee on Foreign Trade of this House, some years ago, this subject was adverted to, and it was admitted that no prejudice could result to the strictest monopoly of the Company from allowing British shipping, navigated by British seamen, to engage in this trade with China. On all these points, the petitioners claimed the attention of the House; and, though he had not entered fully into the petition, he thought that he had stated enough to ensure to the petitioners the favourable consideration of the House. (*Hear, hear.*) He was sure that he had said enough to convince the House, that the experience of fifteen years proved that extensive prospects were opening to us. There were other considerations which the petitioners, as merchants and manufacturers, did not press now. There were grounds far higher than commercial considerations to be weighed in reviewing this subject. Improvement in civilisation, the increase of the comforts, the exaltation of the moral character of the people of India—these claimed the operation of all the means which commerce and intercourse with Europeans would afford towards the attainment of such important objects. They must not forget, that they held India by conquest; and, recollecting that, it was their duty to atone for past and present faults by extending these benefits to the people of India. As they stimulated them to industry, they would create in them the desire of new enjoyments; and, in proportion as they increased their enjoyments, in the same proportion they would raise them in the scale of moral worth. If India were to be a permanent possession, it must be made permanent by consulting the happiness of the millions of people there, and, by consulting that, they would consult, also, the prosperity and the power of this country. These were the considerations on which he recommended the petition to the House; and he begged now, after thanking the House for the attention with which he had been listened to, to observe, in conclusion, that his constituents were unanimous in their feeling on this subject. †

Mr BARING did not mean to detain the House many minutes. No doubt, when they considered that the happiness of millions was involved in the settlement of this question, the commercial part of it sank into comparative insignificance. He merely rose to suggest to his honourable friend, the Chairman of the East India Company, that if a measure were introduced to remedy the evil complained of with respect to the trade with China, and from China to other countries, the general question would be met with much better feeling. There could be no reason why our ships should be excluded from a trade which was open to every other country.

Mr. ASTELL said: he should trouble the House with very few words. He had no doubt that the petitioners believed all they stated to be true. But at the same time he was convinced that the House would not rely upon the belief of the petitioners, or form any opinion on the subject, until they had before them the counter-statement. The question of the trade with China could not be separated from the other parts of the

question; and he felt that he should be ill-discharging his duty, if he lent himself to a committal on one part of a question which was a material point in the consideration of the whole. He should notice one of the facts stated by the right honourable gentleman, in order that the House might see that it might be true that the others did not rest on better grounds. The right honourable gentleman had told them that the shipping employed in 1813 in the trade with India, amounted to 28,000 tons, and that it now amounted to 109,000 tons, leaving it to be supposed that the private trading had produced the increase. But the shipping thus employed was that of the Company alone; and, the Custom-house being destroyed by fire, it could not be ascertained what the amount of private shipping had been. In 1815, however, the private shipping amounted to 79,000 tons, and in 1824, it was no more: so that we had not found the beneficial results of the experiment. The right honourable gentleman, too, had made a statement respecting the exports; but he had quite forgotten to say any thing about the imports. This was not the proper mode of dealing with an important question; and he did hope that the House would suspend their judgment until regular and authentic documents were brought before them. The time for considering the question was not yet arrived. The right honourable gentleman had stated, that he thought that there would be but one opinion as to the propriety of opening the trade to the East Indies. He (Mr. Astell) presumed to think that the right honourable gentleman's views on this subject were erroneous; and he only asked the House to wait for adequate information before they came to any decision on the subject. He wished the House to suspend their judgment, until they received that information which he as much desired as any man that they should obtain.*

Sir C. BURRELL rose for the purpose of corroborating what his right honourable friend had stated with regard to the article of tea, which, in consequence of the excessive tax which had been imposed on it in this country, was sold here at double the price at which it was sold on the Continent. At the present unfortunate time, when all the poorer classes were distressed, and when the price of beer, in consequence of the very heavy tax on corn, was so high that the poor man could not get it, he thought the House, when the question came regularly under discussion, ought to look attentively to the subject, and endeavour to give to the people of this country their necessary beverage of tea at a lower rate than that for which they could now obtain it. With respect to the shipping interest, it certainly did appear a very hard case, that British merchants were not allowed to do that which foreign merchants were permitted to do—to export their manufactures to China. He was particularly aware of the great delicacy attending the question of the trade with China; but still he thought that an adequate arrangement should be made for opening the trade with China.

General GASCOYNE could not allow the petition to lie on the table without offering a few observations on the subject. The honourable member for Callington had suggested to the honourable Chairman of the

* Yet Mr. Astell is an enemy to a Free Press in India: and generally votes against all inquiry. The assertion now is, that 'the proper time is not come.' When it does come, the complaint will be that 'the House is taken by surprise, or some other equally established fallacy. The suitors for justice are always too early or too late in their inquiries: the time present is never 'the proper time' in the eyes of those who oppose the demand.

East India Company, the propriety and necessity of the Company taking into their consideration the question of the opening the trade with China at an earlier period than the expiration of the present charter. He (General Gascoyne) wished to enforce that suggestion as strongly as he could, and he would ask the India Company whether, considering the present distressed state of the manufacturing and shipping interests of this country, there was ever a period when relief was more required? Would not such a boon as the opening of the trade with China, come from them with a better grace now than to wait till it was forced from them? He was strongly interested in this question, and he thought it inconsistent with common sense, and with common justice, that the ship-owners of every other part of the globe should be permitted to participate in the profitable trade to China, and that English merchants should be alone excluded. He thought he need not call the attention of the House to the present situation of the shipping trade. Though he had been silent during the whole of the present session on that subject, because he felt that there was no disposition on the part of the House to give relief, yet he was sorry to say, that the distress prevailing in the shipping trade was not less now than when he last called the attention of the House to the subject. Lapse of time had afforded no relief, and the distress of the ship-owners was greater now than when he moved for a committee of inquiry into the state of the shipping interest, in the last session of Parliament.

SIR G. PHILLIPS could not perceive any incorrectness in the statement of the right honourable Member for Liverpool, as to the increase of shipping which had taken place since the last renewal of the charter. The honourable gentleman, the Chairman of the East India Company, had referred to the private shipping in 1813; what that private shipping was he could not understand, for then there was no private trade to India. He thought that the facts stated by the right honourable Member for Liverpool were incontrovertible, and fully bore him out in the correctness of the view he had taken. If the House would only bear in mind the great impediments which had existed with respect to commerce in India since the partial opening of the trade, the House would be surprised, not that so little increase had taken place in the trade, but that so much increase had. The amount of cotton goods manufactured and cotton twist, exported to India and China within the last year, was 2,000,000*l.* sterling. Notwithstanding the monopoly of the East India Company, the manufactures of this country had been sent out there, not through the means of the Company, but by private traders. He was perfectly convinced that the most sanguine expectation might be entertained for the future extension of the trade between this country and India, particularly in the article of cotton, if, instead of opposing difficulties to the settlement of the inhabitants of this country in India, their settlement there was more encouraged. (*Hear.*) That was all that was wanted, in his opinion, to extend the trade with India. (*Hear, hear.*) The monopoly of the East India Company with respect to the trade with India or with China would be terminated at the expiration of the present charter, and then he was satisfied that a very great extension of trade would take place—an extension which the necessities of this country very much wanted. (*Hear.*)

MR. W. WHITMORE rose for the purpose of taking notice of a remark which had been made by the honourable Member for Calfington (Mr. Baring), who stated, that it was the duty of the Legislature of this country to make the trade between this country and India subservient to the

interests of the poor people of the latter country. He would be prepared to make out fully on a future occasion that the interests of the two countries were the same.

Mr. ASTELL wished to reply to an observation which had been made by the right honourable Member for Liverpool on the subject of tea. He would take on himself the *onus* of denying the justice of that statement. The right honourable gentleman had stated that tea was much cheaper on the Continent than in this country; but the House should recollect, that here the Government received a duty of 100*l.* per-cent. on tea; whilst, on the Continent, the article was free from any such tax. In England, tea was an article of necessity, not of luxury; but on the Continent its consumption was greatly neglected, and it passes, in commercial language, under the name of a drug. He would undertake to prove this to the satisfaction of the House—that tea, looking to its quality, and putting aside the tax imposed by Government, was not only not dearer in this country, but essentially cheaper and better than on the Continent. The quality of the tea never seemed to be taken into consideration by honourable gentlemen; and he would pledge himself to prove that, in point of quality, tea was not only not dearer here, but infinitely cheaper and better than on the Continent.*

Mr. HUSKISSON was sorry to prolong the present discussion, but he wished to advert to the observations made by the honourable Chairman of the India Company, on what had fallen from him in explaining the prayer of the petition to the House. The honourable Chairman in his first speech stated, that he, (Mr. Huskisson,) had omitted to take into account the year 1815, in which there was a great amount of private shipping. The year 1815 was the first year of the operation of the private trade: there was great excitement and great overtrading, and therefore of all years, that was one from which a comparison ought not to be drawn. The honourable gentleman accused him of making a very bold and unfounded assertion on the subject of tea. What he had said was, that the law which protected the British consumer of tea from being liable to pay a much higher price than the foreign consumer, by enabling the Lords of the Treasury to admit tea from the continent under their licence, was now repealed, and that, he thought, constituted no slight aggravation of the East India Company's monopoly. If the honourable gentleman thought that tea could be got much better and cheaper in this country than on the continent, would he have the goodness to do, what he and the East India Company alone could do—to grant to some of his (Mr. Huskisson's) constituents licence to bring tea from the continent? If he gave that licence, he (Mr. Huskisson) could assure the honourable Member, that those very foolish persons, on whose behalf he presented the petition, would most cheerfully bring a very considerable portion of tea from the continent, (*hear, hear,*) and would be ready to run the risk of having tea of cheaper price and superior quality sold by the East India Company. He knew nothing of the facts on this question, except what he had learned from persons competent to give him information, and from what he knew to be the price current of tea in different parts of the continent. He knew that at New York tea sold for one half, independently of duty, of the price it sold for here; and he was also aware, that

* We shall be curious to see how Mr. Astell will prove this: he must first buy up or burn all the 'Price Currents' of Hamburg and Rotterdam, or these will flatly contradict him.

by one of the most monstrous regulations, by which the whole system of the India Company's monopoly was bound, it was an obligation on the part of the Company not to put up any tea for sale until it had been two years in their storehouses. The result of this was a great deterioration in the quality of the article, and an increase in its price.

Sir G. PHILLIPS had taken pains to inquire from foreigners respecting the quality of their tea; and they had all been as confident of the superiority of their own tea as the honourable gentleman was of his tea.

The petition, signed by the merchants of Liverpool, and praying for the removal of restrictions in the trade between Great Britain, the East Indies, and China, was then laid on the table.

Mr. HUSKISSON presented a petition to the same effect, from Chorley, in Lancashire.

[The interest attached to the Debate which follows, has induced us to give a verbatim and corrected report of it, from 'The Mirror of Parliament,' the only work which uniformly gives verbatim reports of all that is said in both Houses of the Legislature.]

House of Commons, Thursday, May 14.

Mr. WOLRYCHE WHITMORE.—I rise to bring under the consideration of the House a motion, on the subject of the trade of this country with the East, of which I gave notice in the early part of the present Session. The subject is one of vast importance, and I may now add, that in this respect there is none that can be brought before the Legislature to compete with it;—of such large moment is it, and so manifold and so involved are the considerations belonging to it, that I confess I feel almost appalled by its magnitude; and were it not that of itself it is calculated to make a deep impression, not only on the minds of Members, but of the country in general;—were it not that the facts connected with it are striking and familiar, that the inferences from those facts are clear and inevitable, and the results of peculiar promise; I should very much apprehend my inability to place the question in the light in which it ought to be viewed. When I consider, however, that I may hope for the assistance of others better qualified than myself, I feel convinced, whatever my imperfections may be, and I fear they will be many, they will be amply supplied and compensated during the present discussion. I shall proceed, without further preface, to enter upon the great subject I have undertaken to bring before the House; and with a view to place it in as clear a point of view as I am able, I shall divide my observations into three several heads—those heads which are pointed out in the terms of my notice for 'an Inquiry into the Trade between Great Britain, the East Indies, and China.' I shall speak first of Great Britain, then of our East Indian possessions, and lastly of China. It is necessary to allude to Great Britain in the first place, because every man who looks at the condition of the country at present, or who has regarded it for the last eight or ten years, must be aware that to a certain degree its prosperity is precarious, and that it is absolutely necessary to ascertain by what means we can improve our resources, by giving them fuller development, and how far it is possible to mitigate, in a considerable degree, if not altogether to obviate, the periods of distress which hitherto have at certain intervals constantly recurred in our manufacturing interests. I am convinced, if we look this subject fairly in the face, we shall find contained in it the means of alleviating, if not of removing, the causes of that distress. The present is not an occasion on which it is desirable, or perhaps justifiable, to enter into an examination of those causes; but it must be clear to any man that there is in the country a vast amount of capital seeking employment, and reducing, by competition, profits to the lowest ebb, combined with an enormous, a gigantic power of production in the manufacturing districts requiring application. It is part of my object to point out the mode by which distress may be

afforded. Let there be a larger field opened for the employment of capital, and for the vent of manufactures, and a great national benefit will be accomplished. I am also brought to the consideration of this subject by one or two circumstances affecting us at this moment. Looking at the state of Ireland, although I am persuaded that the Act which has just passed is one of the most beneficial ever adopted within the memory of any man who has a seat in the Legislature—though it has done away with the grand impediment to improvement there, yet the removal of Catholic disabilities is not the sole means of ameliorating the condition of that country. It is necessary to find means to give wider scope for the employment of the people, and the adoption of what I propose, I am satisfied, will effectually afford those means. The commercial relations between this kingdom and some of the other nations of the world, are also calculated to arrest attention to this subject; and, although I mean not to enter fully into this point, yet I could not be justified in omitting it. I refer especially to our relations with the United States. Hon. Members are, of course, aware that, by a recent Act of the American Legislature, our commercial relations are placed in rather a curious predicament: the recent tariff is most severe and oppressive, and the duties imposed are so high and heavy, that it must place the trade with Great Britain in considerable difficulty. It is impossible for me, or for any man, to predict what may be the end of this system of legislation; but that it has been already attended with inconvenience, and will hereafter be productive of injury, is but too probable. It becomes, too, a matter of the most serious reflection, when we advert to the fact, that we depend upon that part of the world for the supply of the raw material of one of the most important of our manufactures—I mean cotton. How much we are dependent upon the United States will be seen from the fact, that we derive three-fourths of our cotton from thence. It seems to me, that the precarious nature of our relations with that Republic forms a strong reason for considering whether we have not the means within our own Empire of supplying the deficiency, provided the injurious commercial regulations of the United States should prevent our receiving from them the large supplies absolutely necessary for the prosperity of our cotton manufacture. I shall endeavour to show, in the course of my remarks, that we have ample means of producing that article to any extent, and of the best quality, in India; and if, hereafter, cotton should not be wanted by us from foreign states, it will furnish to the Ministers of this country, and to the opponents of the tariff in the United States; the powerful argument against a vain perseverance in the system of prohibition. Having stated thus shortly the general grounds on which I think the policy of extending our trade to the East rests, I shall proceed to take a brief view of what that trade is, and what it may possibly become under a different state of things. I apprehend I am not now to argue that this trade may be one of considerable value; on that point I may appeal to history, and every man now admits that it is one of the largest carried on by this country. Never were predictions more completely disproved than those which were hazarded at the time when the removal of the Charter was last before Parliament. We were then told, and by great authorities, that we could not expect any increase of the commerce to the East. One gentleman, indeed, went so far as to contend that the only article in which it would be extended was that of glass bottles; while another argued that it was absurd to suppose that a population whose labour was only remunerated at the rate of about 3d. per day, could become customers to any amount for the manufactures of this country.

It is not extraordinary that gentlemen connected with the East India Company should endeavour to give currency to these notions; nor is it, perhaps, surprising that they should even contrive to bring their minds to this conclusion: it was quite natural that they should conceive it must be a losing trade, inasmuch as from 1793 to 1813, the Company had lost to the extent of about 4,000,000*l.* by it; in short, from first to last, at that time, and from persons interested in the continuance of the Charter, it was argued that the trade to India was an injury instead of a benefit. Looking at the previous falling off in the trade, from impediments thrown in the way of it, perhaps they were, in some degree, justified in taking this unfavourable, though false view of the subject. I

trust that the House will allow me to refer to the state of that trade a short time antecedent to the renewal of the Company's Charter; first noticing the gradual falling off in the trade, and then contrasting it with the rapid extension of it from the time it was made free. From 1790 to 1796, it was 2,520,000*l.*; from 1796 to 1801, it was 2,342,000*l.*; from 1802 to 1807, it had decreased to 2,153,000*l.*; and from 1808 to 1812, it was only 1,748,000*l.* The Charter having been renewed in 1813, the produce of the trade from 1814 to 1819 was 2,118,000*l.*; from 1820 to 1826, it ascended to 4,877,000*l.*; and in 1827, it rose to 5,891,000*l.* The House will not fail to remark during the first period—that is, up to the year 1813—the gradual diminution of the trade; and during the last, from 1814 to 1827, its constant and rapid augmentation; so that the predictions in which some indulged, as to the impossibility of extension, were founded upon misapprehension and miscalculation. Following up this part of the subject, it is desirable that I should mention a few of the articles in which this extraordinary increase has occurred. I will first take cotton. The total amount of manufactured cotton goods exported from this country to the East Indies in 1814, was, in round numbers, 818,000 yards; in 1828, it was no less than 43,500,000 yards. The value of these cotton goods in 1814, was 90,000*l.*, and in 1828, 1,900,000*l.*; but here it is not to be forgotten, that in consequence of the improvements in machinery and the cheapness of the raw material, the value of cotton goods between 1814 and 1828 had fallen most materially, so that the two sums I have mentioned, do not contrast as strikingly as the different amount of cotton goods exported. The quantity of printed cottons exported to India in 1814, was 600,000 yards, and in 1828, 12,372,000 yards. The article of twist affords a very remarkable instance of augmentation; the total amount exported in 1814, was 8 lbs., and in 1828 it had increased to 4,497,000 lbs. These facts will sufficiently establish the advantage of allowing the trade to be in the hands of private individuals, and will lay a strong ground for a minute inquiry, in order to ascertain whether it will not be fit that measures should be taken to promote a still further extension. Large as is the present amount of the trade, and rapid as has been its growth, I am convinced that we yet know nothing of the amount to which it may be carried; every body connected or acquainted with the trade to India agrees in opinion, that no assignable limit can be named for it, the only difficulty being to find a profitable return for the investment sent out. There exists no prejudice in the minds of the Natives of India, as to the purchase of our goods, and there is no obstacle to their dissemination over the country; but an impediment is arising from the difficulty of finding a return cargo.

This brings me to the point of imports; and I find that in 1790 the official value of all the goods and produce from India was, as before, in round numbers, 3,800,000*l.*, while in 1827 it was 8,343,000*l.* The average of imports from 1814 to 1819 was 5,748,000*l.*, and from 1820 to 1827, as I have already said, 8,343,000*l.* The export trade, it will be observed, in the interval between 1814 and 1828, had increased nearly fourfold; but the improvement in the import trade was not in the same proportion. This difference is chiefly to be accounted for by the stationary nature of the tea-trade, as I shall have occasion to state when I advert to the commerce with China. The fact is, that at the present moment, with one or two trifling exceptions, the products of India are of inferior quality; the great—I may almost say the sole—exception is one of a most extraordinary kind, and which can never be too often stated, or too much examined—I allude to indigo. Indigo, the growth of British India, was formerly scarcely saleable in the European market; but it is now superior to that produced in South America, or in any other part of the world. What is the fact? For the last forty years the growth and manufacture of indigo in the East Indies has been under the superintendence of British capitalists. Such is the extraordinary result, that not only this country, but all Europe, has been supplied with this most important drug from British India. There can be little doubt, that if the same permission to British subjects to embark their capital, and employ their superintendence, were extended to other articles, the same effects would follow. The climate and soil of India are favourable to the growth of every species of

colonial produce, and when British capital and British skill are employed in the cultivation and preparation of the other tropical productions for the markets of Europe, they will be attended with equal success. The import of indigo in 1809 was 3,750,000 lbs., and in 1828 was 9,600,000 lbs. To cotton I have before referred; and, since the renewal of the Charter, there has been a considerable increase in the import of that commodity. In 1814, it was only 3,000,000 lbs., and in 1828 it had risen to 32,000,000 lbs. If once the cotton sent over could be rendered of a superior description; the augmentation would be immense; but at present the best East India cotton is inferior to the worst American cotton, and I believe, that in some instances, the difference has amounted to 100 per cent. The truth is, that in India no attention is paid to its cultivation—the seed is never changed, and no attempt is made to obtain the varieties of a superior quality: in preparing the cotton, and in cleaning it from the dirt it contracts from the soil, there is likewise the grossest neglect. It is not to be doubted, that cotton, to challenge comparison with any in the world, might be grown in the East Indies, if British capital, care, and industry were applied to it. The quantity of cotton consumed in Great Britain is 197,000,000 lbs., of which at present we draw no less than 151,000,000 lbs. from America; and this statement alone is sufficient, with reference to the prospects of the country, to warrant inquiry whether encouragement ought not be given to its cultivation. The article next in importance is sugar, which may be grown to any extent in India. In 1814, 49,000 cwt. of it were imported; and in 1828, 516,000 cwt.; but of this latter quantity 360,000 cwt. came from the Mauritius. The House will at once understand why so great a proportion is imported from the Mauritius; for there Europeans are allowed to apply to the growth and manufacture of sugar their skill and capital. In the last eight years, 200 sugar-mills, some of them with steam-engines, have been sent out to the Mauritius; while not a single sugar-mill has been sent out to India. Nothing can be more rude and defective than the whole machinery of the sugar-mills there; and the consequence is, the production of a very inferior article. Another important commodity is raw silk; and at this moment, when so much distress prevails among its manufacturers in this country, it demands the most earnest consideration. In 1814, the importation was 1,116,000 lbs.; and in 1828, 1,447,000 lbs.; and it is considered so inferior, that while Italian silk is sold for 28s., India silk only produces 18s. It can only be employed on the coarser articles; and it is stated by an intelligent gentleman, in a pamphlet on the subject, that India silk enables the manufacturer of broad goods in this country to compete with foreigners, as he probably would be enabled to do in the finer description of goods, provided he could command a raw material of such a quality, and in such quantity, as India, under British management, might produce; but to accomplish this, a power of settling in India is indispensable.

Having mentioned these few instances, and having selected them as showing the principle I wish to establish, I shall abstain from going further, because I am aware that I should be trespassing too much upon the time and patience of the House: what I have stated I considered absolutely necessary to the case I had to make out. This brings me to the question of the power of Englishmen to settle in India, and upon this point, as I conceive, the whole depends. It is my belief, that if we are to continue to prevent Englishmen from settling in India,—if we are to continue to prevent the application of British capital and skill to the produce of India, the trade cannot be carried much further than at present; but I am quite certain that if we adopt a more generous and a wiser course, we may carry our trade to the East to an incalculable extent. We find then an area of 1,028,000 square miles, inhabited by 134,000,000 of people; true it is that they are not all under our immediate control, but they are all either under the dominion of the East India Company, or under the authority of tributary Powers. The House is, perhaps, aware that the policy in India now is, to prevent the introduction of Europeans; excepting in rare instances, and in the Presidencies of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, British subjects cannot, without direct permission, hold or possess land. This is a very singular, as well as a very mistaken policy, and such as has never been pursued by any

country of the world but ourselves : I am thoroughly persuaded that it has contributed more than any other cause to maintain that comparative barbarism and ignorance which notoriously prevail in India.

The Romans, we all know, acted upon a directly opposite system, and they could not have extended their empire so far, or preserved it so long, if they had not encouraged colonisation. The same may be said of modern Russia—that huge colossus among empires : it could never have been so extended, or kept together in its magnitude, if it had pursued the course we maintain : it preserves its immense possessions by promoting the settlement of its subjects in remote situations. Looking at the origin of this regulation, we are brought, at once, to the source from whence it proceeds. It has been said that it was established in order to promote the happiness and improvement of the Natives; but that is one of the most futile arguments ever raised, and the very reverse has been the consequence : the only mode by which you can really ameliorate the condition of the people of India is by removing this absurd restriction; and by so doing, you will at once advance their knowledge, improve their habits, and reform that system of cultivation, the rudeness of which, at present, impedes the growth, and impairs the sale, of Indian produce. You will open to the Native all the benefits of a civilised state, and raise them from a state of what may be called half-civilisation, to equality with the more favoured nations of Europe. The true origin of this exclusive system was the preservation of the monopoly of the East India Company; that was the sole object in establishing it. Nobody ever dreamt, at that time, of the improvement of the condition of the poor Indians; but the East India Company did long and anxiously reflect upon the surest mode of keeping their monopoly, by which they are, at once, placed in the double capacity of merchants and sovereigns, deriving advantage both from their trade and their dominion. The argument of protecting the interests of the Natives was a mere afterthought; the very name applied to those who were unfortunate enough to find themselves in India without the leave of the Company, shows the light in which they were considered : they were called interlopers, and this alone proves that the object was the preservation of the commerce, and not the improvement of the people. The advantages which would accrue from allowing British subjects to settle in India would not only be great, with reference to the points already noticed; but I am satisfied that, unless that permission be given, we cannot carry on the Government of India in the cheap beneficial manner we ought to do. One great evil arises out of the administration of justice, not on account of the general unfitness of the Judges, or any degree of corruption prevailing among them, but on account of their total ignorance of the people. Upon this point the opinion of Sir Henry Strachey, a most intelligent Indian Judge, given in the fifth Report on the affairs of India, is conclusive. He states, that those appointed to administer the law could not study the genius of the people of India—that they knew little of their domestic life,—the state of their knowledge,—the nature of their conversation, religion, trade, castes, or any of their national and individual characteristics; that every day something new and surprising was making its appearance among them; and the same learned Judge adds, that the evil of which he complained was extensive, and that it might be ascribed chiefly to the want of connection and intercourse with the people,—to the want of knowledge of their peculiar manners and habits, so that the ignorance of the Indians of the character of the Europeans was almost equalled by the ignorance of the Europeans of the character of the Indians. This opinion, by a man well qualified to deliver it, shows, at once, the difficulty and the mode of overcoming it, by altering the construction of Indian society, and by inducing British settlers to reside among them. I am aware that it has been frequently stated by some Gentlemen that the power of settlement would weaken the influence of England in that country; but I never heard an argument more entirely destitute of foundation. Our connexion with India at present is one of the slightest nature. If I were to explain what I feel, I should say that we hold it, as it were, by a single thread; but under a different system, if we allowed Englishmen to settle in that country, and to invest their capital in improving it, we should convert that thread into a cable composed of millions of

such threads; each may be snapped asunder by the storm; both may, and in all probability will, be worn out by friction; but the latter would obviously afford a far better security for maintaining the connection between the two countries than the former. I feel so entire a conviction of this proposition, that I consider it my duty to adjure you, if your object be to strengthen that connection—if your object be to make permanent that which is now precarious—the only way to effect it is, at once to abolish the idle and absurd system of restrictions, by which the settlement of Englishmen is prevented in India. When I am told that this would do injury to the people of India; I deny it wholly. We all know that after the emancipation of that part of South America which formerly belonged to Spain, there was a large application of British capital to its wants and necessities, of which, I fear, a considerable portion is entirely lost, or at least is now looked upon by those who embarked it in the light of a bad debt. If we had allowed the settlement of Englishmen in India, when the Company's Charter was renewed in 1813, the probability is, that that capital would have been spent in India, instead of being wasted in South America; and if Englishmen had possessed the same power of superintending the application of their capital in India that they have in South America, such an appropriation of the surplus capital of this country would have rendered far more benefit to the people of India, than any act ever done by the Company from its establishment to this day. The application of those 20,000,000*l.* of capital to India, which were, I may almost say, thrown away in South America, would have effected an entire revolution in the products, and, consequently, in the commerce, of that country. Will anybody tell me that the condition of Ireland can be improved, if we prevent the application of that capital, which, it is to be hoped, will find its way there, and give employment to the people? The benefit to be derived from the application of capital in either case, is so manifestly obvious, and a denial of it something so monstrous, that if any body were to attempt to apply such an argument to any other country in the world, the person to whom he used it could only treat it with the ridicule it deserved. Such an argument is too absurd for serious commentary. It owes its origin to the desire to preserve the monopoly of the trade of the East, and is the sole ground on which that monopoly could be preserved. If the monopoly of the trade, and the absolute dominion over the people, possessed by the East India Company, were beneficial to India, I should say, 'persevere in this system.' I should then think it would be wise, consistent, and politic, to exclude all others from settling in India, and entering into competition with the Company in the trade of the East. But it happens that we are not called upon to consider whether it is right or wrong to prolong that monopoly; for it was decided in 1813, that the trade with India should no longer be conducted on the principle of monopoly; and I contend that we are bound to follow it up, by throwing open the whole system of trade with the East. I trust that, when we come again to the investigation of this subject, we shall look minutely into the state of the trade between this country and India; for in the opening of it consists the sole source from whence any improvement of the people there can proceed, and on which any reasonable hope can be entertained of the increase of the trade and manufactures of this country. I will not dwell further on this point, but address the other observations I may make to the consideration of the nature of the inquiry we should have to institute, if this Committee should be granted, as I hope it will be, during this Session. We have here presented to us a subject of wide extent. We shall enter upon a large field of inquiry. We must have ample information, which can only be furnished by getting evidence from India. I am, myself, extremely desirous to commence this investigation as early as possible; and for that reason I wish the Committee to be appointed to-night; for, though we shall not be able, perhaps, to prosecute the inquiry far during the present Session, yet, if we only begin, it we shall be able to lay the ground for it for the next Session; and, it is, only by long and deep consideration, and by getting all the evidence before us, that is indispensably necessary, that we can bring our minds to that satisfactory conclusion, by which, and by which only, we can do effectual justice to all the parties concerned in this immense question. I think this, alone, is a strong ground, for, suggesting the

Committee at this moment. Having said thus much as to this branch of the subject, I will now pass to some other considerations of great importance as they are connected with the trade of this country. The House is aware that the trade with China is a complete and entire monopoly in the hands of the East India Company. No English ship, except it belongs to the East India Company, can go to any of the ports of China. Every English trader is precluded from dealing in that article which forms the staple of the trade of that part of the world. It is a most remarkable fact, that at an early period of the history of our commercial intercourse with China, this trade was not only not a monopoly, but that we were not then excluded from some ports in the Eastern world, from which we are now excluded. In the seventeenth century, there were four ports open to our traders in China. We had access, also, to the empire of Japan, and it was only the unfortunate interference of the various European Companies, established about that time, that led to our exclusion. We are now admitted at only one port in China, and we are excluded from the trade with Siam and Cochin-China, and entirely from the islands of Japan. The only remnant of intercourse between Europe and Japan, is a miserable Dutch factory, which is allowed to remain, apparently not so much to carry on any trade, as to show how much humiliation can be extracted from Dutch cupidity.

If hon. Gentlemen will consult the works of Mr. Crawford, a gentleman to whom the country is much indebted, as I know I am myself under great obligation to him, for the valuable information he has published—if hon. Gentlemen will look to his statements relative to the trade with the Eastern Archipelago, which are fully and accurately given, and which are highly instructive, and of the greatest importance with reference to this question, they will see that we are excluded, by the monopoly of the East India Company, from our share of the large trade carried on by the Americans in Canton. For what is this exclusion maintained? There is not the shadow of an excuse for it. When we look at the progress of the trade that has been carried on since the partial opening of the commercial intercourse with India, we may infer what would have been the increase if a generally free intercourse had taken place with the Eastern World. As it is in the hands of the Company, the trade with China, like its trade with India, has declined, instead of increasing. The exports to China, from 1801 to 1810, on the yearly average, amounted to 1,152,206*l.*; from 1811 to 1822, the yearly average, deducting the year 1813, when the accounts were lost, owing to the fire at the Custom House, was 780,959*l.*; from 1823 to 1827, the yearly average was 682,177*l.* In 1827, the amount of exports fell to 493,815*l.*; but, in 1828, it rose again to 863,494*l.* The average of 1827 and 1828 may be stated at 678,654*l.* There is an increase certainly in 1828, but there is a falling off in this trade latterly as compared with the average of the first period I have stated, to the amount of forty or fifty per cent. It is true, this is the declared value; and, as manufactured articles have lately declined in value, it exhibits a greater falling off than is fairly to be attributed to the Company's management: but still, after making every allowance, the trade has considerably fallen off. This is the result of the monopoly by which the trade of this country is excluded from those parts of the world where it would most flourish. When we reflect on the character of this vast monopoly—when we reflect on the fact of our own traders not being permitted to bring home tea, that great article of importation, because that whole trade is in the hands of a privileged Company—when we reflect on the contrast afforded in the falling off in the China trade, and the enormous increase in the private trade with India since its partial opening in 1813—when we reflect on these circumstances, it is abundantly clear that the trade with China is not conducted as it would be if it were carried on by private individuals. There is no shadow of pretence for the continuance of this injurious monopoly. I am aware that by the title given by the renewal of the charter, in 1833, unless some amicable arrangement can be made between the Government and the Company, there is no hope for the opening of this trade until the expiration of that Act in 1834; but, for this very reason, this House is the more bound to keep its attention fixed on this point, and when the Act does expire, it will be for this House to decide whether, on any terms, that most odious monopoly, as I must call it,

shall be permitted to exist: It is alleged by the friends of the East India Company, that it is necessary to continue it, because there would otherwise be great difficulty in dealing with the Chinese. This is a common-place argument, and entirely unfounded; for it is expressly stated by Mr. Milburne, and other well-informed writers on this subject, that a free-trade might be carried on there easier than here. The real fact is, the Chinese are addicted to commerce; and when we consider that they are one of the most populous nations on the globe, and that they have fully occupied the whole of their vast territory, is it not desirable that we should avail ourselves of an open commercial intercourse with a country possessing such advantages, and where so extensive a trade might be carried on, if conducted on the principles of freedom? The population of China is estimated at 150,000,000; and would be, in every respect, a valuable customer, if the trade were conducted on sound and just principles. The Eastern people are in want of many of those commodities in which we abound. In proof of this fact, I refer to the increase that has taken place in the exportation of metals to India, and especially since the trade has been conducted on principles of freedom. The export of metals in 1814, amounted to 14,334 tons, and was of the value of 494,970*l*. In 1827, it was 34,093 tons, and its value 768,985*l*. Look at the increase that would take place in the exports in the general trade in this quarter of the world; look at the enormous opening that would be made for our manufactures, and the immense consumption of Chinese produce that would ensue in this country. Can there be a question that it would afford a great increase to the commerce of this country? Supposing, however, for the sake of argument, there might be some difficulty in carrying on the trade with the Hong merchants. If there were ten times more difficulty in carrying on this trade than is pretended, it would not weigh a feather in the scale with me; for if we cannot conduct the trade directly with China, it will be carried on through the medium of an emporium. We have an excellent port for that purpose in Singapore. Its situation admirably adapts it to promote the commercial intercourse of that part of the world, and particularly the tea-trade between China and England.

It is, perhaps, not generally known that tea is not the growth of the neighbourhood of Canton, from whence it is exported. The black tea is grown in the province of Fokin, and the green tea in the province of Kraquan, which both lie at a considerable distance from that port. The black tea is carried on the backs of boys, from the province of Fokin, which is a maritime province, to Canton, a distance of 360 miles; and the green tea, which comes from the province of Kraquan, also a maritime province, is brought a still greater distance of 700 or 800 miles. The tea-growing provinces being maritime, and it being obvious that such a mode of communication between the places of growth and export must be attended with much expense, it is also quite as obvious that the tea could be brought as cheaply to the island of Singapore as to the port of Canton. But, indeed, this point of objection is a mere assumption in the argument, and there is not the smallest ground to believe that it exists. On the contrary, the East India Company must feel that they are viewed with a vast deal of jealousy by the Sovereign of that empire, when he sees in them the conquerors of so immense a territory in his vicinity. He knows that in the Company he has to deal with a far more warlike and dangerous Power than if the trade were carried on by the private merchant, whose interest it is to conciliate the feelings of those with whom he deals. If we were driven out of Canton, the trade would be conducted through an emporium—Singapore, or some other place in that quarter. To shew the importance of that station, I will read a statement of its progress. In 1819, it was only an island, inhabited by a few fishermen; in 1824, the population was about 10,000; and in 1827, it reached 13,000, and, including the military and strangers, 16,000. This was the result of the liberty conferred upon it; and it is a singular fact, that the Chinese themselves have opened a commercial intercourse with this prosperous island. I will read an extract, describing its actual situation, by the same distinguished individual to whose works I have before referred:

“But, perhaps, the most remarkable example we have of the success of free-trade is exhibited in the history of the little settlement of Singapore, a barren island, and having only the advantage of a convenient locality. In the commence-

ment of the year 1819, not ten acres of the primeval forest which covered it was cleared, and its whole inhabitants consisted of about 300 beggarly Malays, not only possessing no industrious habits, but notorious and dangerous pirates. We have before us the account of its exports and imports for the year ending the 30th of April, 1828, and find that their joint amount was 2,875,000*l.* The exports alone amounted to 1,867,201*l.*,—that is to say, they exceeded the declared value of the exports of the East India Company from the whole United Kingdom, to all India and to all China, in the corresponding year, by 88,608*l.*, giving the Company the advantage of all their civil and military stores; but observing, on the other hand, that they did not contribute a shilling towards the amount of Singapore exports. Our whole trade in the Straits of Malacca, in 1814, was short of 1,000,000*l.* sterling. At present it considerably exceeds 4,000,000*l.* The trade of Bombay and its dependencies has, in like manner, sustained a vast increase.

I was going to remark, that in the present state of the tea-trade through Canton, the Chinese might find the direct trade with Singapore preferable to it. They have already opened a trade with it. In 1821 four Chinese junks came to it, and in 1826 there were ten. It is quite obvious, therefore, that if any difficulty were thrown in the way of carrying on the trade with the Chinese, we have a resource by throwing it into a different channel, over which they have no control. If we look at the question of tea only, with reference to the large amount of the return cargo, we shall find that this is a question of great importance. The importation of last year was 31,000,000 lbs.; and I have no doubt, that, if it were thrown open to private trade, it would be almost immediately doubled, and in a few years trebled. Its price would be considerably reduced, notwithstanding the assertion of the Deputy Chairman of the East India Company, who denied the other evening, with a degree of confidence, I must say, that excited my admiration, and that of those around me. That honourable gentleman stated, that the price of tea was as cheap in this country as on the continent. Such an assertion I believe to be totally incorrect; and if we once entered into an investigation of the subject, I am sure we should never again hear any more such. On the important part of this question, relative to the price of tea, I hope I may be permitted to read some statements. The amount of tea imported in 1814, was 26,000,000 lbs., and, in 1828, 30,926,000 lbs. The quantity put up to sale last year was 31,280,000 lbs., which was sold for 4,250,000*l.* Now, if the same amount of tea had been put up to sale at Hamburg, it would be sold for only 1,440,000*l.*, at the current price of tea in that market. This, exclusive of duty, makes a difference in the price of that amount of tea in England as compared with the continent, of 2,874,000*l.* But it is alleged that our tea is of a superior quality. I doubt the fact very much; for judging by all the sources of information that are open to me, the quality of tea is quite as good on the continent and in America as in England. But if I make a large allowance on this account;—if I suppose there is a difference in the quality of tea, and make a deduction for it, still it is clear there is a tax on the people of England of upwards of 2,000,000*l.* annually, in order to carry on a trade which has not augmented at the rate of 400 per cent., as the partially opened trade to India has done, but which has diminished 40 or 50 per cent. in the course of a few years. It is utterly impossible that such a system can continue. It is so monstrous,—so utterly at variance with all the principles of free-trade, and with all the principles of common sense, that it cannot be continued for any great length of time.

I may be permitted, I trust, to allude to what was said by my right honourable friend the member for Liverpool, on presenting the petition from the merchants of that great town, relative to a power now possessed by the East India Company of charging their own price on the tea sold in this country, without being controlled, as they previously were, by the Government having power to grant licences to import tea from the continent of Europe. Such a power existed from the 18th Geo. II., but was not continued by the charter of 1813. The trade with China was given to them; but the provision was if they did not supply such a quantity of tea as was necessary for the consumption of the people.

and at the usual price, there was a power reserved to Government of granting licences to any individuals to import tea from the Continent. Unfortunately, by one of those inadvertencies which sometimes occur in legislation, this most prominent and useful provision was omitted in the Act of 1813, and the country is now subject to the grievous infliction of having an enormous tax levied on it, for the profit of the East India Company, to the amount of 2,400,000*l.* a-year. If this were all, this case would deserve serious consideration, and would of itself be a ground for the appointment of the Committee. Are we not, by this monopoly, cut off from commercial intercourse with a country whose situation, climate, and soil are peculiarly well adapted to our trade, and the supply of whose population would cause a growing demand on the manufactures of this country? I have not the least doubt, that if the enterprise of the English merchant were admitted into that field, over which it would soon dilate, the exports to China, instead of averaging 600,000*l.* or 700,000*l.* annually, would speedily rise to some millions, and become one of the greatest branches of the trade of the country. I am anxious not to trespass on the time of the House. My object was merely to give an outline of the question, leaving the vast number of its details to other Gentlemen, who, I trust, will take a share in the discussion. I have myself stated those parts to which my attention has been chiefly directed. I do not wish to weary the House; but I trust I may be allowed, before I conclude, to implore the House to reflect on this subject. I implore honourable Gentlemen to reflect on the vast advantages the opening of the trade with China would afford to the distressed manufacturers of this country. I do not allude to the immediate distress that is now urgent upon us, and which has produced the disasters we must all deplore; but I speak of those frequent intervals of distress which are too often recurring.—I implore the House to reflect on the amount of capital that is seeking employment in all directions.—I implore the House to reflect on the gigantic power of machinery we possess.—I implore the House to reflect on the fact that the prosperity of the trade of the people of India and China depends on this question; and while we spread—if not English law—at least the principles of English justice, the English language, and English feeling, we ameliorate their condition in the only way in which it is susceptible of improvement.—I implore the House to consider the question before it in all its amplitude. If we enter on the inquiry, I am satisfied we can arrive at only one conclusion—namely, that it would redound to the advantage of England, if we were to remove all the restrictions on the trade between this country and the immense regions of the East. The honourable Gentleman concluded by moving, “That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the state of the trade between Great Britain, the East Indies, and China.”

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER.—I do not rise with any intention to follow the honourable Gentleman through the able statement, and elaborate detail, introduced in the speech he has just delivered to the House: but I rise to express my hope, founded not only on my own opinion, but also on the view taken by the honourable Gentleman himself, of the subject under discussion, that he will not feel disposed, under present circumstances, and at this time, to press the appointment for which he has moved. The honourable Gentleman has just stated, that the question he moots this evening is most important. I agree with him entirely in his view of it; and I am quite satisfied that a question so highly important must, sooner or later, come under the full consideration of Parliament, involving, as it does, not only the interests of the trade of this country in several of its principal branches, but also the greatest political question Parliament ever had to decide;—involving, I may say, not only interests which are strictly domestic, but the happiness of many millions in a distant quarter of the world, who acknowledge the rule of this country, and who desire its continuance; and in connexion with whom, we derive a power which enables us to maintain ourselves in a high station among the nations of mankind. I do not underrate the importance of the subject which the honourable Gentleman has brought before us.—Yet I am anxious to induce the House to avoid the adoption of the motion which he has recommended to it. In proportion as the honourable Gentleman, and I myself, take our view of this question, I am sure its great importance be-

comes more apparent; and exactly in the proportion of its importance, we should take the best means to secure the fullest and most complete, and impartial examination of all its branches, and the most deliberate review of all the topics connected with them. But if we, at the present period of the Session, and under present circumstances, were to adopt the motion, we should utterly disable ourselves from making that full and complete inquiry which we owe to the interests both of England and India. I ask the honourable Gentleman what hope there is, if the Committee were appointed, that even the first step in the inquiry he desires could be taken?—What hopes there that he could collect the necessary evidence—not from India, but even from the manufacturing districts in this country? It would be equally unjust to both parties. Even if the Committee, for which the honourable Gentleman is asking, should be granted, would he be able to obtain more than conclusions drawn from the examination of a few individuals, instead of that general principle by which this important question should be weighed, and which, I am sure, this House would require, before it comes to any decision on the subject? I put it to the honourable Member himself, whether he thinks there would be time enough, in the remainder of the present Session, to get through a tithe of the information necessary to come to a proper understanding of the subject in all its bearings?

I ask the honourable Member, is it possible, considering this question of trade either as a question of politics, or as a question of trade and of politics united, to do more this Session, if a Committee be granted, than to give the House certain principles on the subject, according to the partial views of such witnesses as the Committee may chance to examine, instead of that fair picture of the considerations by which the question ought to be governed, and into which the House must enter without reserve, if it intends to make a just decision? When I say that I feel bound to advise the House not to appoint the Committee which the honourable Member for Bridgenorth recommends, I beg it to be understood, that I do not give that advice from any feelings on my part that it is not necessary that inquiry should be made into all the objects which the motion of the honourable Member embraces. On the contrary, I admit that not only all the objects which the honourable Member has embraced in his elaborate statement, but also many others which he has omitted from it, are deserving of minute and searching inquiry; and if I advise the non-adoption of the honourable Member's proposition at present, it is only because I think that the House will make the inquiry more creditably to itself,—more satisfactorily to the parties interested,—and more advantageously to the country,—by adopting the views which I take of the mode in which the inquiry should be conducted. It is my opinion, that as a necessary preliminary to that inquiry, it is requisite for the House to have before it a certain quantity of documentary evidence. It is necessary, for the information of those gentlemen who may be appointed members of such a Committee, that some principles by which their inquiries may be governed should be laid before them, in order that they may make themselves previously masters of the subject, and so conduct the proposed investigation with effect. For this reason, it was the intention of my right honourable Friend (Sir George Murray), had he not been prevented by indisposition from attending in his place this evening, to have moved, and I believe that I may state that it still is my right honourable Friend's intention, in the course of the present Session, to move for the production of that documentary evidence, which appears to be indispensable as a preliminary to that inquiry which all of us concur in thinking to be necessary. Having placed this mass of papers before us, the present view which the Government takes of the matter, is—that inquiry should not commence at this period of the Session, when it cannot be conducted with effect; but that it should be presented to the House at an early period of the next Session, with that weight and with that authority which, while they may render it analogous to precedent, shall make it give general satisfaction to the country. So far from wishing to deprecate inquiry, the Government is most anxious to grant an inquiry embracing all the topics to which the honourable Member for Bridgenorth has adverted, and other topics not less important, at an early period of the next Session, when the House will be in a situation to conduct such an inquiry with effect, and will

not be inclined to take a confined or partial view of the great interests connected with it. I beg, therefore, that no honourable Member will think; that, because I oppose this motion, I am not desirous to give Parliament every facility to inquiry which a subject so important so imperatively demands. The House will therefore see, that the question between the honourable Member for Bridgenorth and myself, is not whether or no inquiry should take place, but whether that inquiry shall be conducted by a Committee to be appointed now, or by a Committee to be appointed at the commencement of the next Session, after the production of a quantity of documentary evidence in the course of the present Session. Between these two courses, under the circumstances which I have already stated to the House, I cannot, for a moment, hesitate as to the course which I ought to follow; and I am almost of opinion, that the honourable Member for Bridgenorth himself, when he has calmly and dispassionately considered the statement which I have made, will not hesitate to acquiesce in my views; for exactly in proportion as the honourable Member deems this to be a subject of weight and importance, is he bound to adopt that mode of inquiry which is likely to be the most general and comprehensive. I contend, that if the proposed inquiry be conducted as I recommend, it will leave less ground of complaint to those parties who may conceive themselves aggrieved by its decision, whatever that may be,—and will produce a more impartial determination than could be produced in any other manner. There is another point to which I wish to call the attention of the House. When we look back to the course of proceeding adopted by the House in previous instances, when this question has arisen, we find that there is no occasion for acting with the haste which the honourable Member for Bridgenorth proposes. When the charter was renewed in the year 1794, the inquiry into the propriety of the renewal did not commence till the year 1793. Again, when the charter was renewed in the year 1814, the inquiry did not commence till the year 1813.

Mr. HUSKISSON here observed, that there was an inquiry as to the renewal of the charter so early as the year 1808.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—Sir, I am always inclined to defer to the superior commercial knowledge of my right honourable friend, but on the present occasion I believe that I am right. I apprehend that in the year 1808 there was a great deal of inquiry here as to the finances of India, in consequence of the embarrassments of the East India Company, which led to the appointment of a Committee to examine their accounts. I believe that the inquiry into the state of the trade of India, and into the question whether there should be a renewal of their charter or not, was commenced and concluded in the year before the expiration of the last charter. But whether that inquiry took place in that year, or in the year before, is of little matter to the present question. We are now in the year 1829 deliberating on the question of the Government of India, and yet till the year 1834 the Government of that country must remain on its present footing. The first thing which Parliament will have to decide, will be the propriety of giving notice to the East India Company. That notice must be given three years before the expiration of the charter; and as the existing charter does not expire till the year 1834, such notice need not be given till the year 1831. I, therefore, think that an inquiry commenced in the beginning of the Session 1830 will be, in every respect, adequate to give the House all the information that will be necessary to enable it to decide on the preliminary point,—namely, whether or no, in the year 1831, notice shall be given to the East India Company, that the term of their charter and their exclusive trade shall cease and determine within the then next ensuing three years; always recollecting that when the question is disposed of, there remain three years for the country and for Parliament to decide upon the course which the House ought to follow on the more general question of the government of India.

These, Sir, are the principal grounds on which I intend to move the previous question on the motion of the hon. Member for Bridgenorth. In doing so, I beg that it may be understood, that I am far from disregarding the weight of the arguments which the hon. Member has addressed to the House, and that nothing is further from my intention than to adopt a course which should be in the slightest

degree disrespectful to him. It was impossible to hear the speech which the hon. Member addressed to the House without feeling a respect for the ability which characterised it. It was a statement conveying great information, collecting a number of most useful details, and couched in a tone and temper which I hold out as a model for the imitation of hon. Members on a question calculated to excite so much personal feeling as the present. I beg that it may also be distinctly understood, that I pledge myself at present to no opinion upon this important question. I am anxious, most anxious, to go into the inquiry, in order to obtain the means of forming an opinion upon it. I am likewise anxious that such inquiry should be most comprehensive, general, and effective; and therefore it is that I feel myself bound to resist the present motion, and to await that more full and satisfactory inquiry which I am persuaded that the commencement of the ensuing session of Parliament will furnish. Sir, I now take the liberty of moving the previous question.*

Mr. HUSKISSON.—I can assure the House that I shall not, upon this occasion, trespass long upon its attention. I agree entirely with my right hon. friend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that this is a question not only of paramount importance to the commerce and manufactures of this country, but also that other interests are involved in it far higher than those of mere commerce and manufactures. It is a question, the consideration of which ought not to be much delayed, owing to the notice which the law renders it necessary that we should give to the East India Company, and to the arrangements which must be consequent on that notice. It is a question, also, upon the decision of which, by Parliament, may depend the happiness, the tranquillity, the moral and the social condition of the many millions of subjects who in India look up to us for protection and support, to say nothing of the political and commercial interests of this country. All these considerations render it essentially necessary that we should proceed to inquire into the subject, with a full sense of the awful responsibility which rests upon all the bearings of this question. I assure you that I feel thankful to my right hon. Friend for the assurance which he has given us that this inquiry shall be gone into fully, fairly, and deliberately, at an early period of the next Session. I also feel thankful to him for the further assurance that there will emanate from that quarter from which it is always fitting that such information should emanate, a valuable mass of documentary information to guide us hereafter in our inquiries, and that this information will be laid upon the table before the close of the present Session. At the same time I must say, that, notwithstanding the speech of my right hon. Friend, I do not quite see that any inconvenience would arise to the House or to the question, from acceding to the present motion; or that there is any reason which should prevent us, if we think fit, to enter into inquiry at this moment. I admit that the present session is far gone; but, advanced as it is, if we were to appoint a committee now, these advantages would arise from it:—first of all, the members of the committee would be forced to know how serious, extensive, and important was the duty imposed upon them. They would have all the advantage of the recess to direct their studies, so as to enable them, if the Committee were renewed in the next session, to discharge in a more efficient manner the duty devolved upon them by the orders of this House. It has been stated, and I think truly, that among the other questions which that duty will call upon them to consider, are questions connected with the happiness of India, and with the security of our possessions in that quarter of the globe—questions of settlement, questions of commercial policy, questions of civil policy, in all the different views in which the administration of a great empire can be considered. Considerations like these imperatively call upon Parliament to look into this subject; and, therefore, if we were to begin

* This speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, amidst all its abundance of words, contains only one semblance of an argument against immediate inquiry, founded on the assumption that it is useless to begin it this Session, because it cannot be finished this Session. But the first might be done without the last;—just in proportion to the importance of the subject, it is likely to occupy the attention of a Committee for more than a single Session.

our inquiry into it at this early period,—even admitting that we are not bound to come to a final decision upon it before the close of four years,—we should not be able to conclude it, if we conducted it properly, in the course of the next Session. Believe me, Sir, it is an inquiry more complicated, more various, and more extensive, than any in which the House ever yet embarked. I am sure that there will be no dissatisfaction in the country if the Committee were now to sit for a month—if it were then to report that it had commenced its inquiries, that it had sent queries on important points out to the East, and that it had called for a mass of documentary evidence, which could only be procured from a distance, and if it were then to recommend to the House to consent to the Committee being revived in the next Session of Parliament. Whilst I state that the appointment of a Committee this Session will be productive of such advantages, and of this further advantage, that it will be an intimation to all parties who feel an interest in this question, as it affects both the commercial prosperity of this country and the well-being of India, that Parliament has determined to direct its attention to it, and a formal invitation to them, if they have any information to give, to come forward and give it,—I am not inclined to over-value the importance of beginning inquiry in the present, instead of the ensuing Session of Parliament. I shall be satisfied, if, upon an inquiry of such importance, the subject shall be brought forward by those who are officially responsible for the administration of England and of India—I mean by Members of the Government—under the direction of the Ministers of the Crown, and in conformity with the course which they recommend as the most efficient. For these reasons, not wishing to enter, at present, into any parts of this extensive question, especially as I know that they must be discussed hereafter,—thinking, at the same time, that all questions relating to the future political administration of India should be carefully distinguished from those questions which are mixed up with the commercial pursuits of the East India Company,—knowing that all the interests connected with the first part of the subject, the civil and political Government of our eastern possessions, are involved in difficulty, and must be well weighed before we decide upon them,—looking, for instance, at the character, the habits, and prejudices of the Natives of that large continent,—I will say, that we cannot apply to it the ordinary principles of colonisation, nor deal with it as with a country which we occupy now for the first time. Matters like these must be considered by a Committee; and I will even say, that the judgment of a Committee upon them must not be held to be binding upon Parliament. For my own part, I will own that, so far as my own inquiries and reflections have gone, I cannot see the possibility of reconciling, to the degree which I could wish, the commercial interests of England with the administration of the political affairs of India by a company of merchants who are engaged in the trade of the country over which they exercise sovereign rule. I think that the principles of commerce, as they affect private individuals, must be interfered with, and its advantages counteracted, if private individuals are obliged to compete with a commercial company, enjoying at the same time the power of sovereignty, and possessing, in the latter character, 25,000,000*l.* of revenue from their territorial acquisitions. How we are to relieve ourselves from this difficulty,—how we are, on the one hand, to give to the commerce of this country full scope for those advantages which ought to redound to the wealth of England, and to the comfort and happiness of the people of India; and, on the other, not to trench on those sovereign rights which are in the possession of the East India Company, I cannot tell; all that I can say at present is, that it does appear to me, that the more we separate the commerce of India from its sovereignty, the better will it be for the interests of all parties engaged in commerce with India—the better will it be for the advancement of wealth and civilisation in India—the better will it be for the great interests of the people of India—and the better will it be for the interests of the people of England, the consumers of the produce which India supplies, and the producers of the articles in which that produce is to be paid for. There is one thing which is well worthy the remembrance of this House, when it comes more fully to consider this question—and that is, that if the East India Company be carrying on its commerce to the injury of individuals, as we have heard it

carefully stated that they are, that inquiry must ultimately fall upon the people of England. Therefore it is that I wish to give the commercial agents a warning that it is at present, and to remove it from competing with that enormous assembly of commercial enterprises and sovereign power united in the same corporation. I am particularly desirous that the inquiry should be commenced as early as possible. I wish it to be distinctly understood, that though I think that there is great evil in the present state of things connected with India, I do not think that it arises either from the conduct of the East India Company, or from the management of the Directors, to whom I owe, and for whom I feel all possible respect, and who have exerted the greatest talent for the benefit of those whose interests they are selected to protect and to promote; but that it arises from the anomalous nature of the system itself. * There is one point on which I must say that I cannot agree with my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer. My right hon. Friend said, that it was useless to enter upon any inquiry in this Session, and almost gave us to understand, that it would nearly be as useless to enter upon inquiry in the next Session.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER.—No, no; I neither said nor insinuated any such thing. On the contrary, I stated that Government would itself propose an inquiry next Session.

Mr. HUSKISSON.—I am well aware that my right hon. Friend did not say any such thing as I have imputed to him, in direct words, but what he did say implied that there was no necessity for inquiring even in the next Session, as the charter of the East India Company did not expire till the year 1834. My right hon. Friend likewise stated, that on two former occasions, when the renewal of the Company's charter was under consideration, the inquiry took place only one year before its expiration. I think, that if on the present occasion the inquiry were to commence at the earliest possible period, and were to be prosecuted to a conclusion with all speed, it would satisfy the House, the country, and I hope even the Directors of the East India Company, that it is for the interest of all parties to make an alteration in the present charter at a period previous to the legal termination of the existing bargain. I am of opinion, that if a Committee be appointed, the question of a more extended intercourse between this country and China may be settled at an earlier period than the year 1834. Let not Gentlemen, when they look at this part of the question, deceive themselves. If you neglect to follow in the track now open to other nations,—if you leave foreigners to occupy for years a market into which you might enter but for your own injurious law,—if you let the industrious classes of the Chinese deal with America for commodities which they would at present as willingly take from you,—if you prohibit, too, all commercial intercourse between China and Singapore, that glorious instance of the immense advantages derivable from free trade: it may, perhaps, be too late to alter your policy, when the charter of the East India Company has expired. In the years which must elapse before that event, others will have pre-occupied that market which might now be yours; and, therefore, I say fearlessly to you, 'Seize the advantages which present themselves to your grasp, even now, whilst you yet may.' Look, too, at the New World. The troubles and disturbances of the states of South America cannot continue for ever. They must fall before long into some settled form of government; and then their intercourse with the East must be considerable. Their situation on the coast of the Pacific is advantageous for intercourse with all the Archipelago of the Indian, and with China. At present they are without any commercial

* This complaint is quite unworthy of such a man as Mr. Huskisson: the 'greatest talent' is to be found in Mr. Astell, the organ of the Company in the House of Commons; and any one who reads his speeches will estimate him at a very moderate standard:—that those talents should be exerted for 'the benefit of those whose interests they are selected to protect and promote,' is a very small merit, as these include only the holders of India Stock, who alone have a voice in the selection, while the interests of the millions subject to their rule in India are made entirely subservient to their profit.

marina. The means of carrying on the intercourse between South America and China will be seized by the merchants of other states, if we fail to avail ourselves of it. The United States of America have already got part of the carrying trade between those parts of the world; and if we let three or four years pass without doing any thing, the delay may be productive of very great mischief to the position which England has to maintain in the East. I therefore contend, that this question ought to be taken up at as early a period as possible, especially as it is connected with only one isolated part of the charter. It is not a matter of indifference, Sir, that we should show to the merchants and manufacturers of England, who are now labouring under great depression, that this is a question to which we are fully alive, and that we are looking forward to a satisfactory arrangement of it, as soon as it can be made with due attention to vested rights and interests. I am satisfied, that if inquiry be granted, we shall be able, before the expiration of the present charter, with the assistance of the East India Company, to make some satisfactory compromise, so that a new system of trade may be acted upon in the place of the old one. That system is clearly defective. In the year 1793, when the renewal of the Company's exclusive privileges was under discussion, it was stipulated that 3000 tons of the Company's shipping should be set aside for the private trade to India, and they were set aside accordingly. The condition on which this trade commenced was a payment on the outward-bound cargo of 5*l.* per ton, and on the import cargo 15*l.* per ton; and yet this condition, severe as it now appears, was deemed at the time to be a considerable advance to a better system. On the renewal of the charter in 1813, we obtained an indefinite power of increasing the private trade with India as far as it could be extended. Since that time it has been extended very considerably, and therefore it is not sanguine or theoretical to assume, that if we proceed in the course of relaxation, our trade with India will go on, increasing the benefits which the country already derives from its connexion with India, securing the tranquillity and prosperity of that continent, and promoting the welfare of all parties who are engaged in this branch of commerce. I feel these considerations so strongly, that I do hope that the points which relate to the political arrangements to be made hereafter respecting India will not be allowed to stand in the way of the commercial intercourse with India, which is so interesting to the merchants of England, and which is so likely to prove so beneficial to the civilisation of India. It is upon these grounds, and upon reflecting that the course proposed by my right hon. Friend is more likely to produce a conciliatory arrangement with the East India Company, that I venture to recommend to my hon. Friend, the Member for Bridgenorth, to withdraw his motion. At the same time I must say, that I am not at all sorry that this discussion has taken place; by which the attention of the public will be more pointedly directed to this important subject, in the interval between this time and the next Session of Parliament.*

MR. HUME.—Having had, Sir, the honour to second this motion, I cannot refrain from rising at present to tell my honourable friend, the Member for Bridgenorth, that in my opinion he ought not to accede to the suggestion which has just been made to him, nor to delay till next Session the inquiry for which he has moved. The right hon. Gentleman admits, in the fullest manner, that inquiry into this subject ought to take place, and only differs from us as to the period of its commencement. With respect to the precedents to which the right hon. Gentleman has alluded, I must observe, that he is quite mistaken; and I say, that upon the arguments which he himself has advanced, he ought not to lose a single day in proceeding with the inquiry. Sir, this is not a question which at all involves the existence of the East India Company; it is a question which is proposed for the sake of ascertaining how far the exclusive privileges of the East India Company may be continued to them without detriment to the general

* Mr. Huskinson's speech is a good specimen of the manner in which Parliamentary proceedings are generally conducted, where the arguments frequently pull in one direction, and the votes of the parties who use them in another. All his reasons for immediate inquiry are sound and unanswerable; and yet he recommends its postponement. This deference to authority is far too prevalent.

commerce of the country. It was upon that ground that all the arguments of the right hon. Member for Liverpool proceeded. All his arguments were in favour, and strongly too, in favour of immediate inquiry; and therefore I cannot conceive how he brought himself to the conclusion, that my hon. Friend, the Member for Bridgenorth, ought to withdraw his motion, on the ground that inquiry might be judiciously postponed. At the present time, all our commercial relations are very much in a state of stagnation: our manufacturers have their warehouses full of goods, for which they cannot find a demand; and they have capital sufficient to enable them to send their goods out of the country, if they can only find a vent through which to dispose of them. Sir, we must not set aside all the commercial knowledge of the country. We have heard much of late of the superiority of practical over theoretical knowledge; and therefore I will ask the House to consider what is the opinion of all the best-informed commercial men upon the question? Have they not expressed a unanimous opinion, as manifested by public meetings, by resolutions, and by petitions to this House, that the mode in which the trade to China and to India is at present conducted, is highly detrimental to the interests of the country? If a Committee be granted to us, we may show that by the change of system for which the public calls, a great disadvantage to commerce will be removed, without the loss of a single farthing to the East India Company. I therefore say, that an inquiry ought to be instituted without delay, in order that we may ascertain to what extent the modification proposed by the right hon. Member for Liverpool may be made, consistently with the vested rights and interests of the East India Company. We ought not, for one moment, to delay the appointment of a Committee to ascertain how far the advantages which he contemplates may be afforded to the trading interests of the community. There is one argument which I must state to the House, as proving that the postponement of this Committee for a year will be dangerous to the interests of our commerce. My hon. Friend, the Member for Bridgenorth, has proved, by the experience of the last ten or twelve years, that the danger which was apprehended from letting in the private trade to India, has not occurred. If this be so, why are the public to be delayed, as to their claim to participate in a trade, their admission to which, if accompanied by those modifications which the right hon. Member for Liverpool recommends, that right hon. Gentleman thinks may be effected without any real prejudice to the Company's true interests.

Losing a year, therefore, as is now proposed, would be the loss of a great advantage to the public; there is no good reason for postponing so important a question, than which there is none in the country more worthy the attention of Parliament. Is there any thing so desirable as an attempt to remove the commercial distress by which we are afflicted? an object, the accomplishment of which might be considerably promoted by entertaining the present question. The period of the Session affords no ground for delay—to postpone the inquiry is telling the country we do not choose to sit for its advantage, though it is our duty to do so. It is highly improper to postpone the inquiry for the reason stated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The only reason I have heard from the right hon. Gentleman for a postponement is, that formerly an inquiry was not instituted till within one or two years of the expiration of the Company's Charter. This I deny—an inquiry was commenced five years previous to its expiration. Sir John Anstruther was Chairman of a Committee that sat for the purpose; and the fifth Report of that Committee went very fully into the affairs of India. Are we, in legislating with respect to India, to consider only what may be right and proper to be done, consistently with the mercantile interests of this country? No doubt that is an important consideration; but, important as it is, it does not form the only one, and we ought not to limit our inquiries to these narrow views. The inhabitants of India would also be benefited by the proposed changes, and we are bound to consult their interests. We ought to have before us all the details connected with the subject, and we should not trust entirely to the documentary information to be obtained from the servants of the East India Company, who entertain peculiar prepossessions and opinions, owing to their peculiar habits, interests, and prejudices. The circumstances of their

education and situation are such as to bias their minds, and lead them to give a gloss to their statements, unconsciously—they take up views and opinions on particular matters, which the experience of after-life cannot induce them to abandon. They are not, therefore, the proper authorities for the House to consult. I repeat, the Committee should sit immediately; and I do not think Government ought to have the exclusive appointment of that Committee. I deny that that is likely to be the best Committee which is appointed by the Government—unfortunately, as matters are generally conducted, we cannot have any other—yet I do not so much care how the Committee is appointed, provided we get one speedily; truth is our object—I hope we may be able to get at it. I hope, when the time shall arrive for the inquiry, (if it cannot be commenced at present,) that the House will make a selection of such persons as are calculated to constitute a fair and impartial Committee, that will not be influenced by the Government, the East India Company, or the interests of English merchants—exclusively. I repeat, we ought to have this inquiry now—the sooner the better. Gentlemen are aware, that by putting a question, and stating a case in a particular manner, to a lawyer, you may get almost any answer you please from him; and you may appoint a Committee of this House in such a way, and put a case to it so, as to elicit from it any answer you wish. I hope, however, that the Committee to be appointed upon this question will not be in the least biased in favour of any of the great parties interested in its decision. I do not wish to detract from the merits of the East India Company, or to censure their management of India, undeservedly—I am aware that few persons can feel a greater degree of anxiety to adopt such a system as may be calculated to do good in that country, than the Directors—I say, the gentlemen of the Company, I am sure, would not do any thing which they did not think would conduce to the interests of India; but I think their measures have, in effect, been such as not always to produce that effect. I think they have failed in accomplishing their object from want of information, and a knowledge of the general principles which ought to regulate the Government of a great and mighty empire like India.

With respect to ourselves, we are in such a state as proves we should not postpone an inquiry into these matters, with a view to relieve the country from a portion of its difficulties. In speaking of the Tariff which the United States have adopted, in ignorance of its own true interests, and the effect of which is to compel the people of America to pay a higher price for commodities than they otherwise need, and to force the capital of the country into artificial channels—the right hon. Gentleman alluded, on a former occasion, to two most important points which should not be lost sight of,—in a former speech the right hon. Gentleman referred to tobacco and cotton, which we at present obtain almost exclusively, as regards the great bulk of our consumption, from the United States. I wish the right hon. Gentleman had done so on the present occasion—it would have afforded a good ground for pressing this inquiry. The object of the American Tariff is, to take the carrying trade from the British shipowners, and give it to the American. The United States are right to endeavour to effect this if they can; but we are equally justified in adopting hostile measures to meet them—this we can effect. The two important articles of export from the United States, are cotton and tobacco—the most valuable of American products imported by us. The amount of shipping employed in bringing these two articles to England is very great; and, if we could bring them both from India, the effect would be to cause an increase of 200,000 tons in British shipping, and keep them in perpetual employment. India is competent to supply all the articles which America can supply, and in sufficient quantity for our consumption. We know that this very article (cotton) was originally produced in India, though it was afterwards transplanted to the New World, where it is now cultivated to a much greater extent than in the country which was its original parent. I do not wish to throw out any reflection on the East India Company on this account. Cotton was not the produce of the Company's territories previous to 1803; it was all imported from the Mahratta States; and it was not till 1804 that we acquired possession of these States. How does the case now stand? Of the 187,000,000 lbs. of cotton imported into this country, 151,000,000 lbs. come from the United

States. Now, I think there can be no reason why Englishmen in India, or Natives under the direction of British capitalists, should not render the production of cotton there as perfect and abundant as could be desired. Why should not our countrymen be as successful in this as in other undertakings?

I have already stated 151,000,000 lbs. of the 197,000,000 lbs. of cotton imported into England are brought from America; of the remainder, 17,000,000 lbs. come from Brazil, Egypt, which, till lately, did not produce a single bale, now affords almost half the quantity brought from India. It furnishes 7,000,000 lbs., an extent of trade entirely created within seven years. From the West Indies we import 9,000,000 lbs.; there the soil, and the attention of the planters to other matters, limit the quantity. India only produces 12,000,000 lbs. of the whole 197,000,000 lbs. imported, although we have had possession of the cotton district twenty-five years. I contend, that with the facilities which might be afforded in India, and with advantage to the East India Company itself, a great quantity of the cotton required by this country might be produced there. By whatever hands this produce should be raised, it would add to the resources of the East India Company. These facts, alone, prove that we ought to proceed to an inquiry forthwith, with a view, among other things, to allow and induce Englishmen to settle in India—I say settle; for any attempt to colonise a country overflowing with 130,000,000 of Native inhabitants, and in which labour can be produced for 3d. a-day, would be ridiculous. We may talk of colonising America or New South Wales, but we cannot colonise India; we may, however, settle some Englishmen there with the greatest advantage. It is foolish to talk of the few thousands of English residents added, since the relaxations introduced in the last renewal of the Charter, to the inhabitants of India. It is foolish to talk of this as inflicting any injury on the East India Company. If we had added 10,000 for every one who went out, it would have rendered our Indian possessions more secure and profitable, and would have been beneficial to this country. The difficulties in the way of emigration to India should be removed: if this were done, it might become an important outlet for a part of our superabundant population. Every consideration points out that the Committee ought to sit immediately. Sir, 18,000 tons of shipping were employed in bringing cotton from the United States in 1827; a great portion of the supply might be derived from India, and a proportionate addition made to our carrying trade by that means. I do not wish this to be done by means of protecting duties, which are generally the cause of loss and injury. In the first instance, however, perhaps they might be resorted to with advantage, in order to encourage individuals to make the necessary exertions. I submit that this subject (the importation of cotton from India) in itself affords a sufficient reason for inquiry. Then how do we stand with regard to tobacco? Of the 33,000,000 lbs. of that article which we import into this country, 32,000,000 lbs. come from the United States; and the trade employs upwards, I believe, of 100,000 tons of shipping—at least, it gives employment to a large amount of shipping. Now, Massachusetts has produced tobacco so superior in quality, that it is brought to England as a great rarity and luxury. There is no reason why tobacco may not be grown in India, if not to the extent of the quantity now imported to the United States, at least to a very considerable amount. Viewing America in the hostile attitude, with respect to our trade, in which her commercial regulations at present place her, we should look round us, and endeavour to obtain a supply of her staple commodities (cotton and tobacco) elsewhere. We are now obliged to take them articles from her, and I am aware the necessity that compels us to do so will continue; except we look to our East India possessions for a supply. It is true, as has been said, we have only to wait till the States of South America are placed in a settled condition, and then commercial intercourse that will necessarily grow up between them and us must be very considerable. We may then look to them for tobacco; but meanwhile we should try to produce it in India. The East Indies have not received sufficient attention at our hands. They have been too long viewed in the light of a rival colony to other states, and have been accordingly kept down. One result of the inquiry, if it took place immediately, would be, that I should be enabled to prove, within the space of a single week, that the

amount of British exports to India ~~should~~ only so be limited by the imports which we could draw thence; or, in other words, by the means which the country possessed of paying for our commodities. This is far from being the case at present. By the restrictions we have placed on the trade of India, we have been injuring our commercial interests at home. It may appear strange and paradoxical to say so, but I pledge myself to show, that if the East India Company had not the monopoly of tea, merchants would be found ready to land tea in England, and sell it at the cost price for which it was bought in China, with a profit to themselves on the venture. This may seem an enigma to persons not acquainted with commercial affairs; but it is easily explained. Merchants who send out commodities for the supply of the Eastern market from the eastern coast of Africa to China, are in this situation. We do not use all the goods which we import; we export a part of them; but it is impossible for us to bring home articles, and send them out to foreign markets in Europe or elsewhere, except we can come in competition upon something like equal terms with other states. If the British merchant is saddled with restrictions and expenses to which the traders of other countries are not liable, how is he to compete with them? The fact is, in Canton, hundreds of thousands of pounds are due to English merchants which cannot be paid in specie, which the monopoly of the East India Company does not allow to be paid in commodities, and for which, therefore, they have to take payment in bills on Calcutta, by which they incur a loss of twenty or thirty per cent., owing to the state of the exchanges. Merchants, therefore, would be glad to take tea and other articles in payment, and bring them to England and sell them, without charging any thing for freight. They would thus have the profit on the original venture, and save the loss incurred by taking bills on the Company. If I can prove that fact—and I pledge myself to do so, provided the opportunity be afforded—I think it sufficient to justify me in calling for an immediate inquiry. I say, if these facts can be proved, they afford one of the strongest cases why the present fetters and restrictions should be removed from British merchants. Suppose an English ship to go out with a cargo under these circumstances, it is unable to bring home a freight on account of these absurd regulations; but it may go to Hamburgh, or other such ports. This ought not to be tolerated, particularly when it is considered that an American ship is under no such restrictions, and that thus we lose the profit which the Americans gain. I have heard of the case of an English ship on the north-west coast of America, which, being unable to procure a cargo to England, was offered one to China, on which a profit of 2,000*l.* or 3,000*l.* might have been realised; but the master was prevented from accepting the offer owing to the regulations of the East India Company. In that instance the trip, if so made, would not have taken a farthing out of the Company's pocket. I do not wish to touch vested rights; but if it can be proved that without interfering much with the interests of the East India Company, but merely by a slight modification of its privileges, a great benefit would be conferred on the country, I am sure the liberality of that body will induce them to consent to it. Delay can produce no good effect; the inquiry, if deferred till next year, may be undertaken at such a period as to preclude the possibility of legislating upon the subject in the ensuing Session; but if we inquire now, we shall be in a condition to legislate next year, though not perhaps in the present. We are not in a condition to postpone remedies for the evils under which we suffer, and this is one remedy. The right hon. Gentleman seems to think it is only a passing cloud that obscures the prosperity of the country, and that our energies are unimpaired. I hope this may be the case, but fear it will turn out differently. I think it will require great exertions to prevent our present difficulties from being lasting—from increasing: why, then, refuse the relief which may be obtained by the adoption of measures for the removal of the restrictions upon our commerce? Great advantages would be derived from the course proposed to be taken—advantages which would develop themselves in the space of a single month; and if any one dissatisfied the Court of Directors would throw no obstacles in the way. There is a general impression throughout the country that relief could be obtained by the means pointed out. Certainly, it would require no trifling exer-

tions to save our manufacturers, merchants, and ship-owners from ruin. It is all very well to say, 'Let us inquire next year.' Why not begin the inquiry now, and then we may be certain of obtaining relief, if not in this, at farthest in the next Session? If we postpone the inquiry, we postpone the benefit to be derived from it. A right hon. Gentleman now no more (Mr. Capeling) formerly said, that a general inquiry should be instituted into our financial affairs, which must be probed to the bottom. What has all this evaporated in? The pressure of the day induced Government to set on foot an inquiry; but, that once at an end, the Finance Committee was thrown overboard. In the present case, I wish we could begin the inquiry on Monday morning: if hon. Members will do so, I promise to produce evidence that will employ them for the next month; and what more can they want? I say, I can bring forward evidence, obtained from dear-bought experience, such as it will be impossible to resist. Is it treating the commercial body in this country right, to postpone an inquiry so important to them for a year? Who knows whether the present Ministers will be in their places next year? I recollect being told by one gentleman in the Ministry, when referring to a promise made by his predecessor in office, 'Oh, we are not bound by that.' The same thing may be said next year, by a new set of Ministers, with respect to the right hon. Gentleman's pledge of to-night. Looking to what has taken place within the last two or three years, I do not know why we should consider the present Ministry as permanent any more than another. I hope a division will be called for, because I am anxious to see how many persons in the House agree with me. I know I am accused of advocating strange opinions, and perhaps I sometimes do; but I like to see how many concur in these notions. Gentlemen may be amused at this, but I have lived long enough to see measures which were rejected by miserable minorities—miserable as regards numbers, but respectable as regards principle—carried by the very Ministers who previously had successfully opposed them. I like this well enough,—but, if possible, I like still better to carry things against Ministers; because, when I can do that, I am sure the people are with me. I do not say this in opposition to the Government: not at all; I am ready to make great allowances for the gentlemen belonging to it, whose difficulties are considerable. They do not know who are their friends or foes, just at present. No doubt they think a body like the East India Company likely enough to support them, and they are unwilling to risk the loss of any friends in the existing conjuncture of affairs. This consideration is sufficient to account for much of their conduct. The House, therefore, ought to pause and weigh the consequences well before they refuse going into the Committee proposed by my hon. Friend; and I think there are ten thousand reasons for acceding to this course, although I have not heard a single one for refusing it. As to documentary evidence, there is not one Member in fifty that ever takes the trouble to read.—I venture to say, of the whole of that neutral bench, if you will ask the hon. Gentlemen who sit on it, 'whether they ever read the Fifth Report?' that there is not one in ten—no not one in twenty of them—who has ever gone through that voluminous document. This being the fact, there can be no doubt, that infinitely more good will be done by examining into the question by a Committee, than ever can result from all the information that can ever be promulgated in documents. It is very easy to make out documents to suit any purpose, especially when the parties by whom they are to be made out are parties interested, and have a purpose to suit. It is evident, that this can be easily done; and, the House being ignorant of the facts, documents may be laid before it, which would be of no value, if there were proper opportunity for examination,—and concealments may be made; which, in the case of evidence actually gone into before a Committee, cannot be done. *Exo*, I repeat my objection to mere documentary evidence, and I say I would rather have no evidence than such as may be selected by interested parties. There is nothing like the plain mode of question and answer for getting at the truth; for thus, if the parties before us are not able to tell us all we want to know, we can have the opportunity of eliciting from them what will lead to the means of satisfaction. We know very well, too, that there were many high authorities examined upon the occasion of the last Committee; we also know that their

prophecies were not fulfilled; and from this I confess I am not over willing to place very great reliance upon official persons. For this reason, too, it is that I wish to go into evidence this Session, and to have it sent out to India, so that no party may be taken by surprise. Therefore, also, it is, that I do not wish for documentary evidence furnished and selected by interested parties, or for a Report drawn up by an East India Director; for I believe no doubt can be entertained that those parties wish things to remain as they are. These are the grounds that have induced me so long to detain the House; and these are the grounds that make me hope they will recommend a course to be immediately adopted, with a view to inquiry before a Committee. I shall only say, in conclusion, that if my hon. Friend will press his motion, he shall, at all events, have my support.*

MR. VESSEY FITZGERALD.—I assure the House I have no wish to prolong this debate; neither do I feel it necessary to enter into a lengthened defence of my right hon. Friend, and still less do I mean to reply to the extraordinary speech of the hon. Member for Montrose,—in which he says, that he is not directed in his course by any feeling of hostility towards his Majesty's Government. I certainly will say of the hon. Member, that he does not appear to manifest more hostility to Government than to any other party; for there is not any Member in the House, whether Ministerial or otherwise, who has not been subjected to his reprobation. But, with that peculiar ingenuousness which belongs to the hon. Member for Montrose, he has arrogated to himself the right to censure all the measures of every Government on this great subject, as well as the motives of all the parties to whose interests those measures were immediately applicable. On one point, however, the hon. Member runs no risk of seeing his predictions falsified by the event. He presses his hon. Friend, the Member for Bridgenorth, to carry the question to a division, for this reason;—that although he formerly voted in a minority of six on a motion 'for inquiry' into the subject, he has no doubt, he should now vote in a majority on the same question; and certainly, inasmuch as my right hon. Friend has promised not only an inquiry, but that he will, next Session, originate it himself, it is very probable that the anticipation of the hon. Member for Montrose will be realised, and that he will have the satisfaction of voting in a majority. I do not know what influence this may have upon the hon. Member for Bridgenorth, who introduced this question in a manner so very proper, and in a tone so widely different from that of the hon. Member for Montrose; and still less do I know how far he may concur with my right hon. Friend behind me, (Mr. Huskisson,) who has said that it will be most satisfactory to have this motion taken up by the Government; but I must, before the House, and on the part of the Government, disclaim the language attributed by the hon. Member for Montrose to my right hon. Friend, (the Chancellor of the Exchequer,) or any sentiment of the kind as having been either used by him or entertained by the Government. I deny that my right hon. Friend has employed any expression, or given any pledge, or made use of any assertion which would admit of the construction put upon what he said by the hon. Member for Montrose, when he represents him to have said in his statement, that he has told the commercial classes he is indifferent to the interests of the country, so far as they are mixed up with this question.

(MR. HUMZ said.—'Hear, hear'.)

The only reply I shall make to the hon. Member's cheer, is, to deny the justice—not of his argument, but of his assertion; and to repeat that there was nothing in the speech of my right hon. Friend which would entitle him to say, as he had said, that the Government mean to deny the country justice in this matter; and I say that no liberal mind could put that construction upon it. The hon. Member for Montrose also insinuates that the inquiry is to be instituted by Government,

* Mr. Home's arguments in favour of immediate inquiry appear to us to be conclusive; yet they fell without the least effect upon the whole House; for we do not think there were a dozen persons in the entire assembly who thought it of the least importance, whether the inquiry began this Session or the next.

merely for the purpose of putting forward documentary evidence which would be selected, with certain views; or that perhaps the report would be drawn up by an India Director. But, Sir, I ask, can language of that kind be applied with any fairness to what has been said by my right hon. Friend? Has he said more than that he thinks the Committee may be made more effective and more useful in the next year? Did he propose to limit the inquiry to the documentary evidence merely, or that no other evidence was to be produced?—if he did, then I would not deny the hon. Gentleman's inference. But, Sir, he said no such thing; and besides, it will be competent to the Committee when it is formed, to require any evidence they may deem advisable. The hon. Gentleman then asks whether a Committee of a prejudiced character may not be formed; but I ask him whether another Committee might not also be formed with a prejudice in the other way? He says he would object to a report drawn up under the influence of Government; but is there no danger of at least equal prejudice in a report drawn up by some Gentleman at the other side? The hon. Gentleman has said too, that there is no reason why a sufficiency of evidence should not be had in a month or a week; but, in saying so, he reiterates the argument of my right hon. Friend, who says, that a year will be necessary, in order to send out to India for that purpose, and I wish to know how he can reconcile these contradictions? My right hon. Friend, Sir, has not said that he would proceed on documentary evidence alone, but he has pledged himself, as was fitting on such an important subject—(a subject not merely commercial, but affecting the interests of millions; and in that point of view, one of the greatest questions ever submitted to the consideration of the Legislature)—that his Majesty would be advised to direct that the question should be brought forward by his Ministers early in the next Session of Parliament; and that in the mean time he would move for such documentary evidence as the Government should deem necessary for the proper understanding of the question;—but not thereby limiting or confining that evidence merely to what the Government may so consider requisite. I ask whether this was not the effect of his pledge; and whether that can be considered as indicative of any intention to stifle inquiry, or to neglect those great interests of the country, for the protection of which, according to the hon. Member for Montrose, one week's consideration would be sufficient? I trust the House will excuse me for having so long trespassed on their time; but the Government having met the proposition of the hon. Member for Bridgenorth with such candour and fairness, and having pledged itself as it has done, to grant an inquiry much more ample and satisfactory than could now be entered into, during the next Session; I do trust I shall be excused for endeavouring to show that the course adopted by my right hon. Friend is the most desirable for the country, as well as that his speech is very far indeed from what it has been represented to be by the hon. Member for Montrose.

MR. ROBINSON.—I feel bound to say that I considered that the pledge given by the right hon. Gentleman was so ample in every respect, and was offered, moreover, with so much sincerity, that I think the hon. Member for Bridgenorth cannot object; and I am also of opinion that the commercial interest of the country will be satisfied with the reasons that have been assigned for not entering upon the investigation during the present year, but postponing it to the next Session. I think the hon. Member for Aberlecn has not argued this question with his usual acuteness; because he has represented the commercial and manufacturing interests as waiting with anxiety for the decision of the Committee on this important subject. Now, this I think cannot possibly be the case; for whether the inquiry be gone into this year or the next, the commercial interest are perfectly aware no alteration can take place until the expiration of the charter. With respect to the hon. Member for Bridgenorth, who has argued this question with the greatest credit to himself, and who has brought it forward upon grounds of general benefit to the country, I should a little fear that he is rather too sanguine.

* This is not the case: for according to the view taken by Mr. Huskisson, Mr. Baring, and others, *which might be done in the way of further opening the trade, long before the charter expires.*

guise. Neither can I agree with the hon. Member for Aberdeen, in his anticipations of the ruin which he thinks will result from the state of negotiations with the United States of America; for I would ask him, how, if we discourage the importation of cotton from America, are we to derive any benefit from the export of our manufactures there?

Mr. CHARLES WILLIAMS WYNN.—I wish to make one or two observations, before I accede to the delay that is now proposed; as I am not inclined, upon this occasion, to follow the example of my right hon. Friend, by opposing the appointment of this Committee. At the same time I ought to state, that last year I was of a different opinion, and I then observed, that I thought the year 1830 would be early enough to enter upon this investigation. I now, however, feel that it is not expedient any longer to delay the inquiry, and if it were only with the view of making adequate preparations for that great inquiry which will be forced upon us, we ought not any longer to delay the commencement of it. I also think with those who say that it would be infinitely preferable that the measures, whatever we may adopt, originated with, or at least had the full concurrence of, his Majesty's Government: and I therefore dissent altogether from the hon. Member of Aberdeen, who would rather carry the inquiry against, than with the consent of, Ministers; for I feel that this inquiry is of too diffuse a description to be entered on with profit at the end of a Session, as well as of too important a nature to be commenced or carried on as a party question. But why should the wishes or objects of Government upon this question be different from those of any other party? I can see no reason for any such feeling, and I am persuaded that there is no man in or out of the Government, who is not equally anxious that this House should have the fullest information, to enable it to proceed in whatever steps it may take upon this important subject. For need I tell this House that this is not a question which affects this country alone,—or that we must all agree with my right hon. Friend, when he says that, important as is the renewal of the charter, or the Government of British India to the East India Company, these considerations must sink into insignificance, when compared with those higher duties which we owe to the millions over whom we have assumed the Government? And to those people is most undoubtedly due our first attention, and to their interests ought we, after all, to give the primary consideration.

With this view, then, it is, that I wish no time to be lost, before we proceed to this inquiry. I have no wish to revert to what has been done upon former occasions, although I do think that there are precedents to which we ought to look, not so much for the purpose of shewing us what course we ought to follow, as to point out to us those things that we ought to avoid. Unquestionably, the last Committee of inquiry, though it was a Committee up stairs, as to the situation of the East India Company, and appointed in the first instance by the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, less with a view to the renewal of their charter, than with reference to their pecuniary affairs, has still led to reports which are invaluable, and these reports are documentary evidence, which I cannot treat as insignificant, for I think them to be of the greatest consequence. Considering, then, how little attention has been given to the subject of India since that time, the public mind being occupied by other matters of a more domestic nature, I do think that it would not be improper to have a Committee now, in order that we may have an opportunity, during the recess, of going through what has been done by previous Committees, and of judging what parts of their labours would be useful upon the inquiry next Session.

I do not participate in the apprehensions of the hon. Member for Aberdeen, who anticipates some partiality in such Report, of which I have no fear at all; as, if the Members of the Committee be balloted for, there cannot be any reason to fear a partial Report. What I should say, however, is, 'Let there be no opinion given by the Committee at all: let them collect the evidence for our information, and put us in a condition of judging for ourselves.' Then, no matter who may compose the Committee, they cannot preclude us from requiring any information we may want; and when we look into the evidence they may have

examined, that will furnish us with reasons why we should close our doors against other information. Much has been said of the commercial part of the question; but, in fact, that is the least important portion of it. The trade of the East India Company has been already decided upon; it is not as it used to be,—not one fifth of it now passes through their hands; and, in truth, the proper name for the Company should now be, 'the Company of Merchants trading to China, and the Engine for the Government of India.' With respect to the trade with China, I have seen no reason to alter my mind, or to recede from those opinions which I entertained when connected with my right hon. Friend now no more, whose loss I deeply regret, and have reason every day still to deplore. I have no difficulty in saying that I regret that the monopoly was granted to the Company for so long a time. The minority, upon that occasion, was small; but many regretted that the trade had not been granted to them for ten years only, in order that we might see whether the British merchant should not partake of those advantages which America and other countries enjoy—many, I say, regretted that we did not secure our manufactures from being carried in American vessels.

MR. ALEXANDER BARING.—I agree, Sir, with several hon. Gentlemen, who have spoken, in the idea that the argument to be used at present should only have reference to the mode of our proceeding; and for this reason I shall not enter into the consideration of the main question, and still less into its very numerous details. I admit that the subject is, undoubtedly, one of the greatest importance, and the sooner an inquiry can be instituted into it the better, provided that inquiry be of an effectual character: and therefore it was, that while the Chancellor of the Exchequer was speaking, I did not agree with my right hon. Friend, when he said that the year 1830 would be time enough for instituting an inquiry. When, however, it is considered that a fortnight or three weeks will, in all probability, terminate the present Session, I must think that it would be more convenient to all parties, and more conducive to the elucidation of the question, to wait, and begin the investigation at the commencement of a new Session. If the House now appoints a Committee, the consequence will be to keep Deputies from the commercial parts of the country in town, and that in various parts of the country, expectations may be created which it would be utterly impossible to realise or perfect in so short a space as three weeks. The only objects which such a Committee could have in view,—and those I acknowledge might be useful, although I do not think there is now time even for them,—would be to digest a plan for obtaining information in the ensuing year; to determine what parts of the Reports, which have already been made, ought to be printed; to receive the documentary evidence which Government intends to communicate; and to see whether any more would be necessary. It ought, in fact, to be a Committee of preparation for next year, and not a Committee to enter into the consideration of the question. I perfectly agree with my right hon. Friend who has just spoken, that there can be no reason why any Committee appointed on the subject should give their opinion upon it. If they collect and report the evidence upon it, that will be sufficient: neither can I at all concur in the apprehension of my hon. Friend, the Member for Montrose, that any partial view will be taken of the question. Although I am not in the habit of reposing unlimited confidence in his Majesty's Government, I cannot see what interest they can possibly have, except to do justice, and shew fair play, as far as they can, between the East India Company and the country. Even the cautious silence, on the present occasion, of the hon. the Chairman of the Court of Directors induces me to believe that that hon. Gentleman is not so very willing to trust the cause of the Company in the hands of his Majesty's Government, as my hon. Friend, the Member for Montrose, seems to suppose. Indeed, on the contrary, I have great confidence that no political or party feeling will be at all likely to disturb the deliberations of Parliament on this great question. The Committee may come to a wrong decision on the question, but I am sure they will decide impartially and honourably upon it. When the inquiry comes to be instituted, it may perhaps be desirable to institute more than one Committee. In the Finance Committee, last year, great inconvenience was felt, in consequence of the mass of business submitted to it being infinitely more than

a single Committee could manage. The inquiry into the East India question may, in my opinion, be advantageously divided among three Committees. The first might be a Committee solely to ascertain the financial position of the East India Company. This is, I think, indispensable; for when the opening of the trade to China from the East India Company was talked of, the hon. Chairman said that they were so connected together, that if the Company were deprived of that trade, they would not have the means of meeting their debts, and carrying on the government of India. It, therefore, is absolutely necessary to know the amount of the debts of the Company, and of their assets;—their profits,—their probable future condition,—their profits and losses, and, in short, their whole commercial and financial situation.—For, Sir, I say that without this we can neither know the true state of the trade with China, nor ascertain the real financial state of the Company. Then I think another Committee could be advantageously employed in considering the commercial part of the question as relates to the trade with India itself, which in itself and its consequences involves matter of deep and serious import. The third Committee might have assigned to them to examine with great care the condition of the people of India, and the effects likely to result from—in one short word—colonization; or the propriety of permitting unrestrained intercourse between this country and the Natives of India. It can scarcely be necessary for me to say that the question, 'whether the tranquillity and happiness of India would be endangered by any new arrangement,' is the greatest question of the whole. When the Charter was last renewed, I voted with the Company, because I thought that great danger was involved in the extension of the trade then proposed. Happily, those apprehensions have been negatived by the result; but a spirit is now abroad, which has excited the people to wish that the doors to India should be thrown still more open; and, although I have not as yet formed any decided opinion on the subject, I cannot help thinking this a question pregnant with great and serious risks. I do therefore say, that there ought to be three Committees appointed for the consideration of these subjects,—not to give their opinion, but to collect evidence, and to inquire, leaving the House to form its own opinion. I think this will be useful, not merely by the evidence they will have, but as in this way a greater number of Members will be set to work. I have heard of a Committee sitting for five years, and I am sure that one might sit upon this subject for that length of time, and, after all, not be able to give satisfaction. Considering the great importance of the question, considering the natural anxiety of the mercantile interest respecting it, I hope his Majesty's Ministers will see the advantage and the propriety of assembling Parliament again as early as possible; and that even if there be no other great question to come before them, it will be greatly inconvenient to the House not to do so. I beg also to be allowed to suggest, that although the Charter of the East India Company will not expire until 1834, that of the Bank of England will terminate in 1833. The latter, if not so important a question as the former, will, nevertheless, require grave consideration. It would be exceedingly inconvenient to have both questions under the consideration of Parliament at the same time, or, perhaps, be obliged to put off the consideration of one of them for another year. I have only one more observation with which to trouble the House, and that I shall make with a view of obviating the injury which might arise from the exaggerated statements that have been made of the benefits that must result from what is called 'opening the trade with India.' Whoever heard the able speech of the hon. Member for Bridgenorth, must, able though it was, nevertheless allow, that persons engaged in trade here, might carry away very exaggerated opinions as to the benefits which the opening of the trade would be calculated to confer on the commercial interests of the country. I do not deny that great benefits may arise from that opening; but I hope it will be allowed to be a subject that requires consideration, and that it is all-important, when we are told that this trade is opened, and that we are to have a reciprocity system with between 200 and 300 millions of people,—to ascertain how the fact really stands. The apprehension I have, is, lest such a statement should have the effect of putting the whole commercial interest on the alert, in order, as they

imagines, to dip their hands into this gold mine. Let it be recollected, however, that the trade has been always open—that it is carried on by the United States of America,* and by almost every country in Europe,—not only with China but with India itself. All that is wanted is, that the commercial interest of England, generally, should participate in its advantages. If any notion should go abroad of immense benefits to this country to be derived from the proposed measure, I will venture to say that that notion will be followed by a greater disappointment than ever before attended a similar expectation. As I have said before, France and other nations trade freely; and, therefore, the spirit now excited is, that English merchants and English shipping should participate, in it, and have their share in what I am inclined to think will not be found the gold mine that exaggerated representations might lead people to believe it. One reason I have for wishing to go into an early consideration of the question is, to ascertain whether the East India Company may not be induced to permit the participation by the general merchants of this country, not of that monopoly of the Company, from which they derive their principal profit—the importation of tea into this country—but of the indirect trade in that article from China to France, and Hamburg, and all other parts of Europe;—and thus, at least, allow us to have the benefits which will result from the carrying-trade. I might almost say, with regard to the Company,—though it is a body I respect,—that they act like the dog in the manger;—they prevent the country from participating in a trade which they do not take advantage of themselves. I recommend this consideration to his Majesty's Government. It would be better for the private traders themselves, that, instead of rushing at once into this trade, they should break into the system gradually—it would occasion less risk to adventurers. I hope that the East India Company will meet this question with their usual liberality. There is no body of men more liberal; and I feel confident that, when this question is examined by a Committee, it will do justice to that body, and to the disinterested, liberal, and enlightened conduct of their government in India, taken as a whole.† It may be criticised as to parts; but their administration, as a whole, will bear a comparison with any other colonial Government. I have been tempted to go into greater detail on this question than I intended. I hope that, as early as possible next Session, the subject will be considered.

SIR CHARLES FORBES.—Sir, I must say that I am contented with the answer of the right hon. Gentleman, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to this motion, that he will give a Committee next Session to take into consideration this vast question; and I am more disposed, after what has fallen from the right hon. the President of the Board of Trade, to recommend that the consideration of this question should be taken up through the medium of his Majesty's Ministers. I have not a doubt that the formation of the Committee will be satisfactory to all parties, and that we shall receive from it a Report like that in 1813, which was fair and impartial. I am sure of this, that no Committee, however constituted, will feel otherwise than anxious to go into the whole question fairly and dispassionately. As I am now up, I will take the opportunity of saying a few words on a more important topic. The right hon. Gentleman may cry 'Hear!' but I beg to assure the House that, in my opinion, the question of the trade with India is a far less important question than the welfare of the Natives of India. My opinion on this subject, it so happens, is precisely the same as it was in 1813; since that time, I have seen no reason whatever to alter my opinion—an opinion now pretty generally adopted—as to the impolicy of that country being governed by any power uniting the two characters of sovereign and merchant. I am perfectly satisfied that such combination of character is

* And Mr. Baring himself already trades largely with China, by exporting cargoes of British goods from London to Canton in American vessels, not less than eleven of which are said to have sailed from his House in one year.

† If Mr. Baring had read Mill's "History of India," or "The Fifth Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry," alluded to by Mr. Hume, he would never have ventured on this assertion.

disadvantageous to the governed and the governors; and I trust that, on that point, no very great difficulty will be found in recommending to the company to adopt such a change as may be proposed to them; for, although their charter may expire in 1834, that does not determine their existence—they will still be a corporate body, and may carry on trade, within the limits of their charter, from Cape Horn to the Cape of Good Hope, in competition with private traders; and I am satisfied that private traders cannot carry on a competition with the East India Company in India, whilst the Company hold the administration of the government of that country. Objectionable as that government may be,—objectionable as all governments are,—(for no government is perfect,)—objectionable and faulty as the Company's, 'or as all governments may be,—those faults, I am perfectly persuaded, are more easily remedied under the East India Company's Government, than if the East Indies were a colony under the Crown. I think that there are examples enough to show this fact; and when I look to this circumstance, I cannot help congratulating India that it is under the Government of the Company, instead of that of the King. There is one great cause of regret in the progress of this matter; that when this subject comes to be considered and discussed in this House, it will be discussed either by persons unacquainted with it, or by merchants who must have some bias themselves. In fact, the discussion chiefly falls on those who are interested in the result. I regret this circumstance, and I should recommend some of our young senators, who, so much to their credit, went to America with a view of acquiring information;—I say, I strongly and seriously recommend them, or others, to take a tour to India, for information; and I am happy to hear that such an idea is in agitation on the part of an hon. Baronet,—I should not be doing right to mention his name,—who, I am told, intends to make a tour to that country. I will venture to say, that every one who does so, will acquire considerable information, and will think his labour very well bestowed. I am very unwilling to trouble the House further; but from what has been thrown out by the hon. Member for Callington, (Mr. Baring,) I am induced to join with him in cautioning the merchants of this country against entertaining expectations of too sanguine a nature as to the effects of a free trade. I will express my own opinion,—that if you make the trade to China an open trade, great disappointment will follow. It is very well to talk of free trade, and reciprocity, and of 150 or 200 millions of population in China; but remember that that empire is hermetically sealed against foreign commerce; the prohibition is so strong, that no subject of the empire can leave it without incurring punishment. The result of opening the trade to China would be, that a vast quantity of exports would be sent to that country, the consequence of which would infuse a vast glut into the market, and occasion an instantaneous rise in the prices of Chinese commodities at Canton; for the trade at Canton is carried on entirely by monopoly—the whole empire is full of monopolies. The trade of Canton is in the hands of twelve Hong merchants, who have a monopoly of it, and who pay largely to the Government for the exclusion of their countrymen. It is well known that the Hong merchants have the power to say, and they do say, at the beginning of every season, 'We will give you so much for your cotton and other articles of import, and we will supply you with articles of export at such and such prices;' and very seldom are they induced to depart from the prices when fixed. The Canton market has consequently maintained a uniformity of prices for the last twenty years, seldom varying beyond eight or ten pence the pecul for cotton. Besides, trade is interdicted at every other port but Canton. A person, with whom I am acquainted, fitted out a small vessel, and loaded it with proper commodities, and went to various points, selling up as far as the Yellow River, and making every effort to open a trade with the natives; but he found it impossible, and was able to procure corn provisions only by stealth, which he paid for, not in cargo, but in hard dollars. Attempts have been made on all points, and at the utmost extremities of the empire, and every attempt met with the same result. I can only say, that I am much gratified at the prospect of this question being made a subject of inquiry next Session; and I think it would be worth while to propose to the Company a

temporary extension of their Charter, as to the China trade, for five years, as a consideration for their relinquishment of the trade to India. Those who are looking out for this opening, who expect, and who have a right to expect, advantages from it, may not be displeased at our saying to the Company, 'If you will consent to the opening of the India trade, we will give you an extension of the tea monopoly for five years.' The hon. Director (Mr. Astell) says, that will be a matter for consideration when the time comes. I confess I was one of those who, at the renewal of the Charter, thought that ten years should be the term, not twenty. One word more in regard to the private trade to India.

All the argument on this part of the question is, in my opinion, on one side. I have seen enough to entitle me to say, that the trade of India is in its infancy only. Give India a free trade, and give her, at the same time, common justice. And how is that to be done? Who is to do it? Not the East India Company; no, it is this House. Year after year enormous duties are levied on the productions of India. Reduce those duties; let his Majesty's Ministers reduce the duties on the manufactures of India to the same level as those imposed on English manufactures, which pay little or nothing. Is that reciprocity? Is that free trade? Is that supporting a free trade to India, when its exports and productions are burthened with high duties here; whilst you are supplanting her cotton manufactures, importing her raw cotton, and sending it back manufactured? I hope this House will make a beginning, and do what has been expected of it for some years past,—make a reduction in the duties on East India sugar; that is the first and most important point for the consideration of the Ministers of the Crown, who have assured us it should be taken into consideration, and I trust it will be done. I, for one, will not pledge myself in favour of opening the China trade, which would produce an enormous rise in the prices of teas, and the people of this country would be deluged with inferior teas. At the present moment, teas of the worst description are brought over, in the privilege of officers of the Company, in the Company's own ships; such is the difficulty of getting good teas in China. I know one gentleman who carried the tea he purchased back again, and the merchant very honourably paid him back the money. Another sent his teas to the West Indies, where they were sold for a mere song. The teas from the India House are of the best quality. What I wish to see is, that the East India Company should give up their monopolies of salt and opium, and draw their revenue from duties only. I beg pardon for trespassing so long upon the attention of the House, but this is a question which, of all other questions that have come before this House, I think the most important; it is, therefore, I occupy the time of the House: those Gentlemen who raise the cry of 'Question,' are impatient, not for the question, but for the division. I could, if necessary, go further into the subject; it is one which concerns not our interests only, but the interests of the people of India; and I hope that there is a prospect of their interests being looked to in connexion with all the circumstances of the case.

Mr. ASTELL.—Although it had been my intention in the early part of the evening, to have troubled the House with my remarks, and possibly at some length, in the attempt to refute the arguments and expose the errors of the hon. Member for Bridgenorth, I then abstained in the belief that the proposition of the right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have made further discussion unnecessary. What has since fallen from the hon. Member for Callington, makes it incumbent upon me now to trouble the House with a few observations. I can assure the House that there is no one who courts inquiry into this subject more cordially than I do,* or who more deplores the ignorance which pervades this country with respect to India, and the prejudices raised against the East India Company and their affairs; and I am persuaded that a thorough investigation would disperse those prejudices. The hon. Member for Callington

* Yet, Mr. Astell is one of the most zealous opposers of all inquiry in India, where better information could be elicited through a Free Press than by any inquiry in England.

has pointed out the exaggerations of the hon. Member for Bridgenorth,* and I am not disposed at this late hour to enter into the particulars of the case; but I think that the House and the country should not be suffered to conclude, that, because benefit has been assumed to follow from the partial opening of the trade, an unrestricted free-trade would have the same effect. An increased export to India is no proof of increased prosperity, without a correspondent return from India.† It is alleged that the opening of the China trade, and the colonisation of India by Europeans, would lead to the introduction of the manufactures of this country to an unlimited extent; and it is even affirmed by the hon. Gentleman, that it would afford to our manufacturers the markets of three hundred millions of people! The East India Company have nearly ceased to be exporters of goods as merchants; and their importations, which consist chiefly of silk and indigo, are made principally as a means of remittance, to enable them to defray the territorial charges incurred in this country on account of India. In their political capacity, they are quite alive to the necessity of encouraging the products of the East. The article of cotton, to which reference has been had, is any thing but neglected by the Company;‡ much has been done with the sanction, or by the direction of the executive body in this country, for the encouragement of the cultivators and the manufacturers; but the maulas of India, which had long been so famous, have been supplanted by the manufactures of Manchester and Glasgow.

With regard to the giving greater facilities to the resort of Europeans to India, experience has shown that the Natives of that country will not (if I may so express myself) keep company with Europeans; and I would refer the House to a work lately published, ('The Journal of Bishop Heber,') in proof that nothing could be more impolitic than the unrestricted admission of Europeans into India.§ That country is sufficiently open to England for all useful and practical purposes.|| European articles are to be had at either of the Presidencies almost as cheap as in England: the shipping interest is in as pitiable a condition; many ships being laid up in Calcutta, others coming home dead freighted, or at 15s. per ton. I think that these facts speak volumes. I shall feel glad, if, in the next Session, an opportunity be given of examining the whole subject. The result will, I am convinced, show that the Government of the Company has not only not been so

* Let the reader go back to Mr. Baring's speech, and he will see that it contains nothing beyond a bare assertion, or rather the expression of a caution against indulging exaggerated hopes. It does not call in question a single statement in Mr. Whitmore's speech.

† These returns are impeded by the India Company preventing free settlement in the interior. But the imports *have* increased as largely as the exports, in value at least, and but for the restrictive system, which keeps the cotton and sugar unimproved, would increase still more.

‡ It is not desired that *the Company* should improve it, but simply that they should permit private individuals to hold lands in India, and they would soon improve the cotton and all other products of the soil.

§ Bishop Heber's work contains infinitely more facts and arguments in favour of European settlement in India than against it. The reason why some of the few Europeans now found in the interior of the country are of bad characters, is because they are 'interlopers,' who do not regard the law which prohibits settlement in the interior without a licence. Let the country be thrown open, and make it safe and lawful for men of capital and character to go there; and the class of settlers will soon improve.

|| We wish some one in the House had answered this by asking the Speaker to read the Proclamation which orders the seizure of any English individual found buying or selling goods at a distance of ten miles in the interior from Calcutta. Is not the 'disposing of investments of goods a useful and practical purpose?' And yet, any man found doing this in the interior, may be lawfully seized and banished without trial, by the Government of India. See the Proclamation to this effect in 'The Oriental Herald,' vol. xx. p. 163.

defective as the advocates of free trade and colonisation would endeavour to make this nation believe; but that the Company have been the humble instruments,* in the hands of Providence, of conferring great benefits on the Natives of India, who, from their peculiar connection with this country, have undoubtedly strong claims upon us. The moral happiness of the people has been much advanced by the Government under which they are now placed; and, as the knowledge of the institutions which we have introduced becomes more widely diffused, the more will they acquiesce in the benefit of our dominions, and the more will they profit by the protection it affords to them.† It is our duty not to make experiments; we must proceed temperately, and with a view, not merely to extend the commercial resources of this country, but to advance the happiness and prosperity of the millions in the East confided to our government.‡

Mr. WARBURTON.—I think the House cannot fail to have remarked a manifest inconsistency between the statements of the two hon. Gentlemen who last addressed the House; of whom the one has declared that the trade to India is not worth the having; and the other, that this is to be predicated of the trade to China. It may be that either of these statements is true; but if the fact be so, give me leave to observe, that it is a striking manifestation of the evils of the great monopoly which is complained of. It shows what must have become, in the hands of the East India Company, of a trade which, in past ages, all nations, and all people of the civilised world, have been so eager to possess, the trade with the 'dives India,' which has ever been coveted by all the commercial states upon the face of the globe. And this is the trade which we are to be told cannot answer in the hands of private mercantile adventurers. The hon. Member for Malmesbury has earnestly requested that such young members as would be adequately instructed in all the branches of the question that has been opened to us, would qualify themselves for the investigation by previous travelling in that beautiful country. But, surely the hon. Baronet must know, that one of the most celebrated of modern travellers, the most diligent, indefatigable, and enterprising of those naturalists who, in our time, have added most largely to the dominion of science—(*Cries of Name, name, and Humboldt*).—this illustrious man applied some time ago, for the hon. Company's permission to travel through India; and met (as I understand) with a refusal. Another case, not less pertinent to this part of the question, came under my own observation. On the opening of the trade in 1813, a very eminent merchant applied to the Company to be allowed to send out a person to improve the cultivation of silk, and met with a positive refusal. What did he do? Why, he sent out this person at his own risk, and the India Company had the cowardice not to send him back, because, as I really feel bound to believe, the Company was afraid of an exposure of its own nefarious proceedings.

I will not, Sir, trouble the House further, at any length; but I beg their indulgence for a few moments. There is one point which has been overlooked.

* And yet, so afraid are the Company of trusting the Natives to express their own feelings on this subject, that their continual alarm is, lest the Natives should by the least advance in freedom rebel against their rule, and expel them from the country.

† It is desirable that evidence on this subject should be drawn from India itself, by competent witnesses. The East India Directors and their servants are not admissible evidence on such a subject, as any praise or censure of the system must reflect upon themselves; and they can hardly be expected to give impartial testimony in judging their own conduct.

‡ No country was ever yet improved without experiments. By these, America and New South Wales have rapidly advanced. From the absence of these, India has remained stationary, if not retrograded; and, unless happiness and prosperity be synonymous with discontent and poverty, the Natives of India cannot be said to be in the condition described, as all recent testimony is uniformly opposed to it.

If Europeans be permitted to visit India, India may suffer very much unless some control be held over them to prevent them from oppressing the Natives. We have given to India an expensive and elaborate system of proceeding which is unfitted for that society. The particular form of government we are disposed to give to India would be only a renewal, I am afraid, of the Board of Control. Now, I ask, what is that Board at present? That Government which ought to superintend the welfare of many millions of people, is a mere nursery for Statesmen. No individual in it has time to acquire a knowledge of India, and no one of them can possibly, I am persuaded, have the interest of India at heart. Each of them holds his situation by an ephemeral tenure, and by the time these Statesmen have acquired some knowledge of the duties of their situation, they are promoted to a more important office. This is a question which particularly deserves the consideration of the House—quite as much, indeed, as the opening of the trade.

Lord ASHLEY.—Only one person of the description alluded to by the honourable Member for Bridport has asked leave to go to India since I have been at the Board of Control, and the Court of Directors paid him every attention. He received from my Noble Friend, then at the head of his Majesty's Government, letters of recommendation to the Governor-General; he received letters to all the Presidencies; and directions had been sent to India to give him every possible facility.† With respect to the allusion which has been made to the case of Baron Humboldt,‡ I never heard of the circumstances before; and I put it to the honourable Member for Bridport, whether it is likely that such conduct would be pursued towards that distinguished individual, when it is well known that persons engaged in scientific pursuits, and who have reached India by travelling overland, have constantly received encouragement and even pecuniary assistance from the Company.§ As for what the honourable Member for Bridport has said of the

* The law which controls the Europeans from oppressing the Natives in Calcutta would be sufficient for the purpose in the provinces; but the Company's servants are far more likely to oppress the Natives than either merchants, traders, or landowners settled among them would be: and yet the former have now almost unbridled sway over them.

† This favoured individual was, no doubt, highly connected. Such facilities as these would not be given to one man in a thousand.

‡ This allusion to Baron Humboldt is likely to have arisen from the fact, that he once entertained an intention of going overland to India, for the purpose of exploring the Himalaya Mountains, and wrote to Mr. Rich, at Bagdad, expressing his hope of passing by that way. He afterwards, it was said, abandoned his intention, on learning that no person could visit India without a licence, and that any one even so protected was liable to be banished from the country at a moment's warning, and without reason assigned. If he understood this to be the case, even with Englishmen, he never could have dreamt of the absurdity that foreigners were more safe; for the natural inference would be quite the reverse. No wonder, then, that a high-minded individual of the rank of Baron Humboldt, should revolt at such a state of things, and not venture on such an excursion with these degrading liabilities.

§ If Lord Ashley had been acquainted with the case of Mr. Buckingham, he would have known that when he went to India overland, and reached Bombay, so far from his receiving any aid whatever from the Company, he was instantly banished from India at the very moment the Governor was eulogising his talents, and acknowledging the great usefulness to the Indian community of the nature of his pursuits, and the object for which he travelled to India; and this, too, before Mr. Buckingham could, by any possibility, have given the Governor or the Company the least offence. See this case detailed at length in the Sketch of Mr. Buckingham's Life, preceding the Heads of his Lectures, in the present Number; with which Lord Ashley, and every other Member connected with the Government of India, ought to be intimately acquainted.

Board of Control, I and my colleagues should, perhaps, like to make one suggestion permanent if we could. But, I believe, that persons filling that situation might, on being so disposed, more good in two years than might be done in twenty-five years by people having no disposition to attend to their duties.

Mr. BRIDGEMAN.—Sir, I do not rise, at this late hour of the night, to express my opinion at length upon this very important question; nor do I at all come forward to declare in what way any new arrangement ought to be made; but that the present arrangement of the commercial part of this great question cannot last beyond the expiration of the Company's charter, is perfectly evident. But, as has been well observed by various gentlemen in this House, in the course of the debate, the difference in the degree of monopoly, and the arrangement which shall succeed the present system, must be regulated with a view to other and greater interests that are deeply involved in the general question; for it should be observed, that this question is not commercial alone, and cannot be considered on so narrow a ground. The three distinct subjects mentioned by the honourable Member for Callington must, at the same time, come under the investigation of Parliament—the commercial branch, the political branch, and that which, in my opinion, is the most important, the connexion between the two questions of the political Government of India and the trade with India.

If the commercial question stood alone, it would be easily resolved; and to open the trade, would be the resolution.

The next question—What is to be done with the Government of India?—is of more importance, and much more difficult; but, of the three questions, that which is most difficult, and at the same time most practical, is the connexion between the other two. The Company has grown up, by degrees, to be what no human imagination had ever divined that it would become—a great political body, trading in one respect at a loss, in another at a profit—a great ruler over a great people—one of the largest military powers in the world, and, with two or three exceptions, the greatest maritime power in Europe; but, above all, somehow or other, intrusted with the government of above seventy millions of people on the other side of the globe. Now, what the Legislature has to consider, and what, indeed, they are imperatively bound to consider, is,—whether they can preserve the rights and interests of those people, consistently with the abolition of the Company's monopoly; and that, I hope, will be found perfectly possible. That the interests of these millions should enter into the consideration of Parliament, and that their welfare should be consulted in any measures for the relaxation of the Company's monopoly, cannot be denied; and we are not only bound to consider the interests of this portion of our subjects, but we must also look to the rights and interests of the people here. In abolishing the monopoly, and in what way the alteration is to be effected so as best to promote the interests of both parties, consists one of the most important and most difficult parts of the inquiry.

I cannot, Sir, affect to say, that I am inclined to value very highly any further documentary evidence that may be adduced; that which was brought forward by the honourable Member for Bridgenorth, is, I think, perfectly conclusive. An honourable Gentleman (Mr. Astell) has charged the honourable member for Bridgenorth with exaggeration; and in proof of his assertion, he has referred to the speech of the honourable Member for Callington, as bearing him out in that statement. I paid much attention to that speech, and I do not think that the honourable Member for Callington asserted, much less proved, that any exaggeration had been resorted to. The speech of the honourable Member for Bridgenorth was, so far as my knowledge goes, perfectly just in its principles, and extremely luminous in its details; and every single point which he brought forward—the China trade included—was, as I think, ably and conclusively illustrated. Even in the absence of other evidence, I cannot say, that I should not be prepared to pronounce at once for a great relaxation, if not for a total and entire abolition of the Company's monopoly, if the mercantile and political questions stood apart and separate. We might safely throw open the trade, if the other

question for the government of the people were disposed of. If the mercantile question only stood in the way, it could easily be dealt with; but the difficulty is, how the removal of the monopoly can be accomplished with perfect safety and security to the other great interests that are concerned—with safety to the essential interests of that immense country,—and with safety also to that long established Government. When I say this, it will be at once conceived that I do not wish to transfer that Government to this country; because, though an anomaly, yet the Government of India, as regards the interests of the people, and the maintenance of due and legal subordination there, cannot, I believe, be placed so safely in other hands, as in the hands which now wield it. I should have less difficulty in recommending the adoption of a certain course, if I saw—which, absurd as it may appear, we may yet live to see—the East India Company give up all its trade, while it still retained the Government of the country. These, however, are matters which must form the subject of future discussion. But that the inquiry which is now called for on all sides, must lead to a change,—must lead to a great and radical change of the situation of this Company,—I take to be as clear as possible. Then the practical result for us to arrive at is, when shall that inquiry be made? And, though I feel that there is much weight in the observations of those who wish Parliament to make a beginning in the present Session,—short as it is likely to be,—though I feel that some good may be done by selecting particular matters for future consideration, and by examining those documents which have now been promised us,—yet, taking into view every point connected with this intricate subject, I think it would be better not to press the question to a division; the understanding being, that, at the earliest possible opportunity,—I hope before Easter,—as soon as the Sessional business has been fairly brought forward, this question shall be really and positively discussed; and that, in the mean time, the documentary evidence shall be placed within the reach of every honourable Member. If, on inspecting the documents so produced, any are wanting, which any honourable Member may deem necessary to the proper understanding of the subject, it ought to be added to the others, unless some positive and specific objection shall be made to its production by the Ministers. Then, I hope, we may prosecute our inquiries beneficially; whereas, if we begin by sending over queries to India, on important points, in this Session, I think such a course would be productive of very considerable disadvantage. I am of that opinion, because it is very uncertain when those queries would be answered. Trusting that this question will be settled satisfactorily, in this House and out of it, so far as respects a great relaxation of the Company's monopoly,—the question being in what way that relaxation shall be made, and what other guards shall be introduced for the good Government of India,—and considering that, in the next Session, ample opportunity will occur for the full investigation of the subject,—I shall join in requesting my honourable Friend not to press the question at present, but rather to withdraw the motion.

Mr. WOLRYCHE WHITMORE.—Having already delivered my opinion, at length, with respect to the propriety, perhaps I should say the necessity, of opening this trade, I do not feel that I am called on to enter more fully into that subject. I cannot, however, but beg permission to advert to one point, which I omitted in my former speech: I allude to the daily increasing growth of the American trade with China. This is very important, with respect to the Chinese question; and, if the House will permit me, for a moment, I will read an abstract, to show the great increase of the American trade. In 1805, the value of the American imports into China was estimated at 740,000*l.*; and in 1825, at 1,620,000*l.*; their exports from China amounted in 1805 to 823,000*l.*, and in 1825 to 3,443,000*l.*; so that their trade has more than doubled in twenty years; and, if the accounts were brought down to a later period, the increase, I am convinced, would be found

* We hope Mr. Brougham will read more about the real state of India, and he will then think differently. It is really melancholy to hear such sentiments from such a man.

to be still more extensive. I have been told, Sir, that it will be better to take up this subject in the next Session, rather than to press the question now. But, for my own part, I think it would be a wise course, to enter generally into a consideration of those parts of the subject to which our attention has been directed by the evidence which has already been laid before us. In my mind, the whole view of the subject is comprised in that evidence. It is, Sir, utterly impossible for us to go on prosperously with the Government of India, if we do not revise the whole system. Sir, this is a question that ought not to be taken up incidentally—it is a question that ought to be continually before us. I feel fully convinced, from the tone that has been adopted by his Majesty's Ministers, that they are disposed to grant a liberal inquiry. I hope and I expect that an early inquiry, a liberal inquiry, and an effectual inquiry, will be entered upon next Session; and, believing that such an inquiry will take place, under the auspices of his Majesty's Ministers, I certainly shall not press my motion.

The previous question, 'That the question be now put,' was then negatived, and the original motion was withdrawn.

CIVIL AND MILITARY APPOINTMENTS, PROMOTIONS, AND CHANGES IN INDIA.

[B. signifies Bombay—M. Madras—and C. Calcutta.]

- ASTON, H., 10th N. I., Interp. to the Committee at Poona, on Special duty.—B. Jan. 6.
- Airey, H. C., Ens., to do duty with 51st N. I.—C. Nov. 20.
- Anstruther, A. J., Lieut. 54th N. I., returned to duty.—C. Nov. 21.
- Atkinson, James, Surg., on furl. to Eur.—C. Dec. 3.
- Anderson, J., Lieut.-Artill., app. to 2d troop 1st Brig. Horse Artill.—C. Oct. 11.
- Abbott, A., 1st Lieut. Artill., rem. from 2d comp. 1st batt., to 2d comp. 2d batt.—C. Oct. 28.
- Abbott, J. R., Ens., posted to 12th N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
- Arding, C. A., Lieut., to officiate as Adj. to 58th N. I.—C. Nov. 10.
- Arbuthnot, W. N., Esq., to be Head Assist. to Princip. Collec. and Magis. of South Div. of Arcot.—M. Dec. 12.
- Anderson, W. B., Esq., to be Sheriff of Madras.—M. Dec. 19.
- Alves, C. G., Capt. 18th N. I., to be Dep. Judge-Advo.-Gen. v. Highmore, posted to 5th district.—M. Oct. 15.
- Alexander, R., Capt. 48th N. I., to act as Assist.-Quar.-Mast.-Gen., to Hyderabad Subsid. Force, during absence of Alexander, on other duty.—M. Oct. 31.
- Armstrong, R. D., Eas., posted to 3d Palamcottah, Lt. Inf.—M. Nov. 3.
- Allen, Grant, Ens., posted to 46th N. I.—M. Nov. 27.
- Babington, J., Esq., to be Collec. and Magis. of Trichinopoly.—M. Nov. 28.
- Burt, Edw. Charles, Cadet, prom. to Ens.—B. Dec. 6.
- Bartlett, A. P., Lieut. 26th N. I., to be Adj. to 2d Extra batt. v. Jackson, prom.—B. Nov. 28.
- Barlow, E. F., Mr., to be Assist. to the Magis. and to the Collect. of Bhaugulpore.—C. Oct. 30.
- Browne, J. J., Senior Supernumary-Ens., to rank, and posted to 16th N. I.—B. Jan. 5.
- Burr, D., Lieut.-Col., app. Member of the Committee at Poonah, on Special duty.—B. Jan. 6.
- Bush, J. T., Ens., app. to do duty with 24th N. I. at Cawnpore.—C. Nov. 18.
- Bicknell, J., Veter.-Surg., posted to 5th Lt. Cav.—C. Nov. 19.
- Bremner, C. S., Ens., to do duty with 13th N. I.—C. Nov. 20.
- Bridge, W., Ens., to do duty with 33d N. I.—C. Nov. 20.

- Burnett, J. H., Ens., to do duty with 54th N. I.—C. Nov. 20.
 Bigge, H. L., Ens., to do duty with 33d N. I.—C. Nov. 20.
 Bush, R. Y. W., Ens., to do duty with 1st N. I.—C. Nov. 20.
 Broobie, C. W., Lieut., rem. from 19th to 55th N. I.—C. Nov. 20.
 Broadhurst, John, Capt., Artill., returned to duty.—C. Nov. 21.
 Baker, G. P., Lieut.-Col., 2d Eur. reg., returned to duty.—C. Nov. 21.
 Boswell, B., Lieut. 2d N. I., returned to duty.—C. Nov. 21.
 Barrett, T. C., Ens. 65th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. Oct. 31.
 Brookes, Wm., Lieut.-Col. Com.—C. Oct. 31.
 Barnard, H. C., Capt. 51st N. I., on furl. to Eur.—C. Dec. 1.
 Boyd, M., Lieut.-Col., to be a Brigadier v. Carpenter prom.—C. Oct. 31.
 Battine, Wm., Maj. Artill., to be Member of Special Prize Committee, &c.—C. Oct. 31.
 Baddeley, H. C., Ens. rem. from 59th to 1st N. I.—C. Oct. 11.
 Brown, T. C., Surg., app. to 74th N. I.—C. Oct. 26.
 Baldock, R. W., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 46th to 45th N. I.—C. Oct. 26.
 Burn, H. P., Lieut. 1st N. I., Acting Adj. to Agra, Prov. batt., perm. to join reg.—C. Oct. 28.
 Boyd, H., Lieut. 15th N. I., to be Adjutant of Calcutta Militia, v. Hickey.—C. Nov. 22.
 Bluett, W. H. C., Lieut., to officiate as Quar.-Mas. and Interp. to 45th N. I.—C. Oct. 31.
 Baddeley, H. C., Ens., posted to 61st N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
 Barwell, H. M., Ens., posted to 45th N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
 Beaven, F., Ens., posted to 56th N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
 Barnes, W. R., Ens., posted to 58th N. I.—Nov. 4.
 Biddulph, G., Ens., to do duty with 70th N. I.—C. Nov. 5.
 Bell, B., Assist.-Surg., to do duty with 65th N. I.—C. Nov. 7.
 Bowyer, G., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 20th to 3d N. I.—C. Nov. 7.
 Barber, J., Assist.-Surg., rem. from Hill Rangers to 7th N. I.—C. Nov. 7.
 Boyd, M., Brig., app. to Command of Delhi.—C. Nov. 10.
 Berwick, G. J., Assist.-Surg., app. to temporary charge of Med. duties of Civ. Station of Beer Choom.—C. Dec. 8.
 Babington, J., Esq., to be Collec. and Magis. of Trichinopoly.—M. Nov. 11.
 Burton, Chas., Ens. rem. from 2d Eur. reg. to 42d N. I.—M. Oct. 21.
 Bowdler, H., Lieut.-Col., prom. from 41st to 48th N. I.—M. Oct. 27.
 Ball, B., Ens. 12th N. I., struck off the strength of the Army.—M. Oct. 24.
 Best, S., 1st Lieut. Eng., to Acting Eng. at Jaulnah, v. Douglas.—M. Oct. 28.
 Buzzard, N., Lieut. 1st Eur. reg., to be Quar.-Mas. and Paymas., v. Howden prom.—M. Nov. 15.
 Budd, R. H. J., Senior Ens. 3d or P. L. I., to be Lieut., v. Power promoted.—M. Dec. 3.
 Bridges, D. M., Ens., rem. from 16th to 10th N. I.—M. Nov. 28.
 Balfour, D. W., Ens., rem. from 16th to 10th N. I.—M. Nov. 28.
 Barleigh, W. L., Ens., rem. from 16th to 10th N. I.—M. Nov. 23.
 Bell, J., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 9th to 22d N. I.—M. Dec. 6.
 Bell, Jas., Capt. 28th N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—M. Oct. 31.
 Berthon, Lieut. Engin., app. Assist. to extra Engin. at Poona.—B. Oct. 31.
 Bellasis, D. H., Sen. Maj., to be Lieut. v. Maw, dec.—B. Nov. 15.
 Clibborn, F., Capt. 1st Gren. reg., on furl. to Europe.—B. Dec. 6.
 Cooper, J., Lieut. 7th N. I., 2d Eur. Inf., to act as Lina Adj. at Deesa.—B. Dec. 1.
 Crispin, B., Lieut. 16th reg., to officiate as Interp. to 5th N. I., v. Baghowe, on sick furl.—B. Dec. 1.
 Campbell, G. B., Mr., to be Principal Assist. in the South Div. of the Dehlee Terr.—C. Nov. 7.
 Clapham, G., Lieut., to be Acting Adj. to a detachment of the 12th N. I. at Poona.—B. Jan. 3.
 Cooke, R. M., Lieut. 18th N. I., to be Capt. v. Nixon, prom.—B. Jan. 3.

- Cuming, H., Lieut. 18th N. I., to act as Adj. to Agra Prov. Batt. v. Burns.—C. Nov. 18.
- Colquhoun, A., Assist. Surg., app. to do duty with 28th N. I.—C. Nov. 19.
- Chalmers, J. W. C., Ens., to do duty with 33d N. I.—C. Nov. 20.
- Coulthard, S., Capt., Artill., on furl. to Europe.—C. Oct. 31.
- Cummings, W. P., Mr., adp. Assist. Surg.—C. Nov. 14.
- Crommelin, J. D., 1st Lieut., to be Capt. by Brevet.—C. Nov. 14.
- Campbell, C., Superintend. Surg., app. to Saugor.—C. Oct. 26.
- Clarkson, E., Surg., posted to 47th N. I.—C. Oct. 26.
- Corbyn, F., Surg., posted to 38th N. I.—C. Oct. 26.
- Clemishaw, Assist. Surg., rem. from 74th to 52d N. I.—C. Oct. 26.
- Christie, Assist. Surg., app. to 65th N. I.—C. Oct. 26.
- Channer, G. G., 2d Lieut. Artill., posted to 1st comp. 2d batt.—C. Oct. 28.
- Cooper, G. L., 2d Lieut. Artill., posted to 1st comp. 1st batt.—C. Oct. 26.
- Colquhoun, Sir R., Capt., (Bart.) transf. from Comm. of Kamaoon Loc. Batt., to Calcutta Nat. Militia.—C. Nov. 22.
- Croft, J. T., Capt. 34th N. I., to officiate as Dep.-Judge-Adv. to Saugor Div.—C. Nov. 3.
- Clifford, W., Lieut., to officiate as Adj. to 39th N. I.—C. Nov. 3.
- Coke, J., Ens., posted to 59th N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
- Cumberlege, H. A., Ens., posted to 43d N. I.—Nov. 4.
- Clarke, J., Ens., posted to 69th N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
- Collison, W. C. P., Ens., posted to 37th N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
- Carter, H., Ens., posted to 35th N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
- Cruckshanks, G., Ens., to do duty with 13th N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
- Capel, E. S., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Nov. 29.
- Carlyon, C., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Nov. 29.
- Carpenter, G., Brig. Gen., posted to Benares Div. of Army.—C. Nov. 7.
- Craigie, G., Assist. Surg., placed at dispos. of Comm.-in-Chief.—C. Dec. 8.
- Corbett, C., Capt. 25th N. I., app. to Comm. of Kumaon Loc. Batt. v. Colquhoun.—C. Dec. 8.
- Campbell, A. D., Esq., to be Registrar to Court of Sudder and Faujdarry Adawlut.—M. Oct. 28.
- Casamajor, G. J., Esq., to be Judge and Criminal Judge of Zillah of Nellore.—M. Oct. 28.
- Cotton, W., Lieut. 10th N. I., to be Capt. v. Jourdan, prom.—M. Oct. 7.
- Coombs, J. M., Lieut.-Col. 41st N. I., to Comm. Cantonm. of Palaveram.—M. Oct. 10.
- Cayle, H., Capt. 28th N. I., to be Dep.-Assist.-Adj.-Gen. in Centre Div. v. Alves.—M. Oct. 14.
- Currie, C., Surg., to be Garr.-Surg. of Trichinopoly v. Gibbon.—M.
- Catt, J. H., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—M. Oct. 10.
- Clarke, J. W., Ens., posted to 1st Eur. reg. and 16th N. I., respectively.—M. Oct. 28.
- Cooke, T. W., Sen. Ens., 23d or W. L. I., to be Lieut. v. Kentock, dec.—M. Nov. 7.
- Couran, J. T., Surg., rem. from 2d to 33d N. I.—M. Nov. 3.
- Clapham, W., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 1st Eur. reg. to 2d N. I.—M. Nov. 6.
- Campbell, D. G., Ens., rem. from 21st to 46th N. I.—M. Nov. 28.
- Clapham, W., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 2d to 23d N. I.—M. Dec. 6.
- Christie, J., Ens., 31st N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—M. Oct. 24.
- Cathcart, R. Mr., to be second Assist. to Princip. Collec. in South Malabar Country.—M.
- Dickson, H., Esq., to be Principal Collect. and Magis. of Canara.—M. Nov. 28.
- Daly, John, admitted Assistant-Surgeon.—B. Dec. 6.
- Dickinson, T., Major Eng., to act as Commis.-Gen. v. Frederick.—B. Dec. 6.
- Dumasterville, W. H., Capt. 12th N. I., to be Major, v. Graham, substituted.—B. Nov. 28.
- Del'Homme, B. P., Ens., 6th N. I., to be Lieut. v. Thomas, prom.—B. Jan. 6.

- Dick, Hope, Capt. 56th N. I., returned to duty.—C. Nov. 21.
 Dowle, D., Capt. 2d N. I., on furl. to Europe.—C. Oct. 21.
 Dick, G., Major-Gen., on furl. to Europe.—C. Oct. 21.
 De Montmorency, 65th N. I., on furl. to Madras.—C. Nov. 8.
 Drewry, T., Assist.-Surg., removed from 11th to 32d N. I.—C. Oct. 1.
 D'Oyley, T., Capt., Artill., 3d comp. 4th batt., to be Deputy-Commis. v. Roberts, prom.—C. Nov. 8.
 Doolan, R. W. C., Cadet, promoted to Ens.—C. Nov. 14.
 Dade, J., Lieut., to act as Adj. to principal comp. of 56th N. I.—C. Oct. 28.
 Dawkins, F. H., Lieut.-Col., to be Assist. Military Sec. to Commander-in-Chief, v. Finch, absent on duty.—C. Oct. 26.
 Debniss, G. G., Capt. Artill., removed from 2d comp. 4th batt. to 3d comp. 2d batt., v. Oliphant, dec.—C. Oct. 28.
 Dunlop, A. Y., Assist.-Surg., to perform Medical duties of Civil Station at Jessore, v. Francis.—C. Nov. 22.
 Dalyell, T., Lieut. 43d N. I., Interpreter and Quarter-Master.—C. Oct. 31.
 Dongan, J. C., Ensign, posted to 19th N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
 Don, W. G., Ensign, posted to 43d N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
 Deas, A. F. C., Ensign, posted to 5th N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
 Davidson, W. W., Ensign, posted to 18th N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
 Davidson, F. R., Ensign, to do duty with 49th N. I.—C. Nov. 5.
 Davidson, C., Ensign, to do duty with 49th N. I.—C. Nov. 5.
 Duff, W., Surgeon, posted to 19th N. I.—C. Nov. 7.
 Darvell, E., Lieut., to officiate as Interpreter and Quarter-Master to 57th N. I.—C. Nov. 10.
 Dickinson, H., Esq., to be Principal Collec. and Magis. of Canara.—M. Dec. 12.
 Dawson, H., Ensign 2d N. I., transferred to Pension List.—M. Oct. 7.
 Douglas, A., 1st Lieut. Eng., to be Superintend. of Eng. at Nagpoor, v. Faber, prom.—M. Oct. 28.
 Deacon, C., Lieut.-Col. Com., removed from 40th to 49th N. I.—M. Dec. 8.
 Dickson, J., Lieut. 50th N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—M. Dec. 1.
 Eastwick, W. J., Ens. 12th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Jackson, prom.—B. Nov. 28.
 Erskine, G. R., Cornet 1st Lt. Cav., on furl. to Europe.—B. Nov. 28.
 Edmonstone, N. B., Mr., to be Assist. to the Joint Magis. and Collect. at Balasore.—C. Oct. 30.
 Emly, G., 1st Lieut. Artill.—C. Nov. 21.
 Evans, J., Surg., to be Garrison Surg. at Chuna, v. Webb, dec.—C. Oct. 31.
 Ebrington, Lieut.-Col. 47th Foot, appointed Brig. on Estab. at Berhampore, v. McCombe, dec.—Nov. 22.
 Erskine, J., Ensign, posted to 40th N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
 Erskine, W. C., Ensign, to do duty with 46th N. I.—C. Nov. 5.
 Edmonstone, C. J., Ensign, posted to 20th N. I.—M. Oct. 15.
 Ely, F. H., Capt. 42d N. I., to act as Assist.-Quarter-Master-Gen. to Hyderabad Subsidiary Force.—M. Oct. 31.
 Evans, R. L., Lieut.-Col., removed from 22d to 2d N. I.—M. Dec. 6.
 Fullerton, R., Lieut. 25th N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—B. Dec. 6.
 Forbes, W. R., Ensign 4th N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—B. Nov. 27.
 Eait, J., Sen. Supernum. Ens., to rank and posted to 19th N. I.—B. Jan. 5.
 Fraser, A., Ensign, to do duty with 45th N. I.—C. Nov. 20.
 Findon, W., Surg., appointed to 29th N. I.—C. Oct. 10.
 Fleming, T. F., Lieut., to officiate as Interpreter and Quarter-Master to 46th N. I., v. Lloyd.—C. Oct. 11.
 Finch, P., Lieut.-Col., the Hon. H. M. Sec., to be a member of the Special Prize Committee at Burmora.—C. Nov. 14.
 French, J., Ensign, removed from 57th to 14th N. I.—B. Nov. 28.
 Ferris, J. H., Ensign, posted to 4th N. I.—C. Nov. 20.
 Fisher, W., Cadet, prom. to 1st Lieut.—C. Nov. 20.
 Flyter, J., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Nov. 29.

- Fleming, F., Assist.-Surg., to do duty with 28th N. I.—C. Nov. 8.
 Farran, J. W., Cadet, prom. to Ens., Oct. 10; to do duty with 35th Mad. N. I., —M. Oct. 15.
 Faber, C. E., 1st Lieut. Engin., to be Civ. Engin. South District, v. Underwood, on furl.—M. Oct. 24.
 Forster, T. B., Capt. 9th N. I., to be Assist.-Quar.-Mas.-Gen. to Hyderabad Subsidiary Force, v. Macleod, res.—M. Oct. 31.
 Faris, G., Capt. 1st Lieut. Cav., to act as Paymas. in Travancore and Tinnervally —M. Nov. 14.
 Gibson, Capt. Commiss. of Stores with the Malwa Force, to act temporarily as Paymas. v. Morris, on furl.—B. Dec. 6.
 Galdner, Mrs. Acting-Sec., to be Sec. to Govern. in the Mil. Depart.—B. Dec. 9.
 Gillum, R. W., Capt. of the Troop at Baroda, to act as Sen. Officer, v. Saller, on furl.—B. Dec. 11.
 Gibbon, J., Maj. 5th N. I., to resume the comm. of the troops at Baroda as Sen. Officer at the station.—B. Jan. 2.
 Gordon, J. G., Ens. 19th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Cooke, prom.—B. Jan. 5.
 Giberne, C., Ens. 19th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Seton, prom.—B. Jan. 5.
 Grierson, M., Assist.-Surg., to do duty with 65th N. I.—C. Nov. 19.
 Grant, J., Ens., to do duty with 27th N. I.—C. Nov. 20.
 Grounds, J. E., Ens., to do duty with 7th N. I.—C. Nov. 20.
 Gough, T., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 55th to 10th Mad. N. I.—C. Nov. 21.
 George, J., Lieut., 19th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. Oct. 31.
 Grant, C., Cornet, 1st Lt. Cav., to be Lieut., v. Scott, prom.—C. Oct. 31.
 Gowan, E. P., Capt., Artill., to be Assist.-Sec. to Mil. Board in Ord. Depart., v. Ophiant, dec.—C. Nov. 8.
 Govan, G., Surg., app. to 17th N. I.—C. Oct. 26.
 Gordon, W., Assist.-Surg., to do duty under two Eur. regts. at Agra.—C. Oct. 26.
 Grant, A., Lieut., to act as Adj. to left wing of 36th N. I.—C. Oct. 26.
 Gordon, J. T., Lieut. 6th N. I., to act as Quar.-Mas. and Interp.—C. Oct. 31.
 Gillanders, A., Ens., posted to 34th N. I.—C. Oct. 31.
 Grant, C. E., Ens., posted to 62d N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
 Gurnell, R. M., Ens., posted to 1st Eur. Reg.—C. Nov. 4.
 Glasturd, J., Cadet Engin., to be 2d Lieut.—C. Nov. 29.
 Gifford, J., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Nov. 29.
 Grange, R., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Nov. 29.
 Griffiths, C. W., admitted Assist.-Surg.—C. Nov. 29.
 Griffith, G. M., admitted a Veter.-Surg.—C. Nov. 29.
 Groube, D., Cornet, rem. from 1st to 8th Light Cav.—M. Oct. 28.
 Gordon, H., Ens. 18th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Warner, prom.—M. Dec. 5.
 Gordon, W. C., rem. from 3d to 4th batt. Artill.—M. Nov. 23.
 Grant, Lieut. Engin., to be Assist.-Engin., to super. erect. of Mint.—B. Oct. 31.
 Hunter, R. M., to be Collec. of Land Revenue and Salt Agent of the Central Divis. of Cuttack.—B. Oct. 23.
 Holland, J., Lieut. 21st N. I., to act as Dep.-Assist.-Quar.-Mas.-Gen. to the Cutch Subsid. Force, v. Burnes, absent on duty.—B. Dec. 1.
 Hart, C. F., Capt. 10th N. I., Assist.-Quar.-Mas.-Gen., furlough to the Cape extended, for health.—B. Dec. 1.
 Hale, J., Lieut. 22d N. I., to be Adj., v. Parkinson, on furl.—B. Jan. 6.
 Hare, S. B., Lieut., to act as Adj. to Sappers and Miners, v. De Bude.—C. Nov. 18.
 Hermesey, J., Ens., rem. from 34th to 20th N. I.—C. Nov. 21.
 Hepburn, J., Capt. 11st N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. Oct. 31.
 Hutton, T., Lieut. 37th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. Oct. 31.
 Hewett, J., Lieut.-Col.-Com., 51st N. I., on furl. to Eur.—C. Nov. 14.
 Hewett, J., Lieut. and Adj., to officiate as Inter. and Quar. Mas. to 52d N. I., v. M'Bean, dec.—C. Oct. 31.
 Hough, H. F., Surg., rem. from 71st to 51st N. I.—C. Oct. 20.
 Hewett, W. W., Assist.-Surg., to officiate as 2d Asst. to Surg. Gen. Hospital.—C. Nov. 22.

- Hadden, D., Ens., posted to 55th N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
Hopper, A. Q., Ens., posted to 57th N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
Hill, R., Ens., posted to 4th N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
Hunter, J., Ens., posted to 53d N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
Hampton, W. P., Ens., posted to 30th N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
Haggart, C., Ens., posted to 52d N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
Hayward, F. C. T., Ens., to do duty with 43d N. I.—C. Nov. 5.
Harris, M. J., Maj. 6th N. I., to be Town Major of Fort St. George, v. Taylor.
—M. Oct. 7.
Highmoor, R. L., Capt., 5th Light Cav., to be Paymas. to Light Field, division of Hyderabad Sub. Force, v. Lawrie.—M. Oct. 10.
Hobart, C. R., Ens., posted to 12th N. I.—M. Oct. 20.
Hanson, J., Lieut.-Col. Quar.-Mas.-Gen. of the Army, to be a Member of Prize Committee.—M. Oct. 24.
Hitchins, B. R., Maj., Memb. of Prize Comm., and Dep.-Adj.-Gen. of Army, app. to charge of Adj.-Gen. Depart., &c., in absence of Lieut.-Col. Conway.
—M. Nov. 7.
Howard, H., Ens., posted to 23d W. L. I.—M. Nov. 6.
Humfreys, S. J., Assistant-Surgeon, removed from 4th Light Cav. to 45th N. I.
—M. Nov. 7.
Hull, T. H., Ensign, 1st European regt., to be Lieut., v. Hooper, deceased.
—M. Nov. 14.
Howden, J. A., Senior Lieut., 1st European regt., to be Capt., v. Hooper, dec.
—M. Nov. 14.
Holmes, P., Ensign, removed from 16th to 10th N. I.—M. Nov. 28.
Hackett, J., Lieut.-Col. 40th N. I., on furlough to Europe.—M. Oct. 17.
Hill, James, Ensign, posted to 3d N. I., v. Morrison, prom.—B. Nov. 15.
Innes, P., Lieut., 14th N. I., to be Adjutant, v. Wylde, dec.—C. Oct. 31.
Innes, J. C., Cadet, promoted to Ensign.—C. Nov. 29.
Ingles, W. A. D., Esq., to be Assistant to Principal Collector and Magistrate of Vellore.—M. Nov. 11.
Irving, J., Surgeon, permitted to resign his app. to garrison at Poonah-Mallee.
—M. Dec. 5.
Ireland, C., Ensign, removed from 16th to 29th N. I.—M. Nov. 28.
Jackson, W. H., Lieut. 12th N. I., to be Capt., v. Dunsterville, promoted.
—B. Nov. 28.
Jacob, G. L., Lieut., 2d Grenadiers, furlough to the Cape for health extended.
—B. Jan. 5.
Jacob, Capt. Artillery, to act as Assistant to the Exec. Engineer at Baroda, v. Panley.—B. Jan. 6.
Jackson, E., Lieut., 68th N. I., returned to duty.—C. Nov. 21.
Jackson, C. C., Mr., to be Regis. of Circuit Court, and Assist. to Magistrate of Jungle Mehals.—C. Oct. 30.
Jervis, T. S., Ensign, posted to 71st N. I.—C. Nov. 1.
James, T., Ensign, posted to 21st N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
Jones, P., Ensign, posted to 58th N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
Jackson, W., Surgeon, removed from 19th to 30th N. I.—C. Nov. 7.
Jourdan, H. G., Senior Capt. 10th N. I., to be Major, v. Short, promoted.
—M. Oct. 7.
Jeffries, R., Major, removed from 4th to 3d Native Veter. Batt.—M. Nov. 26.
Jackson, J., Ensign, posted to 3d, or Palamcottah L. I.—M. Nov. 26.
James, C. B., Capt. 3d N. I., to be Major, v. Bellasis, prom.—B. Nov. 15.
Kennett, Lieut.-Col., app. Member of the Committee at Poonah on special duty.
—B. Jan. 6.
Kay, R. D., Ensign, to do duty with 2d N. I.—C. Nov. 26.
Knyvett, J., Lieut. 66th N. I., returned to duty.—C. Nov. 21.
Kirley, J. S., Lieut. and Brevet Capt. Artillery, returned to duty.—C. Nov. 21.
Kinloch, J. J., Ensign, posted to 27th N. I.—C. Nov. 4.

- Keane, L. R., Ensign, posted to 32d N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
 Knox, J. S., Ensign, posted to 42d N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
 Kewney, H., Ensign, to do duty with 48th N. I.—C. Nov. 5.
 Kerr, C. A., Lieut. 3d Light Cavalry, to act as Paymaster at Vizagapatnam.—M. Dec. 2.
 Livingston, J., Major 18th N. I., on furlough to Europe for health.—B. Dec. 6.
 Lindsay, Colin, Mr., to be Secretary to the Board of Trade.—C. Nov. 21.
 Leavis, G. H., Lieut. 17th N. I., to be Adjutant.—B. Nov. 27.
 Lang, Lieut. 21st N. I., to be Aide-de-Camp to the Hon. Govern.—B. Nov. 27.
 Litchfield, G., Lieut.-Col. 3d Light Cav., to assume the Comm. of the Guicawar Subsidiary Force.—B. Dec. 1.
 Leighton, D., Lieut.-Col.-Com. C.B., app. President of a Committee at Poonah on special duty.—B. Jan. 6.
 Lloyd, H., Lieut. 36th N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—C. Nov. 14.
 Littlejohn, W. D., Lieut. 71st N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—C. Dec. 3.
 Lang, Arthur, Mr., to be Assistant to Magistrate and to Collector of Rajshahley.—C. Nov. 7.
 Lindsay, W., Ensign 10th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Wood, prom.—C. Oct. 31.
 Leslie, W., Surgeon, app. to 17th N. I.—C. Oct. 10.
 Laughton, R., Ass.-Surgeon, placed at disposal of Com.-in-Chief.—C. Nov. 14.
 Loveday, W., Ensign, to do duty with 37th N. I.—C. Nov. 5.
 Lowry, R., Ensign, to do duty with 70th N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
 Lyons, E. R., Ensign 37th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Spilabury.—C. Nov. 29.
 Legard, W. B., Cadet, promoted to Ensign.—C. Nov. 29.
 Lovell, Mr., Assistant-Surgeon, appointed to Convalescent Depot at Landour.—C. Nov. 10.
 Lawrie, J. A., Assist. Surg., app. to Med. duties of Civ. Station at Moorabad, v. Bell.—C. Dec. 8.
 Lloyd, E., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—M. Oct. 10.
 Litchfield, W. E., Sen. Lieut. 6th Lt. Cav., to be Capt., v. Babington, deceased.—M. Oct. 17.
 Litchfield, W. C., Capt. 6th Lt. Cav., to be Riding Master to 8th Lt. Cav., v. Raymond, dec.—M. Oct. 17.
 Lindsay, J., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 2d N. I., to 1st Eur. regt.—M. Oct. 27.
 Lindsay, C. B., Lieut. 3d Lt. Cav., to act as Quar.-Mas., Interp., and Paymaster.—M. Dec. 2.
 Lane, T. M., Assist. Surg., app. to Medical duties at Vepery Barracks, v. Browne, dec.—M. Dec. 3.
 Le Mesurier, G. B., to be 3d Assist.-Commis.-Gen.—B. Nov. 13.
 Morris, T. D., Capt., Paymas. of the Malwa force, is permitted to visit the Presidency.—B. Dec. 4.
 Money, James, Mr., to be Commer. Resident at Cassembazar.—C. Nov. 21.
 McKenzie, R. D., Lieut. 1st Lt. Cav., to be Adj., v. Poole, rem.—B. Nov. 27.
 Mayor, F., Ens. 6th N. I., returned to duty.
 Murray, Assist. Surg., nominated to the Med. charge of squad. of 6th regt. of Cav. attending on the Hon. Governor.—B. Jan. 3.
 M'Hutchin, G. F., Sen. Supernumerary Ens., to rank and posted to 16th N. I., v. Giberne, prom.—B. Jan. 5.
 Maughan, F., Capt., to be Capt. of the Mazagon Dockyard and Member of the Marine Board, v. Walker.—B. Jan. 7.
 Mosley, W. B., Cornet to join 9th Lt. Cav.—C. Nov. 18.
 Marshall, J., Surg., rem. from 42d to 63d N. I.—C. Nov. 19.
 Murray, Adam, Assist. Surg., app. to 58th N. I.—C. Nov. 19.
 Masters, W. S., 1st Lieut. to do duty with 13th N. I.—C. Nov. 20.
 Mee, J. E., Ens., to do duty with 58th N. I.—C. Nov. 20.
 Morris, C. A., Ens., to do duty with 47th N. I.—C. Nov. 20.
 Macadam, J., Ens., to do duty with 7th N. I.—C. Nov. 20.
 M'Kenzie, J., Assist. Surg., to take charge of a detach.—C. Nov. 20.

- Marshall, John, Surg., returned to do duty.—C. Nov. 21.
 Malkby, S., Capt. 2d N. I., on furl. to Edit.—C. Oct. 21.
 Morgan, T. W., Ens. 14th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Wyldie, des.—C. Oct. 31.
 Macdonald, J., Lieut. to act as Adj. to left wing of 61st N. I.—C. Oct. 26.
 Maddox, E., Lieut., to act as Adj. to Saugor div. of Artill., v. Watts, absent on duty.—C. Oct. 26.
 Maundy, F. W., Ens., to do duty with 13th N. I.—C. Oct. 28.
 McLean, G., 1st Lieut., rem. from 44th troop 1st brig. Horse Artill. to 3d Troop 3d brig.—C. Oct. 28.
 McCrae, John, Mr., adm. Assist. Surg.—Nov. 22.
 Martin, J. R., Assist. Surg., to officiate as Garr. Surg. of Fort William, v. Grierson, on furl.—C. Nov. 22.
 Moore, H., Lieut. 34th N. I., to act as Adj. to 3d Local Horse.—C. Nov. 3.
 McGregor, T. A. K., Ens., posted to 2d Eur. regt.—C. Nov. 4.
 Morris, A. B., Ens., posted to 20th N. I.—C. 4.
 Miller, John, Ens., posted to 26th N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
 Mathison, R., Ens., posted to 6th N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
 McKean, R., Ens., posted to 17th N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
 Mortlock, J. F., Ens., posted to 24th N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
 Munro, R., Ens., posted to 10th N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
 Munro, E. A., Lieut. 39th N. I., to officiate as Cantonment-Adj. at Hussingabad.—C. Nov. 4.
 McLeod, T. H. S., Ens., posted to 51st N. I.—C. Nov. 5.
 McDonald, J., Ens., to do duty with 13th N. I.—C. Nov. 5.
 Macleod, D. A., Assistant-Surgeon, posted to Rungpore Light Inf.—C. Nov. 8.
 McKenny, H. C., Lieut. 41st N. I., to be Capt., by brevet.—C. Dec. 2.
 Morehead, W. A., Esq., to be Registrar to Zillah Court of Chingleput.—M. Nov. 8.
 March, J., Assistant-Surgeon, app. to Med. Charge of Governor's Body-Guard, v. Johnstone.—M. Oct. 12.
 McDermot, J. P., Cadet, promoted to Ensign, and to do duty with 10th N. I.—M. Oct. 10.
 Martin, S., Lieut.-Col., removed from 4th to 8th Light Cavalry.—M. Nov. 6.
 Morrell, T., Ensign, removed from 1st to 46th N. I.—M. Nov. 28.
 Macleod, C., Lieut.-Col.-Com., removed from 12th N. I. to 34th C. L. I.—M. Dec. 6.
 McLeod, L. M., Lieut. 34th C. L. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—M. Oct. 17.
 McCardy, E. A., Capt. 27th N. I., on furlough to Europe.—M. Oct. 24.
 Matthias, V., Capt. 14th N. I., on furlough to Europe.—M. Nov. 18.
 Millingen, A., Assistant-Surgeon, on furlough to Europe for health.—M. Dec. 2.
 Macleod, D. M., Lieut. 50th N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—M. Dec. 5.
 Morrison, A., Ensign 3d N. I., to be Lieut.—B. Nov. 15.
 McCombe, J., Brigadier, to assume Command at Meerut, v. Murray, on furl.—C. Oct. 11.
 Nisbet, Walter, Mr., to be Sub-Export Warehouse Keeper.—C. Nov. 21.
 Nixon, W., Capt. 19th N. I., to be Major, v. Gerrans, cashiered.—B. Jan. 5.
 Nicolson, J., Capt. 4th N. I., to be second in command, v. Speck, resigned.—C. Nov. 19.
 Napier, R., Cadet Engineers, promoted to Second Lieut.—C. Nov. 14.
 Nicholletts, G. A., Ensign, posted to 88th N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
 Nation, H. M., Ensign, posted to 22d N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
 Newnham, T., Esq., to be First Judge of Provincial Court of Appeal and Circuit for Western Division.—M. Nov. 4.
 Newbold, T. J., Ensign, to do duty with 4th N. I.—M. Oct. 28.
 Nisbett, A. E., Ensign, 1st European Regt., to be Lieut., v. Taynton, cashiered.—M. Oct. 31.
 Newbold, T. J., Ensign, posted to 23d, or U. E. I.—M. Nov. 4.
 Neill, J. G., Ensign 1st European regt., to be Lieut., v. Howden, promoted.—M. Nov. 14.

- Owen, C. J., Cornet, to be Acting Adjutant to the Right Wing of the 1st Light Cavalry, at Hursale.—B. Dec. 1.
- Osborne, J. T., Capt. 1st European regt., returned to duty.—B. Dec. 1.
- Outram, E., Lieut. Engineers, app. to execute Engin. at Kaira, Ahmedabad, Baroda, and Hursale.—B. Jan. 5.
- O'Dwyer, J., Assistant-Surgeon, removed to Hill Rangers, on furlough to Singapore for health.—C. Nov. 8.
- Ogilvie, W. C., Esq., to be Secretary to Board for College, &c., and Deputy Telugoo Translator to Government.—M. Dec. 23.
- Ormsby, Lieut.-Col., to be President of Prize Committee.—M. Nov. 7.
- Owen, J. S., Assistant-Surgeon, to enter on general duties.—M. Nov. 21.
- Prior, G. N., Lieut. 21st N. I., to be Quarter-Master and Interpreter in Hindoostanee, v. Laing.—B. Nov. 27.
- Penley, G., Capt. 16th N. I., to act as Superintendent of Bazaars at Baroda for Capt. Gillam.—B. Dec. 1.
- Payne, C., Capt. 16th N. I., to be Major, v. Snodgrass, dec.—B. Jan. 5.
- Penley, Capt. 10th N. I., to act as 2d Assist.-Com.-Gen., v. Reynolds, absent on duty.—B. Jan. 6.
- Penny, G. R., Lieut.-Col.-Com. 11th N. I., to assume Command of Troops at Barrackpore, v. O'Halloran.—C. Nov. 18.
- Pond, J. R., Ensign, to do duty with 51st N. I.—C. Nov. 19.
- Powell, J., Lieut., app. to act as Adj. to Left Wing of 28th N. I.—C. Nov. 19.
- Parker, N. A., Lieut. 58th N. I., to act as Adjutant.—C. Nov. 20.
- Palmer, G., Ensign, to do duty with 33d N. I.—C. Nov. 20.
- Prior, C., Lieut., to act as Adjutant to 64th N. I., v. Wilson.—C. Nov. 21.
- Phillips, J. H., Lieut. 42d N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—C. Nov. 14.
- Pott, George, Cadet, promoted to Ensign.—C. Oct. 31.
- Pemberton, T. F. H., Ensign, removed from 22d to 62d N. I.—C. Nov. 3.
- Pocklington, W. T., Ensign, posted to 38th N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
- Pengree, G., Ensign, posted to 39th N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
- Parker, W. I., Ensign, to do duty with 51st N. I.—C. Nov. 5.
- Philliott, J., Ensign, to do duty with 23d N. I.—C. Nov. 5.
- Patterson, T. F., Cadet, promoted to Ensign.—C. Nov. 29.
- Paul, T. H., Lieut.-Col., posted to 20th N. I.—C. Nov. 7.
- Pellowe, W. O., Sen. Ens. 10th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Gibbings, dec.—M. Oct. 10.
- Preston, J. B., Assist.-Surg., to be Garr. Assist.-Surg., at Cuddalore, v. Train, prom.—M. Oct. 10.
- Prince, R., Surg. 3d Batt. Artill., to be Med. Officer to Civ. Estab. at Chittoor, v. Sir Thos. Seveste a.—M. Oct. 17.
- Philpott, J. T., Sen. Ens. 23d or W. L. I., to be Lieut. v. Setree, and Adj., v. Kinbeck, dec.—M. Nov. 7.
- Power, Jas., Sen. Lieut. 3d or P. L. I., to be Capt. v. Johnson, dec.—M. Dec. 3.
- Periera, H., Ens., rem. from 38th to 30th N. I.—M. Dec. 4.
- Poole, W., Assist.-Surg., on furl. to Europe for health.—M. Nov. 14.
- Payne, R., Lieut. 3d N. I., to be Capt., v. James, prom.—B. Nov. 15.
- Quintin, W. St. Quintin, Mr., to be Assist. to the Mag. and to the Collector of Sarun.—C. Oct. 30.
- Rollings, W., Capt. 2d Gren. regt., on furl. to Europe.—B. Dec. 6.
- Ricketts, H., Mr., to be Collec. of Land Revenue and Customs, and Salt Agent of the Northern Div. of Cuttack.—C. Oct. 23.
- Rogers, L. M'M., admitted Vet. Surg.—B. Dec. 1.
- Robertson, J. W., 1st Lieut., to do duty with Sappers and Miners.—B. Nov. 20.
- Reid, H., Ens., to do duty with 55th N. I.—C. Nov. 20.
- Rice, J. H., Lieut. 44th N. I., returned to duty.—C. Nov. 21.
- Ross, R., Capt. 18th N. I., returned to duty.—C. Nov. 21.
- Revell, J., Lieut. 4th N. I.—C. Nov. 21.
- Ramsay, Sir T., Lieut.-Col.-Comm. 43d N. I., on furl. to Europe.—C. Oct. 31.

- Ray, C., Surg., on furl. to Europe for health.—C. Oct. 31.
 Rose, W. R. M. L., Assist.-Surg., app. to 11th N. I.—C. Oct. 10.
 Ross, L., Ens., rem. from 34th to 68th N. I.—C. Oct. 10.
 Roberts, R. G., Lieut. Dep.-Commis., to be Commis., v. Gowan, prom.—C. Nov. 8.
 Rawlins, J., Capt. Artill., to do duty with 4th comp. 1st batt.—C. Oct. 11.
 Richmond, A. F., Capt. 33d N. I., to officiate as Dep.-Judge-Adv.-Gen., Rajpootana and Meywar field forces, v. Cornish, absent on duty.—C. Oct. 26.
 Ramsay, R., Lieut., to act as Adj. to left wing of 18th N. I.—C. Oct. 28.
 Ross, R., Capt. 18th N. I., to take charge of Agra Prov. Batt.—C. Nov. 22.
 Raleigh, E. W., Mr., Assist.-Surg., to officiate as 3d Assist. to Presd.-Gen. Hosp.—C. Nov. 22.
 Rainsford, P., Ens., posted to 67th N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
 Russel, H., Ens., posted to 20th N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
 Ross, W. H., Ens., posted to 31st N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
 Rainey, A. C., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Nov. 29.
 Roberts, H. T., Lieut.-Col., posted to 2d Lt. Cav.—C. Nov. 7.
 Ross, A., Surg., posted to 37th N. I.—C. Nov. 7.
 Richards, W., Brig., app. to Agra Muttra frontier.—C. Nov. 10.
 Royes, S. H., Assist.-Surg., 3d Lt. Artill., to afford Med. Aid to details of regts. on board of the Ernaad.—M. Oct. 2.
 Raynsford, H., Lieut.-Col. 3d Lt. Cav., app. Presid. of Committee for ascertaining nearest heirs.—M. Oct. 28.
 Renaud, S. G. G., Ens., rem. from 16th to 1st Eur. reg.—M. Oct. 28.
 Rowland, J., Mr., adm. Assist.-Surg.—M. Dec. 5.
 Russell, R. H., Maj. 6th Lt. Cav., on furl. to Europe.—M. Oct. 13.
 Smith, Sir Lionel, Maj.-Gen. (K. C. B.) to remain at the Presidency till further orders.—B. Dec. 4.
 Salter, Jas., Lieut.-Col.-Comm. 5th N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—B. Dec. 6.
 Sykes, W. H., Major, Acting Statistical Reporter, to remain at Bombay, on furl.—B. Dec. 6.
 Saunders, J., Capt. 15th N. I., furl. for health extended.—B. Jan. 3.
 Seton, B., Lieut. 16th N. I., to be Capt. v. Payne, prom.—B. Jan. 5.
 Stewart, J. F., Assist.-Surg., app. to 41st N. I.—C. Nov. 19.
 Sturt, A. A., Ens., app. to do duty with 1st N. I.—C. Nov. 20.
 Simpson, R. S., Ens., to duty with 55th N. I.—C. Nov. 20.
 Spencer R., Ens., to do duty with 13th N. I.—C. Nov. 20.
 Shubbrick, T., Lieut.-Col. 1st Lt. Cav., on furl. to Europe for health.—C. Oct. 31.
 Swinhoe, S., Maj. 28th N. I., on furl. to Europe.—C. Oct. 21.
 Swinley, G. H., Lieut. Artill., on furl. to Europe for health.—C. Dec. 1.
 Scott, J. A., Lieut. 1st Lt. Cav., to be Capt. of a troop, v. Bontein, dec.—C. Oct. 31.
 Spencer, W., Assist.-Surg., app. 45th N. I.—C. Oct. 10.
 Shortreed, W., Lieut., to act as Interp. and Quar.-Mast. to 2d Eur. reg., v. Ripley.—C. Oct. 11.
 Steel, C. E., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Nov. 14.
 Swiney, J., Superintend.-Surg., app. to Cawnpore.—C. Oct. 26.
 Skipton, G., Superintend.-Surg., rem. from Saugor to Berhampore.—C. Oct. 26.
 Stethey, F. S., Capt. Artill., rem. from 3d comp. 4th batt., to 2d comp. 4th batt., v. Denniss.—C. Oct. 28.
 Smith, L., 2d Lieut. Artill., posted to 4th comp. 3d batt.—C. Oct. 26.
 Stewart, W., Col. 3d Foot, appointed Brigadier on Estab. at Cawnpore, v. Brig.—C. Nov. 22.
 Start, W. M. N., Lieut. 10th N. I., to be Capt. of a comp., v. Spillessy, deceased.—C. Nov. 22.
 Stephen, H. V., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Nov. 22.
 Spilsbury, E. R., Lieut. 37th Bengal N. I., perm. to res.—C. Nov. 22.

- Sandeman, R. T., Ens., rem. from 12th to 33d N. I.—C. Nov. 3.
 Spence, J. K., Ens., rem. from 28th to 26th N. I.—C. Nov. 3.
 Simpson, Thomas, Ens., posted to 57th N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
 Sleigh, J. W., Brig., app. to Meerut, v. McCombe, dec.—C. Nov. 4.
 Shaw, J., Bas., to do duty with 8th N. I.—C. Nov. 5.
 Sandman, J., Ens., to do duty with 48th N. I.—C. Nov. 5.
 Spens, A., Lieut., to act as Adj. to left wing of 74th N. I.—C. Nov. 7.
 Sandeman, R. T., Ens., 33d N. I., to be Interp. and Quar.-Mas.—C. Nov. 10.
 Saunders, G. W., Esq., to be 3d Judge of Prov. Court of Appeal and Circuit for Centre Div.—M. Oct. 28.
 Smollett, P. B., Esq., to be Head Assist. to Collector and Magistrate of Guntoot.—M. Nov. 11.
 Smith, H. S. O., Sen. Ens., to be Lieut., v. Waymouth, prom.—M. Oct. 7.
 Sevestre, Sir Thomas, Surg., 3d batt. Artill., to be Canton. Surg. of St. Thomas's Mount, v. Underwood.—M. Oct. 10.
 Searle, Charles, Senior Assistant Surgeon, to be Surgeon 1st Lt. Cav., v. Wyse.—M. Oct. 17.
 Shairp, S. W., Ens., rem. from 42d N. I., to 2d Eur. regt.—M. Oct. 22.
 Stewart, G. M., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 28th to 1st N. I.—M. Oct. 27.
 Smith, M. W. C., Capt. 6th Cav., to act as an Extra Deputy Assistant-Adj.-Gen. of the Army.—M. Nov. 7.
 Stevenson, E. B., Senior Ens 46th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Johnston, deceased.—M. Nov. 28.
 Strap, T. B., Mr., admitted Assistant Surgeon.—M. Dec. 5.
 Singleton, G., Ens., posted to 18th N. I.—M. Dec. 6.
 Sale, H. W., Lieut.-Col., removed from 43d to 9th N. I.—M. Dec. 6.
 Stewart, G. M., Lieut.-Col. 28th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. Oct. 28.
 Tucker, Mr. Charles, to be Third Judge of the Prov. Court of Appeal and Circuit.—C. Nov. 21.
 Travers, Robert, Senior Supernum. Ens., to take rank and posted to 12th N. I., v. Eastwick, prom.—B. Nov. 28.
 Thatcher, T., Lieut. 6th N. I., to act as Adjutant, v. Maran, on duty at Poona.—B. Dec. 1.
 Tulloch, C. R., Mr., to be Assist. to the Magistrate and to the Collector of Junagpore.—C. Oct. 33.
 Thomas, James, Lieut. 6th N. I., to be Captain, v. Dangerfield, dec.—B. Jan. 5.
 Thomson, J. C., Ens., to do duty with 7th N. I.—C. Nov. 20.
 Towgood, J., Ens., to do duty with 33d N. I.—C. Nov. 20.
 Templer, Mr. J. W., to be Judge and Magistrate of city of Patna.—C. Dec. 10.
 Trower, J., Lieut., removed from 2d to 4th troop 1st brigade Horse Artillery.—C. Oct. 11.
 Turton, Z. H., Lieut., to act as Adjutant to left wing of 15th N. I.—C. Oct. 11.
 Thomas, W., Surgeon, to act as Supernum. Surg. at Berhampore.—C. Oct. 26.
 Truscott, J., Lieut.-Col., removed from 45th to 46th N. I.—C. Oct. 26.
 Trower, C. F. Ensign, appointed to do duty with 59th N. I.—C. Oct. 28.
 Twining, W., Assist. Surg., to officiate as first Assistant to Presidency General Hospital, and to have charge of prisoners in Calcutta gaol.—C. Nov. 22.
 Taylor, Major, Engineers, to relieve Lieut.-Col. T. Wood from executive duties of Engineer of Fort William.—C. Nov. 22.
 Tucker, A., Cornet 9th Lt. Cav., to be Interp. and Quar.-Mas.—C. Oct. 31.
 Tellemache, W., Ens., to do duty with 51st N. I.—C. Nov. 5.
 Thornburn, D. J., Assist.-Surg., placed under superin. Surg. at Saugor.—C. Nov. 10.
 Taylor, H. G. A., Lieut.-Col. 18th N. I., app. to comm. of Bellary, v. Stewart, res.—M. Oct. 7.
 Turnbull, W., Surg., to be Canton. Surg. of Belgaum, v. Currie.—M. Oct. 10.
 Trench, F. F., Sen. Cornet 6th Light Cav., to be Lieut., v. Litchfield, prom.—M. Oct. 17.
 Train, W., Sen. Assist.-Surg., to be Surg. of 2d N. I.—M. Oct. 17.
 Thomson, J., Assist.-Surg., on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. Oct. 13.

- Trotter, H., Lieut. 35th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. Oct. 17.
 Urquhart, A., Lieut. 2d Lt. Cav., furl. to the Cape extend. for health.—B. Nov. 28.
 Underwood, J., Surg. 13th N. I., to be Super. Surg., v. Wyse, dec.—M. Oct. 17.
 Vickers, C. R., Ens., posted to 52d N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
 Vincent, O., Ens., posted to 29th N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
 Warden, R., Lieut. Artil., to act as Aid-de Camp to Maj.-Gen. Sir L. Smith, v. Knox.—B. Dec. 4.
 Wilkinson, W., Mr., to be Magis. Collec. of Land Rev. and Salt Agent of the South Division of Cuttack.—C. Oct. 23.
 Wilkins, W., Capt., 1st Light Cav., on furl. to the Cape, extended for health. B. Nov. 28.
 Williamson, T., Mr., to act as Sec. to Gov. in the Territorial and Commer. Dep., v. Box, absent on duty.—B. Dec. 1.
 Watson, H., Ens., to do duty with 13th N. I.—C. Nov. 20.
 White, H. L., Major 36th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. Oct. 31.
 Williams, R., Surgeon, on furl. to Eur.—C. Oct. 31.
 Watson, G., Capt. 41st N. I., to have charge of Purnea Prov. Batt., v. Shadwell.—C. Nov. 8.
 Wood, B., Lieut. 10th N. I., to be Capt., v. Rideart, dec.—C. Oct. 31.
 Watson, J., Surg., app. to Med. Duties of Civ. Station of Bareilly, v. Knight, dec.—C. Nov. 8.
 Watson, W., Surg., to the garrison at Allahabad, v. J. Watson.—C. Nov. 8.
 Wardrop, A., Surg., posted to 44th N. I.—C. Oct. 26.
 Watson, J. A., Surg., posted to 35th N. I.—C. Oct. 26.
 Walsh, C. G., Ens., posted to 14th N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
 Whistler, G. H., Ens., posted to 8th N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
 Wake, C. H., Ens., to do duty with 51st N. I.—C. Nov. 4.
 Wilson, A., Assist.-Surg., app. to 71st N. I.—C. Nov. 7.
 Wrottesley, H., Lieut.-Col., Inv. Estab., posted to 1st batt. N. Inv. at Allahabad.—C. Nov. 7.
 Welshman, J., Lieut. 10th N. I., to be Adj., v. Wood, prom.—C. Nov. 17.
 Walker, J., Esq., to be Assist. Judge of Canara.—M. Dec. 23.
 Weymouth, J., Sen. Lieut. 42d N. I., to be Capt., v. Scott, dec.—M. Oct. 7.
 Wilson, R. S., Capt., to resume his situation of Superintend. of Family Payments and Pensions.—M. Oct. 7.
 Wallace, J. C., Sen. Lieut. 8th Light Cav., to be Captain, v. Raymond, dec.—M. Oct. 17.
 Wyndham, W., Sen., Cornet 8th Light Cav., to be Lieut., v. Wallace, prom.—M. Oct. 17.
 Wallace, R. T., Lieut. Rifle Corps, to be Member of the Committee for Ascertaining Heirs, &c.—M. Oct. 28.
 Walker, F., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 8th to 4th Light Cav.—M. Nov. 6.
 Warner, T. S., Sen. Lieut. 18th N. I., to be Capt., v. Smith, dec.—M. Dec. 5.
 Welsh, J., Lieut.-Col., on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. Nov. 14.
 Wright, H., Lieut. 51st N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. Nov. 14.
 Williamson, T., Mr., to act as Sec. to Gov. in Terr. Commer. Dep., v. Box, absent on duty.—M. Nov. 16.
 Yeatman, E. J., Assist., to take charge of the 36th N. I.—C. Nov. 19.
 Yates, R. H., Lieut.-Col.-Com., rem. from 49th to 40th N. I.—M. Dec. 6.
 Young, H., Mr., to be Assist. to Superintend. of Revenue, Survey, and Assess. Din eccan.—M. Nov. 4.

BIRTHS.

- Allen, the lady of Capt. D., Commanding at Nellore, of a daughter, at Madras, Oct. 19.
 Ardagh, the lady of Capt. J. B., Dep.-Judge-Adv.-Gen., of a daughter, at Vizagapatam, Oct. 20.
 Avery, the wife of T., Troop Quar.-Mast. 1st Brig. Horse Artillery, of a son, at Bangalore, Oct. 28.

- Browne, the lady of Lieut. B., Artillery, of a son, at Mooladabad, Oct. 18.
 Benson, the lady of Lieut. W., 4th Cav., of a daughter, at Messerabad, Oct. 19.
 Bruce, the lady of W., Esq., of a son, at Chazepore, Nov. 21.
 Bishop, the lady of Lieut. H. A., 15th N. I., of twin daughters, at Trevandrum, Oct. 10.
 Bushley, the lady of H. T., Esq., Civil Service, of a son, at Bellary, Nov. 13.
 Burlton, the lady of Lieut. C., 41st Foot, of a daughter, on ship-board, off Cananore, Nov. 18.
 Bentley, the lady of Capt., Paymaster Nagpore Subsidiary Force, of a son, at Kamptee, Nov. 28.
 Carleton, the lady of Capt., Comm. Resident's Escort, of a daughter, at Hyderabad, Nov. 5.
 Crawford, the lady of T., Esq., of a daughter, at Bombay, Dec. 12.
 Campbell, the lady of Ivie, 12th B. N. I., of a daughter, at Hyderabad, Oct. 16.
 Corbyn, the lady of F., Esq., Bengal Medical Service, of a son, at Barackpore, Nov. 16.
 Coser, the lady of E. R., Esq., of a son, at Dacca, Nov. 22.
 Cox, the lady of Capt. T., of the Commissariat Department, of a son, at Cochin, Oct. 5.
 Cherry, the lady of A. J., Esq., of a son, at Madras, Oct. 13.
 Cotton, the lady of Capt. H. C., Engineers, of a daughter, at Cananore, Oct. 15.
 Coffin, the lady of Capt. J. C., of a son, at Madras, Dec. 2.
 Cotton, the lady of Major S., of a son, at Madras, Dec. 21.
 Campbell, the lady of Dr., of a daughter, at Poonamallee, Dec. 22.
 Drew, the lady of J., Esq., Civil Service, of a son, at Dacca, Oct. 28.
 Dashwood, the lady of T., Esq., Civil Service, of a daughter, at Mozuffarpore, Tyrhout, Dec. 5.
 Dickinson, the lady of Major, of a son, at Newland, Nov. 8.
 Dunsterville, the lady of J. H., Esq., Agent for Army Clothing, of a daughter, at Bombay, Nov. 20.
 Edwards, the lady of Ensign W., 5th N. I., of a daughter, at Baroda, Dec. 28.
 Elder, the lady of Lieut., 1st European regt., of a son, at Bombay, Jan. 3.
 Elliot, the lady of D., Esq., of a daughter, at Madras, Oct. 23.
 Fraser, the lady of Capt. A., Postmaster at Jaulnah, of a daughter, at Colaba, Dec. 13.
 Fuller, the lady of Capt. A., 33d N. I., of a son, at Cawnpore, Nov. 12.
 Fulton, the lady of Capt. John, Dep.-Ass.-Quar.-Mast.-Gen., Southern Division, of a son, at Trichinopoly, Nov. 10.
 Fasken, the lady of Dr., of a daughter, at Salem, Nov. 17.
 Forbes, the lady of Capt. J., 20th N. I., of a daughter, at Dapoolie, Nov. 11.
 Gardiner, the lady of T. G., Esq., of a daughter, at Prospect Lodge, Bombay, Nov. 24.
 Graham, the lady of Capt. C., Bengal Horse Artillery, of a son, at Dum Dum, Oct. 30.
 Griffiths, the lady of Capt., 6th Foot, of a daughter, at Colaba, Dec. 10.
 Glog, the lady of Lieut., 2d Grenadiers, of a daughter, at Bombay, Dec. 13.
 Godby, the lady of Capt. C., 36th N. I., of a daughter, at Sultanpore, Oct. 14.
 Griffin, the lady of Lieut. and Quar.-Mast., 24th N. I., of a son, at Cawnpore, Oct. 27.
 Graham, the lady of J., Esq., (M.D.), of a son, at Mahidpore, Nov. 1.
 Griffiths, the lady of H. H., Esq., of a daughter, at Luckeepore, Nov. 21.
 Henderson, the lady of Capt., 2d European regt., of a son, at Bombay, Dec. 24.
 Hudson, the lady of G. E., Esq., Attorney-at-Law, of a daughter, at Calcutta, Dec. 7.
 Houlkain, the lady of Capt. A., 17th N. I., of a son, at Calicut, Oct. 26.
 Henderson, the lady of J. Esq., Surgeon 89th Foot, of a son, at Madras, Nov. 19.
 Hooper, the lady of G. S., Esq., Civil Service, of a son, at Coimbatore, Dec. 15.

Jones, the lady of Capt., Dep. Assistant-Adj.-Gen., of a son, at Visagapatam, Nov. 17.

Kenney, the lady of Lieut.-Col., 34th regt., of a daughter, at Masulipatam, Nov. 4.

Kyd, the lady of Capt., 2d Extra Regt., of a son, at Ellore, Nov. 20.

Lewis, the lady of Lieut., Dep. Assist.-Commis.-Gen., of a son and heir, at Nee-much, Oct. 27.

Lane, the lady of Lieut. J. T., Artill., of a daughter, at Dum Dum, Oct. 31.

Lemarchand, the lady of M. L., Esq., of a son, at Ghazee-poor, Nov. 7.

Littler, the lady of J. H., Lieut.-Col., 14th N. I., of a daughter, at Lucknow, Nov. 9.

Macdonald, the lady of William Pitt, Esq., 41st Madras N. I., of a daughter, at Kamptee, Oct. 24.

Maxwell, the lady of Major H., Com. 43d N. I., of a son, at Benares, Oct. 21.

Metcalf, the lady of T. T., Esq., Civil Service, of a son and heir, at Delhi, Nov. 29.

M'Kenzie, the lady of Lieut., 5th N. I., of a daughter at Vellore, Oct. 3.

Montagu, the lady of H. S., Esq., of a daughter, at Dulwich, May 3.

Maberly, the lady of Capt., Deputy Secretary of Mil. Board, of a son, at Madras, Nov. 2.

Nash, the lady of J. D., Esq., 33d N. I., of a son, at Nussereabad, Oct. 13.

Nisbet, the lady of Harry, Esq., Civil Service, of a daughter, at Chowringhee, Dec. 6.

O'Dowell, the lady of Capt., 13th N. I., of a daughter, at Dinapore, Oct. 25.

Otey, the lady of Capt. Brig.-Major., of a daughter, at Poonah, Jan. 5.

Ousley, the lady of Capt., Professor of Persian and Arabic in the College of Fort William, of a son, at Calcutta, Oct. 29.

Oldfield, the lady of H. S., Esq., Civil Service, at Cawnpore, Nov. 3.

Porton, the lady of Capt., Engineers, of a daughter, at Bangalore, Nov. 7.

Pope, the lady of Peter, Lieut., 24th N. I., of a daughter, at Vellore, Dec. 3.

Robertson, the lady of Lieut.-Col., Resident at Sattara, of a son, at Sattara, Dec. 21.

Reid, the lady of J. F., Esq., Civil Service, of a daughter, at Bancoora, Nov. 13.

Robenson, the lady of C. R., Esq., of a son, at Chowringhee, Dec. 11.

Roberts, the lady of C., Esq., Civil Service, of a son, at Palamanair, Dec. 4.

Rdy, the lady of the Rev. Dr., Senr. Chaplain, of a daughter, at Madras, Dec. 14.

Sullivan, the lady of Dr. J. S., of a son, at Gorruckpore, Oct. 18.

Slack, the lady of Capt., Brig. Maj. to Nagpore Auxiliary Horse, of a son, at Hingna, Oct. 29.

Swiney, the lady of Lieut.-Col., Artill., of a daughter, at Calcutta, Nov. 21.

Stuart, the lady of Assist.-Surg., of a son, at Papamow, Nov. 24.

Sibley, the lady of Lieut., 46th Foot, of a son and heir, at Secunderabad, Oct. 5.

Swatton, the lady of Capt. F., 8th Light Cav., of a son, at Bangalore, Oct. 21.

Sayers, the lady of Lieut. J. R., 5th N. I., of a son, at Baffary, Nov. 13.

Strong, the lady of W. C., Esq., of a son, at Madras, Dec. 20.

Sharpin, the lady of Capt. H., 4th Light Dragoons, of a son and heir, at Rangoon, Oct. 31.

Woodcock, the lady of E. H., Esq., Civil Ser., of a son, at Trichinopoly, Nov. 1.

Walker, the lady of R., Esq., Civil Ser., of a son, at Benares, Oct. 19.

Warden, the lady of Lieut.-Col. G., 22th N. I., of a son, at Benares, Nov. 1.

Watts, the lady of H. C., Esq., of a daughter, at Calcutta, Nov. 6.

Wid, the lady of Major C. F., of a son, at Cawnpore, Nov. 16.

Wintle, the lady of Lieut. and Adj., 71st N. I., of a son, at Saugor, Nov. 25.

Walch, the lady of Capt., 24th Foot, of a son, at Cawnpore, Oct. 22.

Wilkinson, the lady of Lieut. J. S., 33th N. I., of a son, at Bangalore, Nov. 22.

Webster, the lady of the Rev. A., of the Scotch Church, of a son, at Madras, Nov. 22.

Wyndham, the lady of Capt., of the Hon. Company's Marine, of a daughter, at Bombay, Nov. 10.

MARRIAGES.

Anderson, W., Esq., son of the late Capt. H., 12th N. I., Bengal Estab., to Maria Jane, eldest daughter of the late Lieut. R. Hodgkinson, Madras Estab., at Calcutta, Nov. 20.

Boulton, Lieut. C., 47th Bengal N. I., to Miss Charlotte Emily Cornfield, at Calcutta, Dec. 4.

Bousfield, H., Esq., Assist.-Surg., to Isabella Barr, daughter of the late J. Newman, Esq., of Finemere House, Bucks, at Calcutta, Nov. 22.

Bruce, T., Esq., Civil Ser., to Miss H. Dain, at Calcutta, Dec. 1.

Clarkson, Capt., Com. of the ship *Bolton*, to Miss Earle, at Poonah, Dec. 1.

Denny, G., Esq., Com. of the ship *Roxburgh Castle*, to Catherine Helen Todd, daughter of Fryar Todd, Esq., of London, at Calcutta, Nov. 20.

Duke, Lieut. T. A., 2d Eur. reg., son of the late Lieut.-Col. C. Duke, H. M. S. Ser., to Emma, eldest daughter of Major W. B. Spry, 41st Madras N. I., at Masulipatam, Dec. 15.

Graham, Thomas Henry, Esq., to Jane, daughter of Dr. J. A. Maxwell, at Severndroog, November 18.

Griffiths, Mr. E. C., to Mary, eldest daughter of R. W. Norfor, Esq., at Cuddalore, November 19.

Goodfellow, W. B., Lieut. Engin., to Harriette Jane, youngest daughter of the late Charles Augustus West, Esq., Superintend.-Surg., B., January 7.

Kerr, C. A., Esq., 3d L. Cav., to Miss Margaret Seymour, Madras, Nov. 6.

Keith, James, Capt., Assist.-Adj.-Gen., P. D. A., to Mary Catherine Eliza, third daughter of the late Maj. Green, at Poona.

Lumsdaine, J. C., Adj. 58th N. I., to Henrietta Eliza, eldest daughter of Brig. Richards, (C. B.) at Muttra, November 19.

Locke, Thomas, Capt., 2d Nat. Vet. Bat., to Miss J. Wodschow, at Caddalore, Dec. 11.

Mackae, James, Esq., Assist.-Surg. Beng. Army, to Miss Caroline Emma Holmes, Calcutta, Nov. 10.

Millett, F., Esq., Beng. Civ. Serv., to Maria, daughter of James Wintle, Esq., late of the Bengal Civ. Serv., at Midnapore, Nov. 28.

Richards, J., Esq., of Peeprah, to Henrietta Eliza, eldest daughter of H. Fitzgerald, Esq., at Singeah Factory, Tirhoot, Oct. 2.

Ross, John, Lieut. 15th N. I., to Harriet Annette, youngest daughter of Col. Daly, at Quilon, Nov. 19.

Scott, Major 99th N. I., to Miss Clementina Shaw, Madras, Nov. 28.

Scott, C., Esq., Bombay Medical Establishment, to Sophia, third daughter of H. Willis, Esq., Rumbord, Essex, Bombay, Dec. 31.

Swaine, G. H., Esq., to Frances, youngest daughter of Capt. Lynch, late Madras Attendant at Batavia, Calcutta, Nov. 19.

Woolsey, T. B., Esq., to Miss Mary Ann Blunt, at Jutwarpore in Tirhoot, Oct. 2.

DEATHS.

Atkins, Wm., Apothecary, 2d Eur. reg., aged 24, near Deesa, Dec. 25.

Bryce, Ann Isabella, infant daughter of the Rev. Dr., St. Andrew's Church, at Calcutta, Nov. 4.

Barnett, Edward, Esq., Civ. Serv., aged 44, at Calcutta, Nov. 12.

Balfour, Mr. A. G., late of the Gov. Gazette Press, at Rangoon, Nov. 24.

Babington, W., Capt. 8th Light Cav., eldest son of Dr. Babington, Alderman-bury, London, at Madras, Oct. 5.

- Boulet, J. D. N., Esq., aged 74, at Pondicherry, Nov. 24.
 Baker, Ellen, daughter of J., Esq., Civ. Surg., aged 5, at Bulloah, Oct. 28.
 Dangerfield, Frederick, Capt. Bombay Army, at Indore, Dec. 6.
 Dias, the Rev. D. S., aged 28, at Madras, Oct. 20.
 Falconer, Capt. J. S., late Commander of the Brig *Pallas*, aged 30, at Calcutta, Oct. 31.
 Furlonge, W. J., Lieut. 34th Light Infantry, at Chicacole, Nov. 25.
 Grierson, Mrs. Emilia, widow of the late Capt., R. N., aged 25, at Calcutta, Dec. 9.
 Grant, the lady of Lieut.-Col. Colquhoun (C. B.), 54th Foot, daughter of James Brodie, of Brodie, Esq., and of Lady Margaret Duff, daughter and sister of the late Earl of Fife, at sea, on her way to Eur.
 Grant, Ann Eliza, wife of Edward, Esq., Civ. Serv., and Judge and Criminal Judge of Ahmedabad and Zilla, at Ahmedabad, Dec. 20.
 Hewatt, Thomas, Esq., late Attorney-at-Law, aged 34, Calcutta, Nov. 7.
 Harding, Samuel Richard, Capt., late of the ship *Argyle*, aged 32, Calcutta, Oct. 28.
 Hooper, Benjamin, Capt. of 1st Eur. reg., at Masulipatam, Nov. 6.
 Johnston, A. B., Lieut. 46th N. I., aged 20, at Vepery, Nov. 25.
 Johnston, Barbara, wife of Alex., Esq., of the Med. Estab., and daughter of the late Col. M'Leod of Achagoyle, Argyleshire, Madras, Oct. 27.
 Kennedy, Thomas, Capt. 54th foot, and Com. 8th reg. Nizams Infan., at Ellechpoot, Nov. 18.
 Lyons, Augusta Catherine, infant daughter of Capt. H., 43d reg., Bombay, Nov. 29.
 Livingstone, W. Anderson, Esq., aged 29, Calcutta, Nov. 13.
 Le Cerf, Mr. George William, Surgeon, aged 38, Calcutta, Dec. 6.
 Leithbridge, Sarah E. M., second daughter of Capt., of 22d N. I., at Cochin, Dec. 7.
 Lyall, William, Esq., at Sandheads, Nov. 15.
 Marlay, J. Wm., Ens. 3d Lt. Inf., son of the late Col. Marlay, near Palamcottah, Oct. 28.
 Maw, N. C., Lieut.-Col. 1st N. I., at Bombay, Nov. 11.
 Maun, Wm., Capt. 30th Foot, at Wallahabad, Dec. 26.
 M'Pherson, Margaret, wife of the Rev. A., Chaplain, Dum Dum, at sea, Nov. 3.
 Nazari, Master, son of S., Esq., (by the bite of a snake,) near Poonamallee, Oct. 18.
 Paglar, E., Capt., Com. of the ship *Cashmere*, Merchant, aged 35, at Calcutta, Nov. 8.
 Poynter, A. E., son of Lieut., 30th Foot, at Madras, Nov. 23.
 Rogers, T. P., youngest son of Capt. J., at Calcutta, Nov. 11.
 Revelle, H., infant son of Lieut. J., 7th N. I., at Calcutta, Dec. 4.
 Setree, T., Lieut. 23d Reg., or W. L. I., at Kulladghee, Oct. 30.
 Stewart, E., Capt., 2d Eur. Inf., in camp near Dessa, Sept. 26.
 Seymour, A. C., Esq., Head Assist. in Chief Sec. Office, aged 62, at Calcutta, Nov. 17.
 Schmid, the Rev. D., of the Eur. Female Asylum, aged 37, at Calcutta, Dec. 3.
 Stuart, Catherine Madeline, wife of Assist.-Surg. 44th Foot, at Pappanow, Nov. 24.
 Scott, W., Capt., 42d N. I., at Anantapore, Sept. 27.
 Snodgrass, J., Major, 16th N. I. and 1st Assist.-Com.-Gen., at Poona, Dec. 28.
 Train, J. H., infant son of W., Esq., at Cuddalore, Oct. 25.
 Thompson, M. W., wife of S. J., Esq., aged 28, at Cochin, Nov. 23.
 Vignot, F., Esq., Proprietor of the Howrah Docks, aged 52, at Calcutta, Nov. 21.
 Wyke, C. V., Lieut., 14th N. I., at Lucknow, Oct. 19.
 Wyse, J., Esq., Super. Surg., South Div. of the Army, aged 52, at Tanjore, Oct. 7.
 Walker, G. B., Esq., Capt. H. Coe's 3rd Marine, aged 43, at Mazagon, Dec. 9.
 Warrington, Lieut., H. M.'s 8th Reg., at Colabah, Sept. 21.

SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

ARRIVALS FROM EASTERN PORTS

Date.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Place of Depart.	Date.
1829.					1829.
Apr. 28	Portsmouth	William Fairlie	Blair	China	Dec. 24
Apr. 29	Downs	Cognwall	Oldham	Bengal	Jan. 16
Apr. 29	Plymouth	Ellen	Campier	Bengal	Jan. 9
Apr. 30	Downs	Batton	Clarkson	Bombay	Dec. 22
May 1	Cowes	Augusta	Giles	China	Dec. 22
May 2	Downs	Charles Kerr	Brodie	Bombay	Dec. 22
May 2	Dover	Emma	Holmes	Bombay	Dec. 22
May 2	Dover	Diamond	Clark	Bengal	Dec. 6
May 4	Downs	Boyne	Pope	Bengal	Nov. 30
May 4	Cowes	Batavia	Rouse	Bombay	Dec. 15
May 4	Gravesend	Ulster	Shannon	Mauritius	Jan. 16
May 4	Margate	Portesque	Anderson	Mauritius	Dec. 5
May 4	Gravesend	Mary	Munro	Bombay	Feb. 25
May 5	Brighton	Esther	Robinson	Cape	Jan. 21
May 5	Downs	Elizabeth	Stewart	Manilla	Jan. 13
May 11	Cowes	Asia	Edmond	China	Jan. 15
May 12	Plymouth	George IV.	Barrow	China	Jan. 13
May 12	Plymouth	Marqueen	Walker	Bengal	Feb. 13
May 12	Plymouth	Lady Flora	Fayrer	Mauritius	Jan. 11
May 12	Liverpool	Superior	Ormond	Bengal	Jan. 18
May 12	Holyhead	Duke of Lancaster	Flannery	Bombay	Jan. 19
May 12	Holyhead	Sir Fran. Beirton	Reid	Bengal	Jan. 15
May 12	Falmouth	Chieftain	Blair	Bengal	Jan. 4
May 12	Plymouth	Asia	Balderston	China	Jan. 18
May 12	Plymouth	Marq. of Huntley	Fraser	Bombay	Jan. 16
May 13	Weymouth	Triumph	Green	Bengal	Jan. 11
May 13	Plymouth	Broxburnbury	Chapman	Bombay	Feb. 16
May 13	Falmouth	Govern. Harcourt	Tollis	Mauritius	Dec. 10
May 14	Falmouth	Recovery	Chapman	Ceylon	Dec. 26
May 14	Falmouth	Alacrity	Findlay	Bengal	Jan. 5
May 14	Penzance	Borodina	Mantrap	Bengal	Dec. 29
May 15	Penzance	Arab	Lowe	Bengal	Jan. 10
May 16	Plymouth	Seppings	Loader	Bengal	Jan. 2
May 16	Falmouth	Asia	Stead	Singapore	Nov. 29
May 16	Scilly	Sir F. M'Naghten	Fergusson	Madras	Mar. 12
May 16	Liverpool	Columbia	Kirkwood	Mauritius	Dec. 6
May 18	Falmouth	Medina	Mordaunt	Bengal	Dec. 24
May 18	Isle of Wight	Upton Castle		Cape	Feb. 20
May 18	Brighton	Sarah	Christie	S. Seas	Nov. 7
May 18	Start	Exporter	Amwell	Bombay	Feb. 22
May 18	Plymouth	Charence	Croker	Bombay	Feb. 12
May 21	Downs	Joshua	Prowse	Bombay	Feb. 12
May 23	Dartmouth	Prince Regent	Richards	Bombay	Feb. 12
May 25	Portsmouth	Ganges	Lloyd	Bombay	Feb. 12
May 25	Plymouth	Lana	Knox	Bombay	Feb. 12
May 25	Dover	Mary	Locke	Bombay	Feb. 12
May 25	Isle of Wight	Almorah	Boyd	Bombay	Feb. 12
May 25	Clyde	Scotia	Shannon	Bombay	Feb. 12
May 27	Portsmouth	Anthony	Shannon	Bombay	Feb. 12
May 28	Cork	Barbara	Shannon	Bombay	Feb. 12

ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

Date.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Depart.
1828.				
Dec. 4	Singapore ..	Francis Watson ..	Bragg	London
1829.				
Jan. 1	Bombay ..	Katherine Stewart ..	Forbes	London
Jan. 2	Calcutta ..	Aurora ..	Owen	London
Jan. 5	Madras ..	Alfred ..	Hill	London
Jan. 6	Calcutta ..	James Sibbald ..	Cole	London
Jan. 6	Bombay ..	Thomas ..	Davidson	Liverpool
Jan. 7	Bombay ..	Valiant ..	Bragg	London
Jan. 8	Bombay ..	Nithsdale ..	Christean	Liverpool
Jan. 9	Calcutta ..	Cæsar ..	Watt	London
Jan. 11	Calcutta ..	Susan ..	Holiday	London
Jan. 13	Calcutta ..	Maitland ..	Short	London
Jan. 17	Madras ..	Wellington ..	Evans	London
Jan. 20	Bombay ..	Simpson ..	Warren	Clyde

DEPARTURES FROM EUROPE.

Date.	Port of Depart.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Destination.
1829.				
May 3	Downs ..	Vansittart ..	Scott	China
May 9	Liverpool ..	Pomona ..	Highat	Bombay
May 9	Liverpool ..	Arabian ..	Willis	Bengal
May 9	Downs ..	Mountaineer ..	Sheal	Cape
May 9	Portsmouth ..	Hero of Malown ..	Studd	Bombay
May 9	Portsmouth ..	Fanny ..	Bundy	Cape
May 9	Downs ..	Resolution ..	Parker	Mauritius
May 16	Downs ..	Minerva ..	Probyn	Madras
May 13	Downs ..	Thos. Grenville ..	Shea	Madras
May 16	Greenock ..	Hebe ..	Currie	Bengal
May 17	Portsmouth ..	Isabella ..	Bourchier	Bombay
May 17	Clyde ..	Alexander ..	Ogilvie	Singapore
May 18	Liverpool ..	Linnaeus ..	Windere	Bombay
May 19	Liverpool ..	Dorothy ..	Garnock	Bombay
May 19	Plymouth ..	Mary Ann ..	Hopton	V. D. Land
May 20	Greenock ..	City of Aberdeen ..	Duthie	Singapore
May 22	Downs ..	Mary ..	Jackson	Mauritius
May 24	Portsmouth ..	Neptune ..	Cumberledge	Mad. & Beng.
May 25	Downs ..	Capricorn ..	Smith	Bombay
May 25	Gravesend ..	Thorne ..	Johnson	Cape
May 25	Liverpool ..	Sir F. Burdett ..	Reid	Bombay
May 26	Plymouth ..	Amity ..	Gray	Cape
May 27	Gravesend ..	Roxburgh Castle ..	Desny	Madras

GENERAL LIST OF PASSENGERS.

PASSENGERS HOMEWARDS.

By the *William Fairlie*, from China:—C. Marjoribanks, Esq., Rev. Mr. Caunter, (from the Cape); Mr. E. Johnson, Surgeon; W. M. Macgillivray, Master; Edward Lake, Miss Fullerton; eight discharged soldiers.

By the *Cornwall*, from Bengal:—General G. Dick; Capt. Pemberton, 59th N. I.; Lieut. Dormer, 14th Foot; W. Watts, A. Colvin, R. Brown, W. Thacker, and G. Dick, Esqs.; Mr. Paglee; Masters G. R. Pemberton, J. Lees, J. Hawthorn, (3) Mackays, R. F. Leslie, (2) Watts, (2) Bennand, F. Bellow, and W. Thacker; Messdames Colvin, Bellow, and Thacker; Misses Bareitto, M. L. Pemberton, M. Lees, (2) Watts, (2) Bellow; and six servants.

By the *Emma*, from Bombay:—Dr. Gall.

By the *Columbia*, from Bengal:—Capts. Dwyer, Sutherland, and Moody; Lieuts. Williams and Littlejohn; Messrs. Bird and Scallion; Mesdames Moody and Scallion; Miss Scallion; eleven children, and six servants.

By the *Boyne*, from Bengal:—Col. Brocks; Major White, Capt. Boyes; Lieuts. Oakley, Grantham, and Swinley; Masters Sheppard, (2) White, and Macmillan; Mesdames Major White and Bessner; Misses Bennett, (2) Macmillan, Shaw, Fraser, and Leith; and three servants.

By the *Euphrates*, from Bengal:—Capt. Phillips, R.N.; Masters Bell, Campbell, Phillips, and Henning; Mesdames Simkins, Daly, Phillips, Henning, and Preston; Misses Daly, Bell, Simkins, and (3) Phillips.

By the *George IV.*, from China:—Sir A. Campbell, and Lady.

By the *Lady Flora*, from Bengal:—Lieut.-Col. Wood, Engineers; Major Smith; Lieuts. Butcher, Roebuck, Garbett, and Scott; H. Wood, W. F. Lethbridge, and J. G. W. Curtis, Esqs.; Mr. T. Dalling; Masters Braddon, Currie, Bolders, Farole, and J. B. Smith; Mesdames Wood, Forde, and Col. Smith; Misses Wood, J. Wood, G. Smith, E. Beauchamp, and J. Lethbridge.

By the *Duke of Lancaster*, from Bengal:—Lieut.-Cols. R. W. Baldock, J. Hay, K. F. Mackenzie, and Biscow; B. Wolf, Esq.; Dr. J. Barber, and Wife and child.

By the *Macqueen*, from China:—Lieut. D. Butts, and Dr. G. Alexander.

By the *Asia*, from Bengal:—Col. Murray, 16th Lancers; Lieut.-Col. Shubbreck; Capts. Carmichael and M. Lynch; Lieuts. Fraser, Grimes, and Douglas; the Hon. A. Ramsay; W. I. Harding, Esq.; Mesdames Harding, Hankey, and Marshall; Masters J. Boileau, G. Rentin, F. Rentin, C. Abbott, and C. Hawtry.

By the *Marquis of Huntly*, from China:—Capts. Stiles and Macleod; Mr. Pitcairn; Masters F. and W. Lowdon; Mesdames Flent, Read, and Scott.

By the *Harcourt*, from Bengal:—Lieut. Ramsay; J. Grant, Esq.; Lieut.-Col. Stewart; Capts. Matthias and Lloyd; Commodore Jeakes; J. Babington and H. M. Blair, Esqs.; Masters J. Ogilvie, (2) Babington, Stewart, Crichton, Snodgrass, and Jeakes; Mesdames Col. Scott, Stewart, Major Snodgrass, Dawson, Babington, and Crichton; Misses Griffiths, Stewart, Crichton, Matthias, Babington, and Snodgrass.

By the *Brazbornebury*, from Bengal:—Col. Stewart; Major Morrison; Capt. Stewart; Lieuts. Candy, Cary, Hunter, and Fitzsimmons; Drs. Francis, (landed at the Cape), Clark, and Overton; Judge Morrison; Rev. Mr. Morris; Mr. Dana; Mesdames Slater and child, Francis and children, Bird and child, Col. Wish and child, Col. Stewart and children, Middleton, Goode and child, Clarke and child, Morris and child, Candy, and Chapman; Misses Weston, Burt, Campbell, Taylor, and Schalch.

By the *Recovery*, from Bombay:—Cols. Welch and Hackett; Capt. Keith; Lieuts. Taylor and Macleod; Messrs. Grey and Baker; Mesdames Col. Riddell, Baker, Welch, and Hackett; and Miss Kemp.

By the *Medina*, from Bengal:—Lieuts. Minter, Bell, and Morehouse; Rev. W. Sawyer; Masters Gideon and Minter; Mesdames Bennett, Gideon, Minter, and Morehouse; Misses Vernon, Gideon; (2) Minter, and Denny; Capts. Sanders and Stanley; Lieuts. Barker, Bridemore, Bailey, Forrest, Parkinson, Ryan, Rooke, and Carstairs; Mesdames Williams and Sanders.

By the *Sarah*, from Singapore:—Lieut. S. Chauvel, and wife and child; and Miss Mackenzie.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE news from India during the past month possesses no great feature of public interest. The rumoured death of Lord William Bentinck is contradicted, although it is admitted that the latest accounts left his Lordship in precarious health. There are, in the papers we have received, several minor topics to which we should have adverted had there been room: but the all-absorbing topic of the Debates in Parliament, which occupies so large a portion of our space, and has already swelled our present Number beyond its usual limits, obliges us to postpone until our next, various subjects which are already under consideration, and which will receive all due attention.

From a Correspondent.

THE patrons of merit in adversity will be rejoiced to hear that, after an exposure to those vicissitudes which are too often the result of a credulous, an unsuspecting, all-confiding heart, Miss Zouch, whose necessities had reduced her to the mortification of appealing at different times to the bounty of the public for relief, has experienced a reverse of fortune no less sudden than unexpected. By a favourable change in her circumstances, this lady, once the ornament of society, is now restored to the circles of fashion she had formerly been accustomed to grace. A younger brother who is serving with distinguished credit in India, having accidentally seen her deplorable case in 'The Oriental Herald,' immediately made her a handsome remittance, with an intimation that it should be continued annually. Such conduct is the more noble, is rendered the more praiseworthy, as he is only at present a subaltern officer in the Army, and as he lost not a moment in removing the pressures, nay in administering to the comforts, of an amiable and a beloved sister, without an inquiry into the causes of her embarrassments, or into the nature, the extent of her sad persecutions. But this happy turn in Miss Zouch's affairs, is likely to be succeeded by an event of far greater importance in the estimation of the sex, which by a strange coincidence may probably soon afford her an opportunity of expressing in person her grateful affection for such a fraternal act, while it will enable her to make restitution in a tenfold way. She is upon the eve of becoming the bride of a gentleman of opulence and respectability, with a mind as munificent as his means are independent; and in that case will forthwith take her departure for one of the Presidencies, where from her elegance of person, and her refinement of manners, she must add to the brilliancy, and confer a dignity on the splendour, of even an Asiatic Court. Should the notoriety of her late distresses have subjected a gallant youth to the silent sneers of insensibility, to the coarse comments of those who are unable to appreciate the virtues they possess not, who, indeed, are apt to condemn the misfortunes they have never known, his generous soul and high spirit will soar above such baseness and overweening pride. His sympathy in the sufferings of an accomplished, an unprotected sister, when revealed to the world, cannot fail to elevate him in the opinion of persons of liberality and sentiment, however much her pitiable plight, her temporary state of destitution, may have been food for the sarcastic whisperings of the malignant, to the wounding of his exquisitely nice feelings, so prosperous a termination nevertheless of Miss Zouch's troubles, which, from what we have been able to collect, and we have taken some pains to gather the particulars, were occasioned by the neglect of her titled friends and relatives, through the malice and perfidy of those who could not aspire to her loftiness of mind, and who sacrificed her for the advancement of their own interest, should teach us a lesson of perfect resignation to the Divine Will. By its own innumerable means, Providence works its mysterious ends: it thus exalts those whom it had depressed, it thus rescues from misery, and restores to affluence, those whose fortunes and principles it had tried with severity in the crucible of affliction!

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